This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

UC-NRLF
$B 54 622

ALLEN & SPIER,
Union Book Store,
148 Clay st.
San Francisco.

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.
GIFT OF
Mrs. SARAH P. WALSWORTH.
Received October, 1894.
Accessions No. 57467 *Class No.* .....

S P Walsworth
Marysville
Cal

125

THE

VARIATIONS OF POPERY.

BY SAMUEL ELIOT, D.D.

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED BY THE AUTHOR.

REVISED BY THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D.D.

Nashville, Tenn.:
PUBLISHED BY E. STEVENSON AND F. A. OWEN, AGENTS,
FOR THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.
1855.

BX1765
.E4

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

57447

THIS masterly work is so well known, and occupies so high a place in polemical theology, that it is scarcely necessary to prefix to this new edition a commendatory Introduction. One feels inclined to thank Bossuet for writing his sophistical "Variations of Protestantism," as it suggested the idea which is so finely drawn out in "The Variations of Popery." The reader will find this work full of learning, logic, satire, and wit—in a word, absolutely unanswerable. It is a library in itself. It was carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged by the late learned and venerable author, shortly before his death. It was dedicated by him, "with profound gratitude and respect, to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland." Without endorsing every paragraph in the book—as the author did not view every point from our position—we recommend it as one of the ablest defences of Protestantism and most demolishing refutations of Popery in the English language. It ought to have a universal circulation.

THOMAS O. SUMMERS.

NASHVILLE, TENN., Sept. 26, 1855.

PREFACE.

The Popish and Protestant controversy, in the present age, has, in these kingdoms, been agitated with ardor and ability. The debate, in the end of the last century, seemed to slumber. The polemics of each party, satisfied with the unrestricted enjoyment of their own opinions, appeared, for a time, to drop the pen of discussion, dismiss the weapons of hostility, and leave men, according to their several predilections, to the undisputed possession of Popery or Protestantism. But stillness frequently ushers in the tempest. The calm, amid the serenity of sea and sky, is often the harbinger of the storm. This diversity, in late years, has been exemplified in the controversial world. The polemical pen, which, in the British dominions, had slept in inactivity, has resumed its labours, and the clerical voice, which had been engaged in the sober delivery of sermons, has, in the passing day, been strained to the loud accents of controversial theology. Ireland, in a particular manner, has become the field of noisy disputation. The clergy in advocacy of Popery or Protestantism, have displayed all their learning and eloquence. A society for promoting the principles of the Reformation, has been established through England, Ireland, and Scotland; and this association has awakened a conflicting reaction, and blown into vivid combustion all the elements of papal opposition.

These discussions commenced with the Reformation. Contests of a similar kind, indeed, had preceded that revolution, and may be traced to the introduction of Christianity. The inspired heralds of the Gospel raised the voice, and wielded the pen against Judaism and infidelity. Popery carried on a perpetual war against Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and other oriental speculations. The papacy, in European nations, arrayed itself against Waldensianism; and opposed power and persecution to truth and reason. The inquisition erected the dungeon and the gibbet, for the support of error and superstition, and for the extinction of light and liberty. Wickliff and his followers in England wielded reason and revelation against superstition and persecution, till they were nearly exterminated by the sword, the flames, and the gibbet.

Protestantism, at the era of the Reformation, began its attack on popery in more auspicious circumstances and on a wider

field of action. Philosophy and literature, which had been diffused through the nations by the art of printing, the progress of society, and the march of intellect, facilitated the grand project. The European kingdoms, therefore, in one simultaneous movement, seemed to awaken from their apathy. The scintillations of reformation, which flashed in Germany and Switzerland, radiated from the Mediterranean to the Northern Ocean, and from the bay of Biscay to the Black Sea; and Europeans, aroused by its influence, hailed the bright light, shook off their gloomy errors, and rising in moral and intellectual strength, burst the fetters of superstition.

Luther and Melancthon in Germany, supported Protestantism, in verbal and written discussions, against Tetzel, Eckius, Prierio, Cajetan, and Miltitz. Luther, in apostolical fearlessness, which never trembled at danger or shrank from difficulty, assailed the papacy with zeal and inflexibility. His shafts, though sometimes unpolished, were always pointed; and his sarcasms, suited to his age and language, might, in a few instances, degenerate into coarseness or even scurrility. Melancthon, in all his engagements, evinced ability, learning, candour, mildness, and moderation. His erudition occupied a vast range; and the mighty mass of literary attainments was directed by taste and inspired by genius. Their united advocacy repelled error, dislodged the enemy from his deepest entrenchments, and established Lutheranism through the circles of Germany. The light soon communicated to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Gustavus, king of Sweden, countenanced a disputation between Olaus and Gallius, and the result, which was the triumph of Protestantism, tended to the extension of the Reformation.

Zuinglius, Bucer, Calvin, and Beza, attacked the Romish superstition in France and Switzerland. The attack was met with great resolution by the patrons of popery. This opposition, however, neither dispirited the friends of reformation nor prevented their success. Many, on the Continent deserted the ranks of error; and the shock soon reached the British islands. England and Scotland, as well as many in Ireland, threw off the yoke of superstition and embraced the liberty of the Gospel.

Many, however, prostituted learning and ability, in defending the old superstition; none of whom made a more distinguished figure than Baronius, Bellarmine, and Bossuet. Baronius compiled the annals of the papacy; and, in the relation, interwove his errors and sophistry. His Annals, comprising a vast collection, are full of error and misrepresentation, and void of all candour or even honesty. Bellarmine possessed far more candour

than Baronius. He stated the reasons and objections of the reformed with fidelity. His integrity, in this respect, exposed him to the censure of several theologians of his own communion. His merit, as a writer, consisted in perspicuity of style and copiousness of argument, which discovered a fertile and excursive imagination.

Bossuet, in his Exposition, affected plainness and simplicity; and endeavoured to evade objections by ingenuity of statement. He labored to divest Romanism of its hatefulness, by concealing, as much as possible, its defects, softening its harshness, and substituting, in many instances, an imposing but supposititious form and beauty. The expositor, by these means, approximated Popery to Protestantism. 'The ten-horned monster,' says Gibbon, 'is, at his magic touch, transformed into the milk-white hind, which must be loved as soon as she is seen.' The school, in which Bossuet studied, favoured the design. The French communion, to which he belonged, presents Romanism in a more engaging attitude than the Italian system, which exhibits Popery, as it appears in Baronius and Bellarmine, in all its native deformity.

Few have made a better defence for a bad cause, than Challenor and Gother. Challenor assumes a tone of pity for his adversary, and represents the patrons of Protestantism as objects of compassion. He appears all kindness and candour. But the snake is hid in the grass; and the canker-worm of bitterness lurks under the fairest professions of commiseration and benevolence. His statements, in general, are misrepresentations, and his quotations, especially from the fathers, are irrelevant and futile. His work, nevertheless, contains nearly all that can be said for a bad system.

Gother speaks in the lofty accents of indignation and defiance. Swelling into an air of conscious superiority, he arrogates the attitude of truth and certainty. Popery, he represents as rejected only when misunderstood; and insinuates, in undissembled remonstrance and reprehension, the disingenuousness of the patrons of Protestantism. He imitates Bossuet, in attempting to remove objections by dexterity of statement, and by dismissing the Ultraism of the Italian school and of genuine Romanism. His manner, however, is striking, and his columns of representation and misrepresentation, possess advantage and originality.

England, on this, as on every other topic of theology, produced many distinguished authors. Jewel, Cartwright, Stillingfleet, and Barrow, among a crowd of others, appear eminent for their learning and industry. Jewel's reply to Harding, though

published shortly after the Reformation, is a most triumphant refutation of Popish errors. Cartwright appeared in the arena, as the victorious adversary of the Rhemish translators and annotators. Stillingfleet, in his numerous works, has written on nearly all the topics of distinction between the Romish and Reformed; and on each, has displayed vast stores of erudition, and amazing powers of discrimination. Barrow assailed the papal supremacy; while the depth of his learning, and the extent of his genius, enabled him to exhaust the subject. He has collected and arranged almost all that has been said on the question of the Roman pontiff's ecclesiastical sovereignty.

Ireland, in her Usher, boasts of a champion, who, in this controversy, was in himself an host. He had read all the Fathers, and could draw at will, on these depots of antiquity. He possessed the deepest acquaintance with sacred literature and ecclesiastical history. The mass of his collections has, since his day, supplied the pen of many a needy, but thankless plagiary. His age was an era of discussion; and, in his occasional works, he pointed his polemical artillery against the various errors of Popery. All these errors are, in a compendious review, dissected and exposed, in his answer to an Irish Jesuit, which may be considered as a condensation of all his arguments against the Romish superstition. The reply was his heavy artillery, which, like a skilful general, he brought forward against his most formidable enemy, whilst the superiority of his tactics and position enabled him to sweep the field.

The passing century has produced many firm disputants, on each side of the question. The popish cause in England, has been sustained, but with a feeble hand, by Milner, Butler, and the notorious Cobbett. These, again, have been opposed by Southey, Phillpotts, Townsend, and M'Gavin. Milner's End of Controversy, affected in title and weak in argument, is one of the silliest productions that ever gained popularity. He affects citing the Fathers, whom he either never read, or designedly misrepresents. His chief resources, indeed, are misstatement and misquotation. His logic consists in bold assertion and noisy bravado. His publication, which was to end controversy, has been answered by Grier, Digby, and, in many occasional animadversions, by M'Gavin.

Butler, imitating the insinuating and imposing manner of Bossuet, affects plainness and simplicity; and represents the repulsive and mis-shapen form of Romanism in the most engaging point of view. He replied to Southey's Book of the Church. Phillpotts, again, in a letter, and Townsend, in his Accusations of History, answered Butler, who, in return,

addressed his Vindication to Townsend, in reply to the Accusations of the latter. The defects of these authors, in general, is the want of facts and authorities, though, in many respects, they discover research and ability.

Cobbett's History of the Reformation is one continued tissue of undisguised falsehood, collected, not from the records of time, but from the copious stores of his own invention. Truth itself, indeed, if found accidentally in the pages of Cobbett, loses its character; and, like a good man seen in bad company, becomes suspected. His calumny, (for his fabrications deserve no better name,) has been exposed, with admirable precision, by M'Gavin of Glasgow in his Vindication of the Reformation. The Scottish Vindicator's treatment of the English Fabricator is truly amusing. He handles, turns, anatomizes, and exposes the slippery changeling, with a facility which astonishes, and with an effect which always entertains. All the English author's accustomed transformations cannot enable him to elude the unmerciful grasp of the Scotchman, who seizes him in all his varying shapes, pursues him through all his mazy windings, and exhibits his deformity in all its loathsomeness, till he becomes the object of derision and disgust. M'Gavin's dissection of the calumniator shews, in a striking point of view, the superiority of sense and honesty over misrepresentation and effrontery. This author, in his Protestant, seems, indeed, not to have been deeply read in the Fathers or in Christian antiquity; but he possesses sense and discrimination, which triumphed over the sophisms and misconstructions of the adversary.

Ireland, at the present day, has, on these topics, produced its full quota of controversy. The field has been taken, for Romanism, by Doyle, Kinsella, Maguire, and a few others of the same class. The Popish prelacy, who were questioned before the Parliamentary Committees in London, displayed superior tact and information. Their answers exhibited great talents for evasion. Crotty, Anglade, Slevin, Mac Hale, Kenny, Higgins, Kelly, Curtis, Murray, and Laffan, evinced at least equal cleverness at Maynooth, before the commissioners of Irish education. These are certainly most accomplished sophists, and practised in the arts of Jesuitism. The Maynooth examination was conducted with great ability, and the answers which were elicited, excel in the evasion of difficulty, the advocacy of error, and the glossing of absurdity.

The battle for Protestantism has been fought, with more or less success, by Ouseley, Digby, Grier, Jackson, Pope, Phelan, Elrington, Stuart, and a few other champions of the Reformation. Stuart's work is entitled to particular attention. The

author is a learned layman, who has directed the energies of a powerful mind to subjects of theology. The literary productions of Newton, Locke, Milton, and Addison in favour of revealed religion, were enhanced in their value from their authors, who belonged to the laity. The clergy, on topics of divinity, are supposed, in some degree, to be influenced by interest or prepossession. The laity, on the contrary, are reckoned to approach these discussions, with minds unfettered by considerations of a professional or mercenary kind. The Protestant layman is entitled to all the regard which this circumstance can confer. But Stuart's work possesses merit, far superior to any thing of an adventitious description. The author's disquisitions embrace all the questions of controversy, which have been agitated between the Romish and Reformed. The statements are clear, and the arguments conclusive. The facts, which he interweaves in the work, are numerous, and his references are correct. The author introduces many of the transactions, which are recorded in ecclesiastical history and which have appeared on the public theatre of the world: while his observations on men and their actions are distinguished by that freedom, which always characterizes an original and independent thinker.

The works on the Romish and Reformed controversy, which are numerous and executed with ability, might be supposed to supersede any further attempt. The number and excellence of former publications on this subject may, in the opinion of many, render any future production unnecessary. The authors, indeed, who have opposed the superstition of Romanism, have been many and their labours triumphant. But the 'Variations of Popery' differs, in several respects, from preceding works. The author's plan, so far as he knows, has not been anticipated, and will, in the execution, display considerable novelty of design.

The attack, in this essay, is directed against the pretended unity, antiquity, and immutability of Romanism. These have long been the enemy's proud, but empty boast. Catholicism, according to its abettors, is as old as the year of our redemption; was derived from the Messiah, published by the Apostles, taught by the Fathers, and is professed, in the popish communion of the present day, without addition, diminution, or change. The design of this work is to shew the groundlessness of such a claim. The subject is the diversity of doctors, popes, and councils among themselves; with their variations from the apostles and fathers; and these fluctuations are illustrated by the history of the superstitions which have destroyed the simplicity, and deformed the beauty of genuine Christianity.

The variety of opinions, which have been entertained by

Romish theologians, constitutes one principal topic of detail. Papists have differed in the interpretation of Scripture and in the dogmas of religion, as widely as any Protestants. Doctors, pontiffs, and synods have maintained jarring statements, and, in consequence, exchanged reciprocal anathemas. The spiritual artillery, on these occasions, was always brought forward, and carried, not indeed death, but damnation into the adverse ranks. The bayonet, in the end, was often employed to preach the Gospel, enforce the truth, or, at least, to decide the victory. The chief of these contests are related in the Variations of Popery: but the wranglings of obscure theologians, and the lighter shades of difference among authors of celebrity, are omitted as tedious and uninteresting. The detail, if every minute variation were recounted, would be endless. The historian, indeed, of all the doctrinal and moral alterations of misnamed Catholicism would write, not a light octavo, but many ponderous folios, which would require much unnecessary time, labour, expense, and patience. The work, which is now offered to the world, will, it is presumed, be sufficient in quantity, whatever may be its quality, to gratify the curiosity of the reader, and answer the end of its publication.

Popish variations from the Apostles and Fathers also claim a place in this work. The Romish system is shewn to possess neither Scriptural nor Traditional authority. This, in one respect, will evince the disagreement of Papists with each other. These claim the inspired and ecclesiastical writers of antiquity, and appeal to their works, which, in the Romish account, are, in doctrine, popish, and not protestant. The sacred canon is, by the opponents of protestantism, acknowledged, and, which is no easy task, is to be interpreted according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. A display of their variations from these standards, which papists recognize, will, in one way, evince their disagreement among themselves, and, at the same time, overthrow their pretensions to antiquity.

The history of papal superstitions traces the introduction of these innovations into Christendom. The annals of these opinions, teaching their recession from primeval simplicity, will also shew the time and occasion of their adoption. The steps which led to their reception are carefully marked; and these additions to early Christianity will appear to be the inventions of men. Their commencement was small and their growth gradual. The Alpine snow-ball, which rolls down the mountain, is at first trifling; but accumulates as it sweeps the lofty range of steeps, till, at length, the mighty mass, resistless in its course, appals the spectator, mocks opposition, and overwhelms in ruin

the vineyard, the village, or the city. Superstition, in like manner, unperceived in the beginning, augments in its progress. The fancy, the fears, or the interests of men supply continual accessions, till the frowning monster affrights the mind and oppresses the conscience. Such was the rise and progress of Romanism. A religion, boasting unchangeableness, received continual accretions of superstition and absurdity, till it became a heterogeneous composition of Gentilism and Christianity, united to many abominations, unknown in the annals of mythology and paganism. The history of these innovations will expose their novelty, and discover their aberrations from the original simplicity of the Gospel.

Popery, in its growth from infancy to maturity, occupied all the lengthened period from the age of the Apostles till the last Lateran Council. This includes the long lapse of time from Paul of Tarsus to Leo the Tenth. Paul saw the incipient workings of 'the Mystery of Iniquity.' The twilight then began, which advanced in slow progress, to midnight darkness. Superstition, which is so congenial with the human mind, was added to superstition, and absurdity to absurdity. Filth collected. The Roman hierarchs, amidst alternate success and defeat, struggled hard for civil and ecclesiastical sovereignty. Leo, Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface, in their several days, advanced the papacy, on the ruins of episcopacy and royalty, bishops and kings. These celebrated pontiffs augmented the papal authority, and encroached on prelatic and regal power.

Leo the Tenth, in the sixteenth century, saw the mighty plan completed. The Lateran Assembly, under his presidency, conferred on the pope a full authority over all councils, which, in consequence of this synodal decision, he was vested with the arbitrary power of convoking, transferring, and dissolving at pleasure.[1] This concession subjected synodal aristocracy to pontifical despotism; and, in consequence, extinguished all episcopal freedom. The same convention embodied, in its acts, the bull of Boniface the Eighth against Philip the French king.[2] This transaction subjugated royal prerogative and popular privilege to pontifical tyranny. The synod had only to advance another step, and the work of wickedness was consummated. This was soon effected. The infallible bishops addressed the infallible pontiff as God.[3] The successor of the Galilean fisherman was represented as a Terrestrial Deity; while he received with complacency and without reluctance, the appella-

[1] Du Pin. 3. 148. Crabb, 3. 696. [2] Du Pin 3. 148.
[3] Deus in Terris. Bin. 9. 54.

tion of blasphemy. Leo then fulfilled the prediction of Paul, and 'as God shewed himself that he was God.' 'The man of sin, the son of perdition,' whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming was revealed.' Popery, appalling the nations with its lurid terrors, stood confessed in all its horrid frightfulness and deformity.

But the age, that witnessed the maturity of Romanism, beheld its declension. Leo, who presided in the Lateran council, saw the advances of Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, who ushered in the Reformation. The God of the Lateran lost the half of his dominions by the friar of Wittemberg, the canton of Zurich, and the pastor of Geneva. Leo lived to curse Luther, and view whole nations rejecting the usurped authority of the papacy. Mystic Babylon must, in this manner, continue to fall, till at last it shrink and disappear before the light of the Gospel, the energy of truth, and the predictions of heaven.

This work is designed to employ against popery, the argument which the celebrated Bossuet wielded with ingenuity, but without success against protestantism. The reformers disagreed in a few unimportant points of divinity. Their disagreement, however, was rather in discipline than in faith or morality. These dissensions the slippery Bossuet collected; and what was wanting in fact, he supplied from the fountain of his own teeming imagination. The discordancy, partly real but chiefly fanciful, the bishop represented as inconsistent with truth and demonstrative of falsehood. The Variations of Popery are intended to retort Bossuet's argument. The striking diversity, exhibited in Romanism, presents a wide field for retaliation and will supply copious reprisals. The author of this production, however, would, unlike the Romish advocate, adhere to facts and avoid the Jesuitical bishop's misrepresentations.

Bossuet's design, in his famous work, is difficult to ascertain. He was a man of discernment. He must therefore have known, that the weapon, which he wielded against the reformation, might be made to recoil with tremendous effect on his own system. His acquaintance with ecclesiastical history might have informed him, that the variations of popery were a thousand times more numerous than those of protestantism. His argument, therefore, is much stronger against himself than against his adversary. This, one would think, might have taught the polemic, for his own sake, to spare his controversial details.

Bossuet's argument is, in another respect, more injurious to himself than to the enemy. The Romish communion claims infallibility. The reformed prefer no such ridiculous preten-

sion: and might, therefore, differ in circumstantials and agree in fundamentals, might err and return to the truth. These might vary and survive the shock. The imputation of dissonancy to such is, in a great measure, a harmless allegation. But error, or change in a communion, claiming inerrability and unchangeability, is fatal. Its numerous vacillations, indeed, in every age, destroy all its pretensions to unity and immutability.

The authorities in this work are, with a few exceptions, the Fathers and Romish authors. Protestant historians and theologians are seldom quoted, and only in matters of minor importance. Popish professors will, with more readiness, credit popish doctors; and these are easily supplied. Many annalists of this denomination have, even on subjects connected with the honour of the papacy, shewn a candour which is highly praiseworthy. These with laudable ingenuousness, have related facts; while others, indeed, with shameful prevarication, have dealt in fiction. The communion which produced a Baronius, a Bellarmine, a Maimbourg, and a Binius, can boast of a Du Pin, a Giannone, a Thuanus, a Paolo, and a Guicciardini.

One popish author is, in this performance, confuted from another. Theologian, in this manner, is opposed to theologian, pope to pope, and council to council. A Launoy and a Du Pin supply materials for a refutation of a Baronius and a Bellarmine. A Paolo will often correct the errors of a Pallavincino, and a Du Pin, in many instances, rectify the mistakes of a Binius. Eugenius condemned and excommunicated what Nicholas approved and confirmed. Clement and Benedict, in fine style and with great devotion, anathematized Boniface, Innocent, and Gregory. The councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil committed direct acts of hostility on those of Lyons, Florence, and the Lateran. The French and Italian schools, in the war of opinion and theology, conflict in determined and diametrical opposition. The Jesuit and the Molinist view the Jansenist and the Dominican as professed enemies. The facility, indeed, with which any one popish divine may be confuted from another, exhibits, in a striking point of view, the diversity of Romanism. A protestant, skilled in popish doctors and synods, may safely undertake the refutation of any papist from writers and councils of his adversary's own communion.

This work makes no pretence to conceal the deformity of Romanism. The author disdains to dissemble his sentiments. Interested for the good of his fellow-men of every persuasion, he is unacquainted with the art of disguising absurdity, for the low purpose of flattering its partizans or obtaining the praise of modern liberalism. He knows the woe pronounced against such.

as 'put darkness for light, and light for darkness;' and say, 'peace! peace! when there is no peace.' He intends, in the following pages, an unmitigated and unrelenting exposure of antichristian abominations. He would, like an experienced surgeon, examine every ailment, probe every wound, and lay open, without shrinking or hesitation, every festering sore. He would expose the moral disorder, in all its hateful and haggard frightfulness, to the full gaze of a disgusted world. This he would do, not to give pain or gratify the malignity of men; but to heal the wound, cure the disease, prevent the spread of the distemper or infection, and restore the sufferer to health, strength, and activity. He would teach the patient the malignancy of his complaint, and warn the spectator to flee for fear of contagion. The medicine, he would, like the skilful physician, suit to the symptoms, and apply caustic, when a lotion would be ineffectual. Ridicule may be used, when, through the perverseness of man or the inveteracy of the malady, reason has been found to fail.

Grateful for the favourable reception given to the first editions of this work (which were published in 1831—8) the author again offers it to the candid acceptance of the public, carefully revised, enlarged, and corrected throughout. He feels some confidence, indeed, in the materials of which it is composed. He travelled a long, but delightful journey, through whole files of authorities in ancient and modern languages; in which, during his progress, he pillaged the pages and rifled the annals of Romish and Reformed controversy. These, he knows, have supplied a vast mass of matter, which he has endeavoured to condense. But the elements of information are valueless, and will be neglected, if void of order or beauty. A body without a soul wants attraction. The richest colours without symmetry and expression, offend the eye of taste. The fairest form, if destitute of animation, is unengaging. A book, in like manner, especially in modern days, will fail to interest the mind, if unaccompanied with the fascinations of life, grace, and elegance. Ideas require to be arranged and animated, in order to form a useful or inviting composition; as spirit must be infused into the passive clay, to produce a living, moving, breathing, and intellectual man. The author is aware of the difference between a learned and a popular book. He invites criticism. Should the public continue to smile and encourage his essay, he will rejoice in its favour: but if otherwise, he will acquiesce in its decision.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: THE UNITY OF PROTESTANTISM

Harmony of the Reformed Confessions of Faith—Consubstantiation of Lutheranism—Popish Diversity on Transubstantiation—Disciplinarian Variety—Sectarianism—Foolery of Romanism—Beata—Clara—Nativity—Flagellism—Convulsionarianism—Festival of the Ass—Decision of a Roman Synod—Antiquity of Protestantism—Protestant Name—Protestant Theology—Protestant Churches—The Waldensian—The Greek—The Nestorian—The Monophysite—The Armenian—The Syrian. Page 25

CHAP. II: POPES.

Difficulty of the Pontifical Succession—Historical Variations—Electoral Variations—Schisms in the Papacy—Liberius and Felix—Silverius and Vigilius—Formosus, Sergius, and Stephen—Benedict, Sylvester, John, and Gregory—Great Western Schism—Basilian and Florentine Schism—Doctrinal Variations—Victor—Stephen—Liberius, Zozimus, and Honorius—Vigilius—John—Moral Variations—State of the Papacy—Theodora and Marozia—John—Boniface—Gregory—Boniface—John—Sixtus—Alexander—Julius—Leo—Perjured Pontiffs. 68

CHAP. III: COUNCILS.

Three Systems—Italian System reckons the General Councils at eighteen—Temporary rejection of the second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and twelfth General Councils—Cisalpine or French School rejects the Councils of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent—Adopts those of Pisa, Constance, Basil, and the second of Pisa—System of a third party—Universality of General Councils—Its Conditions—Legality of General Councils—Its Conditions—Convocation, Presidency, and Confirmation—Members—Unanimity—Freedom. 123

CHAP. IV: SUPREMACY.

Four Variations—Pope's Presidency—His Sovereignty or Despotism—His supposed Equality with God—His alleged Superiority to God—Scriptural Proof—Traditional Evidence—Original state of the Roman Church—Causes of its Primacy—Eminence of the City—False Decretals—Missions—Opposition from Asia, Africa, France, Spain, England, and Ireland—Universal Bishop—Usurpations of Nicholas—John, Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface. 152

CHAP. V: INFALLIBILITY.

Pontifical Infallibility—Its Object, Form, and Uncertainty—Synodal Infallibility—Pontifical and Synodal Infallibility—Ecclesiastical Infallibility—Its Absurdity—Its Impossibility. 187

CHAP. VI: DEPOSITION OF KINGS.

French System—Italian System—Original State of the Christian Commonwealth—Pontifical Royalty—Attempts at Deposition of Kings—Gregory and Leo—Zachary and Childeric—Continental Depositions—Gregory, Clement, Boniface, and Julius dethrone Henry, Lewis, Philip, and Lewis—British Depositions—Adrian transfers Ireland to Henry—Innocent, Paul, and Pius, pronounce sentence of Degradation against John, Henry, and Elizabeth—Synodal Depositions—Councils of the Lateran, Lyons, Vienna, Pisa, Constance, Basil, Lateran, and Trent—Modern Opinions—Effects of the Reformation. 210

CHAP. VII: PERSECUTION.

Pretensions of the Papacy—Three Periods—First Period; Religious Liberty—Second Period; Persecution of Paganism—Persecution of Heresy—Persecuting Kings, Saints, Theologians, Popes, and Councils—Crusades against the Albigenses—Inquisition—Third Period; Persecuting Doctors, Popes, Councils, and Kings—Persecutions in Germany, Netherlands, Spain, France, and England—Diversity of Systems—Popish Disavowal of Persecution—Modern Opinions. 239

CHAP. VIII: INVALIDATION OF OATHS.

Violation of Faith—Theologians, Popes, and Councils—Pontifical Maxims—Pontifical Actions—Councils of Rome and Diamper—Councils of the Lateran, Lyons, Pisa, Constance, and Basil.—Era and Influence of the Reformation. 277

CHAP. IX: ARIANISM.

Trinitarianism of Antiquity—Origin of the Arian System—Alexandrian and Bithynian Councils—Nicene and Tyrian Councils—Semi-Arianism—Antiochian and Roman Councils—Sardican, Arlesian, Milan, and Sirmian Councils—Liberius—Felix—Armenism, Seleucian, and Byzantine Councils—State of Christendom—Variety of Confessions. 296

CHAP. X: EUTYCHIANISM.

Eutychianism a verbal Heresy—Its prior Existence—Byzantine Council—Ephesian Council—Chalcedonian Council—State of Monophysitism after the Council of Chalcedon—Zeno's Henoticon—Variety of Opinions on that edict—Jacobitism—Distracted state of Christendom. 311

CHAP. XI: MONOTHELITISM.

Its General Reception—Supported by the Roman Emperor, and by the Antiochian, Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Roman Patriarchs—Its degradation from Catholicism to Heresy—The Ecthesis or Exposition—The Emperor and the Greeks against the Pope and the Latins—The Type or Formulary—Second Battle between the Greeks and the Latins—Second Triumph of Monothelitism—Sixth General Council—Total Overthrow of Monothelitism—Its partial Revival—Its universal and final Extinction. 339

CHAP. XII: PELAGIANISM.

Its Author and Dissemination—Patronized by the Asians—Opposed by the Africans—Condemned by Innocent—Approved by Zosimus—Anathematized by Zosimus—Denounced by the Asians—Censured by the General Council of Ephesus—Declension of Pelagianism—Controversy in the ninth Century—Gottescalcus against Rabanus—The Councils of Mentz and Quiercy against the Councils of Valence and Langres—Modern Controversy—Council of Trent—Rhemish Annotations—Dominicans against the Molinist—Congregation of Helps—The Jesuits against the Jansenists—Controversy on Quesnel's Moral Reflections. 554

CHAP. XIII: TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Variety of Opinions—Scriptural and Traditional Arguments—Elements accounted Signs, Figures, and Emblems—Retained their own Substance—Nourished the Human Body—Similar Change in Baptism and Regeneration—Causes which facilitated the Introduction of Transubstantiation—History of Transubstantiation—Paschasius—Berengarius—Diversity of Opinions—Diversity of Proofs—Absurdity of Transubstantiation—Creation of the Creator—Its Cannibalism. 381

CHAP. XIV: COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

Its Contrariety to Scriptural Institution—Concessions—Arguments—Its Contrariety to the Usage of the Early and Middle Ages—Concessions—Its Contrariety to the Custom of the Oriental Christians—Origin of Half-Communion—Councils of Constance and Basil—Inconsistency of the Constantian and Basilian Canons—Inconsistency of the Basilian Assembly with its own Enactments in granting the Cup to the Moravians and Bohemians—Council of Trent—Opposition to the Trentine Canons in France, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. 425

CHAP. XV: EXTREME UNCTION.

Variations on its Effects—Disagreement on its Institution—The Scriptural and Popish Unction vary in their Administrator, Sign, Form, Subject, and End—Recovery of Health the Scriptural end of Anointing the sick—Traditional Evidence—History of extreme Unction. 441

CHAP. XVI: IMAGE WORSHIP

Three Systems—One allows the use of Images—The Second patronizes their Inferior or Honorary Worship—The Third prefers the same Adoration to the Representation as to the Original—Image-Worship a Variation from Scriptural Authority—A Variation from Ecclesiastical Antiquity—Miraculous Proofs—Admissions—Introduction of Images into the Church—Their Worship—Iconoclasm—Byzantine Council—Second Nicene Council—Western System—Caroline Books—Frankfordian Council—Parisian Council—Eastern Variations—Final Establishment of Idolatry by Theodora. 457

CHAP. XVII: PURGATORY.

Its Situation and Punishment—Destitute of Scriptural authority—Admissions—Scriptural Arguments—Destitute of Traditional Authority—Admissions—Prayer for the Dead—Pagan, Jewish, and Mahometan Purgatory—Its Introduction into the Christian Community—Its slow Progress—Completed by the Schoolmen—Florentine Council—Trentine Council. 490

CHAP. XVIII: CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

Variety of Systems—Jewish Theocracy—Christian Establishment—Ancient Tradition—Introduction of Clerical Celibacy—Reasons—Greeks—Latins—Effects of Sacerdotal Celibacy—Domesticism, Concubinage, and Matrimony—Second Period of Celibacy—Opposition to Gregory—Toleration of Fornication—Preference of Fornication to Matrimony among the Clergy—Permission of Adultery or Bigamy to the Laity—View of Priestly Profligacy in England, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Peru—Councils of Lyons, Constance, and Basil. 526

FATHERS AND POPISH AUTHORS

QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

AUTHOR.	WORK.	VOL.	PLACE.	DATE.
Arbo	Sermones	1	Paris	1723
Aimon	Tractatus	1	Paris	1723
Alexander	Historia	25	Paris	1683
Ambrosius	Opera	5	Paris	1661
Amour	Journal	1	London	1664
Andilly	Vies de Saints	1	Paris	1664
Anastasius	De Vitis Pontificum	1	Venice	1729
Anglade	Maynooth Report	1	London	1827
Antonius	De Concilio	1	Venice	1828
Aquinas, (Thomas)	Summa	3	Lyons	1567
Arsdekin	Theologia	3	Antwerp	1682
Athanasius	Opera	3	Paris	1698
Augustine	Opera	10	Venice	1731
Avocat	Dictionnaire	2	Paris	1760
Barclay	De Potestate	1		1609
Basil	Opera	3	Paris	1721
Bausset	Life of Fenelon	2	London	1810
Bede	Opera	8	Colonia	1612
Bellarmine	Disputationes	3	Lyons	1587
Bentivolio	Historia	1		
Benedict	Histoire	2	Paris	1691
Bernard	Opera	1	Paris	1632
Bertram	De Corpore	1	London	1688
Binius	Concilia	9	Paris	1636
Bossuet	Exposition	1	London	1685
Bossuet	Variations	4	Paris	1747
Bossuet	Opuscules	3	Louvain	1764
Bisciola	Epitome	1	Louvain	1680
Boileau	Historia	1	Paris	1700
Bruys	Historie	5	Hague	1732
Cajetan	Opuscula	3	Lyons	1567
Calmet	Dissertations	3	Paris	1720
Calmet	Commentaire	24	Paris	1715
Canisius	Thesaurus	4	Antwerp	1726
Carranza	Concilia	1	Paris	1678
Caron	Remonstrantia	1		1665
Chrysostom	Opera	13	Paris	1724
Cedrenus	Compendium	2	Venice	1729
Challenor	Catholic Christian	1	London	1782
Chardin	Travels	1	London	1686
Clemens	Opera	2	Oxford	1715
Coquille	Discours	1	Paris	1617
Cosmas	Topographia	1	Paris	1707
Cossart	Concilia	6	Lucca	1748

AUTHOR.	WORK.	VOL.	PLACE.	DATE.
Cotelerius	Patres Apostolici	2	Amsterdam	1724
Coyne	Catalogue	1	Dublin	1735
Crotty	Maynooth Report	1	London	1827
Crabbe	Concilia	3	Colonia	1551
Cyprian	Opera	1	Oxford	1682
Cyril, (Jerusal.)	Opera	1	Oxford	1703
Cyril, (Alex.)	Opera	7	Paris	1638
Dachery	Spicilegium	4	Paris	1723
Davila	Histoire	1	Rouen	1664
Daniel	Histoire	10	Paris	1729
Durand	Speculum	3	Venice	1578
Dens	Theologia	8	Dublin	1832
Doyle	Parliamentary Report	1	London	1827
Du Cange	Glossarium	6	Paris	1733
Du Pin	Dissertationes	1	Paris	1686
Du Pin	History	3	Dublin	1724
Dellon	History	1	London	1688
Durandus	De Corpore	1	Paris	1648
Eadmerus	Vita Oswaldi	1	London	1623
Ephraim	Opera	1	Colonia	1603
Epiphanius	Opera	2	Colonia	1684
Erasmus	Opera	10	Lyons	1703
Estius	Commentaria	2	London	1653
Etherius	Adv. Alepand.	1	Antwerp	1725
Eusebius	Historia	1	Paris	1659
Evagrius	Historia	1	Cambridge	1720
Faber	Disputationes	2	Paris	1723
Fabulottus	De Potestate	1	Venice	1728
Fauchet	Traité	1	Paris	1639
Fleury	Catechism	1	Dublin	1765
Fordun	Historia	1	Oxford	1691
Gabutius	Vita Pii V.	1	Rome	1605
Gaufridus	Histoire	2	Aix	1694
Gelasius	Adv. Euty.	1	Basil	1556
Gibert	Corpus	3	Lyons	1737
Gocelin	Historia	1	London	1691
Godeau	Histoire	6	Paris	1680
Giannone	History	2	London	1729
Gother	Papist represented	1	London	1685
Gildas	Historia	1	Oxford	1691
Gregory	Opera	4	Paris	1705
Guicciardini	La Historia	2	Venice	1755
Heinricius	Annales	1	Antwerp	1725
Herman	Chronicon	1	Antwerp	1725
Higgins	Maynooth Report	1	London	1827
Hilary	Opera	1	Paris	1631
Hotman	Traité	1	Paris	1594
Houbigant	Biblia	4	Paris	1752
Hoveden	Annales	1	London	1596

AUTHOR.	WORK.	VOL.	PLACE.	DATE.
Hugo	De Corpore	1	Paris	1648
Irenæus	Contra Hæreses	1	Paris	1710
Isodorus	De Ordine	1	Paris	1723
Jacobatius	De Concilio	1	Venice	1728
Jerom	Opera	5	Paris	1706
Jonas	De Institutione	1	Paris	1723
Jovius	Historia	2	Paris	1553
Juenin	Institutiones	5	Bassano	1773
Justin	Opera	1	Paris	1636
Labbeus	Concilia	23	Venice	1728
Lactantius	Opera	1	Cambridge	1685
Limiers	Histoire	10	Amsterdam	1718
Llorente	History	1	London	1818
Launoy	Epistolæ	5	Paris	1675
Lanfranc	Opera	1	Paris	1648
Le Bruyn	Voyages	5	Paris	1725
Liberatus	Breviarium	1	Paris	1648
Lopez	Epitome	1	Antwerp	1622
Lyra	Biblia	6	Venice	1588
Mabillon	Annales	6	Paris	1713
Mageoghegan	Histoire	3	Paris	1758
Maldonat	Commentarium	1	Mentz	1596
Mc Hale	Maynooth Report	1	London	1827
Maimbourg	Traité	1	Paris	1686
Maimbourg	Histoire	1	Paris	1684
Mariana	Histoire	5	Paris	1726
Mendoza	De Concilio	1	Venice	1728
Mezeray	Histoire	6	Amsterdam	1688
Milletot	Traité	1	Paris	1639
Milner	End of Controversy	1	Philadelphia	1820
Montfaucon	Bibliotheca	1	Paris	1715
Moreri	Dictionnaire	8	Amsterdam	1720
Mumford	Scripturist	1	Dublin	1767
Malmsbury	De Pontificibus	1	Oxford	1691
Malmsbury	De Gestis	1	London	1596
More	Opera	1	Louvain	1516
Nangis	Chronicon	1	Paris	1723
O'Leary	Works	1	Dublin	1781
Origen	Commentaria	2	Paris	1679
Origen	Hexapla	2	Paris	1713
Orleans	Histoire	2	Hague	1729
Osbern	Vita Odonis	1	London	1691
Panormitan	Decretalia	4	Lyons	1550
Panormitan	Concilia	1	Lyons	1551
Paolo	Histoire	2	London	1736
Paris	Historia	1	Zurich	1589
Pascal	Œuvres	5	Paris	1819
Paulinus	Opera	1	Verona	1736
Petivius	Rationarium	2	Lyons	1745

AUTHOR.	WORK.	VOL.	PLACE.	DATE.
Pithou	Corpus Juris	1	Paris	1687
Photius	Bibliotheca	1	Geneva	1612
Platina	De Vitis Pontificum	1	Colonia	1551
Polydorus	Historia	1	Basil	1534
Procopius	Opera	1	Venice	1729
Prosper	Opera	2	Venice	1744
Quesnel	Le Nouveau Testament	4	Brussels	1702
Ranulph	Polychronicon	1	Oxford	1691
Ratramn	Contra Graec. Opp.	1	Paris	1723
Ratherius	Epistolæ	1	Paris	1723
Renaudot	Collectio	2	Paris	1716
Rhemists	New Testament	1	Manchester	1813
Rivers	Manuel	1	Dublin	1816
Sclater	Consensus	1	London	1686
Sclater	Nubes Testium	1	London	1686
Slevin	Maynooth Report	1	London	1827
Socrates	Historia	1	Paris	1668
Spondanus	Epitome	1	Mentz	1618
Theodolf	Fragmenta	1	Paris	1723
Theodoret	Opera	4	Paris	1612
Theophanes	Chronographia	1	Venice	1729
Theophylact	Commentarii	2	Paris	1635
Tertullian	Opera	1	Paris	1689
Thomassin	Discipline	2	Paris	1679
Thuanus	Historia	7	London	1773
Thevenot	Voyages	5	Amsterdam	1727
Trivettus	Chronicon	1	Paris	1723
Ulderic	Consuetudines	1	Paris	1723
Varillas	Histoire	2	Cologne	1684
Vertot	Origine	1	Hague	1737
Victor	Chronicon	1	Antwerp	1725
Vignier	Bibliothèque	3	Paris	1587
Velly	Histoire	20	Paris	1701
Ward	Speculum	1	London	1688
Walsh	History	1		16~4
Zonaras	Annales	2	Venice	1729
	Apologie	3	Antwerp	1792
	Breviarium Romanum	1	Venice	1729
	Catech. Tridentin	1	Paris	1568
	Codex Justinian	2	Lyons	1571
	Codex Theodosianus	6	Lyons	1665
	Clementinæ	1	Paris	1612
	De Primatu	1	London	1769
	Extravagantes	1	Paris	1612
	Hist. Du Wicklif	1	Lyons	1682
	Memoirs sur la Predestin	1	Amsterdam	1689
	Missale Romanum	1	Campid	1767
	Officia Propria	1	Dublin	1792
	Processionale Romanum	1	Paris	1676

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNITY OF PROTESTANTISM.

HARMONY OF THE REFORMED CONFESSIONS OF FAITH—CONSUBSTANTIATION OF LUTHERANISM—POPISH DIVERSITY ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION—DISCIPLINARIAN VARIETY—SECTARIANISM—FOOLERY OF ROMANISM—BEATA—CLARA—NATIVITY—FLAGELLISM—CONVULSIONARIANISM—FESTIVAL OF THE ASS—DECISION OF A ROMAN SYNOD—ANTIQUITY OF PROTESTANTISM—PROTESTANT NAME—PROTESTANT THEOLOGY—PROTESTANT CHURCHES—THE WALDENSIAN—THE GREEK—THE NESTORIAN—THE MONOPHYSIAN—THE ARMENIAN—THE SYRIAN.

THE unity and antiquity of Romanism, have, by its partizans, been often contrasted with the diversity and novelty of Protestantism. These topics supply the votary of papal superstition with fond occasions of exultation, triumph, and bravado. Romanism, according to its friends, is unchangeable as truth, and old as Christianity. Protestantism, according to its enemies, is fluctuating as falsehood, and modern as the Reformation. The Bishop of Meaux has detailed the pretended "Variations of Protestantism," and collected, with invidious industry, all its real or imaginary alterations. The religion of the Reformation, in the statements of this author, is characterized by mutability. Protestantism, in his account, separated, in its infancy, into jarring systems, and appeared, in the nations of its nativity, in many diversified forms. But this discordancy, it will be found, is the offspring of misrepresentation. The Reformers, in their doctrinal sentiments, exhibited a wonderful agreement. Their unanimity, indeed, was amazing; and showed, that these distinguished theologians, renouncing the vain commandments of men, and the muddy streams of tradition, had all imbibed the same spirit, and drunk from the same fountain.

The doctrinal unity of the Reformed appears from their Confessions of Faith. These were published at the commencement of the Reformation; and all, in different phraseology, contain, in the main, the same truths. Twelve of these public Expositions of belief were issued in the several European nations. These were the Augsburg, Tetrapolitan, Polish, Saxon, Bohemian, Wittemberg, Palatine, Helvetian, French, Dutch, English, and Scottish confessions. All these are printed, in Latin, in Chouet's Collection; and have been abridged and criticised by

Sleidan, Seckendorf, Brandt, Bossuet, Maimbourg, Moreri, and Du Pin, according to their diversified prepossessions and designs.

The Augsburg or Augustan Confession is the production of Melancthon, and was reviewed and approved by Luther. The Elector of Saxony, attended by a few of the German Princes, presented it in 1530 to the Emperor of Germany at the Diet of Augsburg. This confessional manifesto, which was read in the Augustan Congress, received its name from the place of its presentation; and became the standard of Lutheranism, through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The work has been criticised with the pen of prejudice by Maimbourg, and abridged with impartiality by Seckendorf, Sleidan, Paolo, Moreri, and Du Pin.[1]

The Tetrapolitan, like the Augustan Confession, was, in 1530, presented to his Imperial Majesty, at the Diet of Augsburg, by a Deputation from Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau. The ambassadors on this occasion, represented these four cities, and, from this circumstance, this public document took its appellation. This compendium was compiled by Bucer and Capito, and approved by the Senate of Strasbourg. The compilation has been epitomised, with his usual fairness, by Du Pin, from whom it extorted a flattering eulogy. This writing, says the Sorbonnist, is composed with much subtlety and address. Every article is supported by scriptural authority, and expressed in a manner calculated to impose on the reader.[2]

The Bohemian, the Saxon, the Wittemberg, the Polish, and the Palatine, soon followed the Augustan Confession. The Bohemian or Waldensian Formulary was compiled from older records, and presented, in 1535, to the Emperor Ferdinand, by the nobility of Bohemia. The Saxon, in 1551, was issued in the Synod of Wittemberg, approved by the Protestant Clergy of Saxony, Misnia, and Pomerania, sanctioned by the Princes of Brandenburg and Mansfelt, and presented, the same year, to the Council of Trent. The Wittemberg, composed by Brent, was published in 1552. The Polish was formed in the General Synod of Sendomir, in 1570, and recognized through Poland, Lithuania, and Samogitia. Frederic the Third, the Elector Palatine, in 1576, issued a Formulary, in which he conveyed an exposition of his own faith.[3]

The Helvetian Confession was issued in 1536, at Basil, in a

[1] Mez. 4. 566. Chouet, 3. Boss. 1. 98. Sleid. 1. 284. Secken. 152. Paolo. 1. 89. Du Pin, 3. 207. Moreri, 2. 561.
[2] Chouet, 215. Du Pin, 3. 207, 209. Boss. 1. 98. Sleid. 1. 285. Secken. 198.
[3] Chouet, 4. 140, 201. Alex. 17. 405. Bossuet, 1. 410. Du Pin, 3. 659. Moreri, 2. 562.

convention of the Reformed Ministry and Magistracy of Switzerland, and received, with common consent, through the Cantons of the nation. This form of belief was afterwards signed by a second assembly, held the same year in the same city. This, enlarged and improved, was again published in 1566, and extorted an unwilling eulogy even from the bishop of Meaux. The Swiss Confession, according to this author, excels all other compendiums of the same kind which he had seen in plainness and precision. The theologians of Basil, therefore, on this memorable occasion, not only promulgated their creed, but, wonderful to tell, made even Bossuet once at least in his life tell the truth.[1]

The confessions of France, Holland, England, and Scotland soon followed that of Switzerland. The French Formulary was drawn up in a national synod at Paris in 1559. Beza, in 1561, presented it to Charles the Ninth, in the colloquy of Poissy. This public document was confirmed in the national council of Rochelle, and signed by the Queen of Navarre, by her son Henry the Fourth, by Condé, Nassau, Coligny, and the synod, and recognized by the reformed of the French nation. Chouet has given it in Latin, and Laval in French. The Dutch or Belgic, written in French in 1561, and in Dutch and Latin in 1581, was confirmed in a National Synod in 1579. The English was edited in the Synod of London in 1562, and printed by the authority of the Queen in 1571. This form of belief, published for the purpose of removing dissension and promoting harmony, was approved by the dignified and inferior clergy and subscribed by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. That Formula is faithfully abridged by Du Pin. Several Confessions appeared in Scotland in different times. Knox, in 1560, composed one, which was ratified by parliament. This, however, and others, were only provisional and temporary, and sunk into neglect, on the appearance of the Formulary compiled at Westminster, which, in 1647, was approved by the General Assembly, and in 1649, and 1690, was ratified by the Scottish parliament at Edinburgh, and afterward avowed by the people.[2]

The approbation of each confession was not limited to the nation, for which, in a particular manner, it was intended. The Reformed of the several European kingdoms evinced their mutual concord and communion, by a reciprocal subscription to these forms of faith. The Saxon Creed was approved by the Reformed of Strasbourg and Poland: and the Bohemian or Waldensian by

[1] Chouet, 3, 4. Du Pin, 3. 219, 656. Boss. 1. 110. and 2. 61. Moreri, 2. 562.
[2] Chouet, 4, 99, 125. Laval, 1. 117. Du Pin, 3. 656, 661. Aymon. 1. 145, 300. 96—111. Thuan. 2. 54. Moreri, 2. 562.

Luther, Melancthon, Bucer; by the academy of Wittemberg, by the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and indeed by all the friends of Protestantism.[1] The Polish was recommended by the Waldensians and Lutherans. The Dutch was subscribed by the French National Synod of Figeac; and the French by the reformed of the Netherlands. The Swiss, united to each other in mind and communion, declared themselves undivided from the reformed of other nations of Christendom; and their confession was signed by the Protestants of Germany, Hungary, Poland, France, Belgium, England, and Scotland.

These confessional systems comprised all the topics of theology. Faith and morality were discussed with precision and perspicuity. God, the Trinity, predestination, creation, providence, sin, duty, redemption, regeneration, justification, adoption, sanctification, baptism, communion, death, resurrection, and immortality, all these subjects and many others were comprehended in these publications. The truth and duty of religion were, in these concise expositions, explained in a clear and satisfactory manner.

These doctrinal compilations represented the theology of a vast population. Protestantism pervaded Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, Germany, Transylvania, Hungary, Switzerland, France, Holland, England, Ireland, and Scotland: and visited the continents of Asia, Africa, and America. The extensive territory, in this manner, from the Atlantic to the Euxine, and from the Icy Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, witnessed the light of the Reformation, which, propagated at succeeding times by missionary zeal, reached the African and Asian continents, and crossing the interposing ocean, illuminated the transatlantic shores in a world unknown to the ancients.

The harmony of these declarations of belief is truly surprising, and constitutes an extraordinary event in the history of man. The annals of religion and philosophy supply no other example of such agreement. The several nations, let it be recollected, acted, on these occasions, in an independent manner, without concert or collusion. The one had no power or authority to control the other. The clergy and laity, besides, were numerous and scattered over a wide territory. The transaction, in its whole progress, manifested the finger of Heaven, and the overruling providence of God. The Reformed, indeed, had the one common standard of revelation. Directed by this criterion, the early patrons of Protestantism formed their faith,

[1] Lutherus hanc Valdensium Bohemorum confessionem approbavit. Eamdem laudrarant Melancton et Bucerius. Alex. 17. 406. Chonet, 3, 4, 12. Du Pin. 3 253. Boss. 1. XV. Aymon. 1 145, 157, 300.

which except on one point, to evidence human weakness, exhibited a perfect unanimity. The Zuinglian and Lutheran Confessions, says Paolo, differed in reality, only on the sacrament.[1] All these comprehensive abridgments showed, in varied diction, an astonishing unity, in the main, on all doctrinal questions, though they might differ on discipline and ceremony.

The absurdity of consubstantiation, indeed, for some time, deformed Lutheranism. This opinion, the Saxon Reformer, during his whole life, retained with obstinacy. His pertinacity on this subject, kindled the sacramentarian controversy, which awakened a series of noisy, useless disputation. These discussions afforded Bossuet a subject of empty triumph. Had it not been for this topic, on which he has rung every possible change, and which constitutes the staple commodity of his "variations," the good bishop would often have been at a woful loss.

Luther's hostility to Zuinglianism, however, has been often much overrated. This appears from the conference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians at Marpurg in 1529. Luther appeared, on this occasion, accompanied by Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brent, and Agricola; and Zuinglius by Bucer, Oecolompadius, and Hædio. Many other persons of merit and erudition attended. The Lutherans and Zuinglians both agreed in the belief of a real presence in the sacrament; but differed whether this presence was corporal or spiritual. Mutual good will and friendly feeling, however, prevailed, especially on the part of the Zuinglians. This is admitted by Maimbourg, Du Pin, Paolo, and Luther. The Zuinglians, according to Maimbourg, Du Pin, Sleidan, and Seckendorf, begged, with the most earnest entreaty, that a schism should not be continued on account of one question. The Zuinglians, according to Luther, were mild and conciliating even beyond expectation. An accommodation, said the Reformer, is not hopeless; and though a fraternal and formal union is not effected, there exists a peaceful and amiable concord.[2] All agreed to exercise Christian charity, till God should supply additional light on the subject of disputation and direct to the means of establishing unanimity. The Conference, besides, were unanimous on all other points of divinity. All, say Du Pin and Paolo, were agreed on all topics but the communion.[3] A confession was issued on the subjects of the Trinity, the incarnation, faith, baptism, justification, sanctification, tradition, original sin, vicarious righteousness, good

[1] Qui ne differoit de l'autre, que dans l'article de l'eucharistie. Paolo, 1. 81.
[2] Est, tamen placida, amica concordia. Seckendorf, 1. 136, 138.
[3] Etant d'accord sur tous les autres chefs. Paolo, 1. 82.—They differed upon none of the articles, but that of the Lord's supper. Du Pin, 3. 205.—Sleidan, VI.

works, the civil magistracy, and future judgment, and subscribed with the utmost harmony by Luther, Zuinglius, and the other theologians.

The Zuinglian communion never accounted the Lutheran peculiarity a sufficient reason for schism or disaffection. This, they professed on many occasions. The French Reformed, in the National Synod of Charenton, acknowledged, in express terms, the purity of the Lutheran faith and worship. This assembly, in 1631, declared, says Aymon, the Lutheran communion sound in the fundamentals of religion, and free from superstition and idolatry. A meeting of the two denominations in 1661 at Cassel, professed their reciprocal esteem; and, though a formal union was not constituted, expressed their mutual willingness for co-operation and cordiality. The Lutherans and Calvinists of Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland, in 1570, in the synod of Sendomir, acknowledged the orthodoxy of each other's faith, and formed a treaty of friendship and unity.[1]

The mutual friendship entertained by the Reformed of Germany, France, and Switzerland, terminated among those of Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland, in a formal ecclesiastical union. This was gloriously effected at Sendomir in 1570. A synod of Hungarian, Transylvanian, and Polish Calvinists and Lutherans met at that city, acknowledged the conformity of their mutual faith to truth and revelation, formed themselves into one body, and resolved on reciprocal co-operation against the partizans of Romanism and sectarianism. Agreed in doctrine, the synod, in the genuine spirit of religious liberty, left each church to the enjoyment of its own discipline and forms. This noble and happy compact was confirmed in the synod of Posen held in the same year; and in those of Cracow, Petrocow, and Breslaw in 1573, 1578, and 1583. Two branches of the Reformed, who had differed in one non-essential, concurred, in this manner, to form one ecclesiastical communion, and to bury in eternal oblivion, all the conflicting elements of faction and animosity.[2]

The formal junction, which bigotry had prevented, was, in 1817, effected through Prussia and Germany. The Calvinists modified the severity of predestination, and the Lutherans renounced the absurdity of consubstantiation; and both denominations, after a candid explanation, could see no remaining ground of schism. The two, in consequence, united into one body. Lutheranism and Calvinism, through the Prussian and German dominions were amalgamated, and both distinctions

[1] Aymon, 2. 501. Du Pin, 3. 699. [2] Thuan. 2. 778.

resolved into one. The two have formed one ecclesiastical community, and are called Evangelical Christians. The king of Prussia, on the occasion, showed great activity in promoting the compilation of a Liturgy, calculated to gratify the community and afford universal satisfaction. The professors of Lutheranism and Calvinism, in this manner, harmonized, and one burst of benevolence and liberality extinguished the disaffection of three hundred years.

The Bishop of Meaux has taken occasion from these mutations to triumph over Protestantism. But he ought to have known the changes of Romanism on this topic, and have feared to provoke retaliation. The friends of Popery have entertained diversified opinions on transubstantiation, which they have not accounted as essential in their system. A few instances of these fluctuations may be adduced. Gregory, Pius, Du Pin, and the Sorbonne, rejected, or were willing to modify, their darling doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Gregory the Seventh, presiding in 1078 with all his infallibility, in a Roman Synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, prescribed a form of belief on this question, which rejected, or, at least, did not mention the corporal presence. He allowed Berengarius to profess, that the bread of the altar after consecration was the true body, and the wine, the true blood of our Lord.[1] Transubstantiation and the corporal presence are here excluded. Any Protestant would sign the declaration. The Zuinglians, at the conference of Marpurg, admitted the presence of the true body and blood of Jesus in the sacrament, and their reception by those who approach the communion.[2] The same is taught in the Reformed Confessions of Switzerland, France, Strasbourg, Holland, and England. Those of Switzerland and France call the sacramental bread and wine his body and blood, which feed and strengthen the communicant.[3] Those of Strasbourg, Holland, and England represent the consecrated elements as his true body and blood, which are present in the institution and become our nourishment.[4] The doctrinal exposition of Pope Gregory and the Roman council would have satisfied any of the Reformed denominations. All these admitted all that was enjoined by the Holy, Roman, Apostolic

[1] Profitebatur, panem altaris, post consecrationem, esse verum corpus Christi, et vinum esse verum sanguinem. Cossart, 2. 28. Mabillon, 5. 125.

[2] Neque negare volunt, verum corpus et sanguinem Christi adesse. Seckend. 138.

[3] Appellari corpus et sanguinem Domini. Hel. Con. in Chouet, 67. Nos pascit et nutrit carne sua et sanguine. Gal. Con. in Chouet, 109, 110.

[4] Verum suum corpus, verumque suum sanguinem. Argen. Con. in Chouet, 240. Vero Christi corpore et sanguine alimur. Christum ipsum sic nobis præsentem exhiberi. Aug. Con. in Chouet, 119, 120.—Nos fide recipere verum corpus, et verum sanguinem Christi. Bel. Con. in Chouet, 182.

Synod, headed by his infallibility. Mabillon acknowledges the Berengarian creed's ambiguity and insufficiency.[1] The contemporary patrons of the corporal presence held the same opinion as Mabillon, and insisted on the substitution of an unequivocal and explicit confession, and the insertion of the epithet 'substantial.' This accordingly was effected next year. A new creed was issued, acknowledging a substantial change in the sacramental elements after consecration.[2]

Pius the Fourth followed the footsteps of Gregory. This Pontiff in 1560, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, offered to confirm the English Book of Common Prayer, containing the Thirty-nine articles and the Litany, if the British Sovereign would acknowledge the Pontifical supremacy and the British nation join the Romish Communion.[3] The English Articles reject Transubstantiation. The religion of England under Elizabeth, Mageoghegan would insinuate, though without reason, was composed of Lutheranism and Calvinism; but certainly contained nothing of Transubstantiation. Pius wrote a letter to the Queen, which, in the most friendly style, professed an anxiety for her eternal welfare, and the establishment of her royal dignity. This epistle, with the overtures for union, was transmitted by Parpalio the Pope's nuncio. Martinengo was commissioned by his Holiness the same year, to negociate a similar treaty. But the terms were refused by the Queen and the nation. Martinengo was not even allowed to land in Britain, but was stopped in the Netherlands.[4]

Du Pin and the Sorbonne copied the example of Gregory and Pius, and proposed at least to modify the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Wake in London and Du Pin in Paris commenced an epistolary correspondence, on the subject of a union between the English and the French church. The French doctor proposed to the English bishop to omit the word Transubstantiation, and profess a real change of the bread and wine into the Lord's body and blood. This modification, which would satisfy many Protestants, was a new modelling of the Trentine council's definition. The proposal was conveyed in Du Pin's

[1] Sub his veri corporis et sanguinis verbis æquivoca latere non immerito crederetur. Mabil. 5. 125.—Berengarius brevem fidei suæ formulam, sed insufficientem ediderat. Mabillon. 5. 139.

[2] Berengarius explicatiorem fidei formulam subscribere coactus est. Vox substantialiter ultimæ Berengarianæ fidei professioni inserta est. Mabil. 5. 139.

[3] Qu'il confirmeroit le livere de la Priere Commune. Le livre de la Priere Commune est une espece de Rituel ou Breviare, qui contient les trente-neuf articles de la religion pretendue reformée, avec la formule des prieres. Mageoghegan, 3. 379, 380, 381. Cart. 3. 393.—Heylin, 303.—Strype. 1. 228.

[4] Trasitus negatus. Alexander, 23. 230. Ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam, hac de causa, nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit. Mageogh. 3. 412.

Commonitorium. The plan, however, was not merely the act of Du Pin. The conditions of a coalition were read, and, after due consideration, approved by the Sorbonnian faculty, so celebrated for its erudition, wisdom, and Catholicism.[1] These Roman hierarchs and a French university were willing, on certain terms, to compromise or modify Transubstantiation; and the patrons of Popery, in consequence, need not exult or wonder, if Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists evinced a disposition to unite, while their opinions on Consubstantiation disagreed, and much less, when their minds, after long consideration, came to correspond.

The unity of the reformed, it may be observed, was restricted to faith and morality. Considerable diversity existed in discipline and ceremonies.[2] But these, all admit, are unessential, and, in many instances, unimportant. Discipline, it is confessed, differs among the Romish as well as among the Reformed. The Disciplinarian Canons of Trent were rejected in France and in part of Ireland; while they are admitted even in Spain only so far as consistent with regal authority. Almost every celebrated schoolman in the Romish Communion became the founder of a particular denomination, distinguished by a peculiarity of regulation and government. The Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jansenists, Jesuits, Benedictines, were all characterized by different rites, discipline, and ceremonies.

Sectarianism, indeed, has prevailed since the rise of Protestantism. Many denominations appeared after the Reformation. Arianism, Swedenborgianism, Flagellism, Southcottianism, and other errors have erected their portentous and fantastic heads. The clamor of Arianism, the nonsense of Swedenborgianism, and the ravings of Southcottianism, have blended in mingled discord and in full cry.

But all these or similar kinds of schism and heresy appeared, in all their enormity, many ages before the Reformation. Division arose in the church from its origin, in the days of apostolic truth and purity. Irenæus, who flourished in the second century, attacked the errors of his day, and his work on this subject fills a full volume in folio. These errors, in the days of Epiphanius, in the fourth century, had increased to eighty, and, in the time of Philaster, to an hundred and fifty. Their number continued to augment with the progress of time; and their systems equalled those of the moderns in extravagance. Schism and heresy prevailed to a more alarming extent, before than

[1] Du Pin, Commonitorium, in Maclaine's Mosh. App. III. Biog. Dict. 30. 473.
[2] In diversis ecclesiis quædam deprehenditur varietas in loquutionibus, et modo expositionis, doctrinæ, in ritibus item vel cæremoniis. Chouet. 12.

since the establishment of Protestantism in its present form. Later are but a revival of former errors and delusions, which flourished at a distant period, and, preserved from oblivion by the historian, swell the folios of ecclesiastical antiquity.

These illusions, however, the Reformers never countenanced, but, on the contrary, opposed. Luther and Calvin withstood the many deviations from truth and propriety, which appeared in their day, and which since that period have, in various forms, infested Christendom. The Saxon reformer exerted all his authority against the error and fury of Anabaptism in Germany; and was imitated in his opposition to turbulence by the Swiss, French, English, and Scottish Reformers, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox.

The Romish priesthood and people, on the contrary, have, in every age, fostered fanaticism and absurdity. Every foolery of sectarianism, which, though unconnected with Protestantism, arose since the Reformation, and disgraced religion, has nestled in the bosom of Popery, and been cherished by its priesthood and people. Arianism, an affiliated branch of Socinianism, claims the honor of antiquity, and was patronized by Liberius, and by the councils of Sirmium, Selucia, and Ariminum. The extravagance of Montanism, as Tertullian relates, was patronized by the contemporary Pope and rivalled the fanaticism of Swedenborgianism.[1] The Pontiff, says Godeau, gave Montanus letters of peace, which showed that he had been admitted to his communion.[2] His Holiness, says Rhenan, *Montanized.* Victor, says Bruys, approved the prophesying of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla. The mania of Joanna Southcott in modern times is eclipsed by the dreams of Beata, Clara, and Nativity.

Beata of Cuenza in Spain was born in the end of the eighteenth century in poverty and obscurity. But she aspired, notwithstanding, to the character and celebrity of a Roman saint: and for effecting her purpose, she invented a most extraordinary fiction, which, she said, was revealed to her by the Son of God. Her body, she declared, as was indicated to her by special revelation, was transubstantiated into the substance of our Lord's body. Beata's blasphemy created no less discussion in Spain than Joanna's in England. The Spanish priests and Monks divided on the absurdity. Some maintained its possibility, and some its impossibility: and the one party wondered at the

[1] Socrat IV. 21, 22. Theod. II. 39, 40. Spon. 173. II. Du Pin, 347. Bruy. 1 112. Tertul. 501.

[2] Le Pape lui avoit donné lettres pacifiques, qui montroient qu'il l'avoit admis en sa communion. Godeau. 1. 436. Bruy. 1. 49.

other's unbelief. A few, indeed, it appears, were the accomplices of her imposture. But many were the dupes of their own credulity. Beata's visionary votaries, believing her flesh and blood transformed into the substance of the Messiah, proceeded, in their folly and impiety, to adore the impostor. Her sacerdotal and lay partizans conducted her in procession, and with lighted tapers to the churches and through the streets; while these shameful exhibitions were accompanied with prostration and burning of incense before the new-made goddess, as before the consecrated host.[1] The woman, indeed, was as good a divinity as sacramental pastry. Beata's claim, in all its ridiculous inconsistency, was as rational in itself, and supported by as strong evidence as the tale of Transubstantiation. The clergy and laity of Spain, basking in the sunshine of infallibility and illuminated with all its dazzling splendor, were no less liable to deception than a few fanatics in England, guided by their own unlettered and infatuated minds.

Clara at Madrid, less assuming than Beata, aspired only to the name and distinction of a prophetess; and her claims, like those of many other impostors, soon obtained general credit. Her sanctity and her miracles became the general topics of conversation. Pretending to a paralytic affection, and unable to leave her bed, the prophetess was visited by the most distinguished citizens of the Spanish capital, who accounted themselves honoured in being admitted into her presence. The sick implored her mediation with God, for the cure of their disorders; and grave and learned judges supplicated light to direct them in their legal decisions, from the holy prophetess. Clara uttered her responses in the true Delphic style, like a Priestess of Apollo, placed on the Tripod and under the afflatus of the God, or like a seer, who beheld futurity through the visions of inspiration. She was destined, she announced, by a special call of the spirit, to become a capuchin nun; but wanted the health and strength necessary for living in a cloistered community. His infallibility, Pope Pius the Seventh, in a special brief, permitted her to make her profession before Don Athanasius, Archbishop of Toledo. The Vicar-General of God granted the holy prophetic nun a dispensation from a cloistered life and a sequestered community. Miss Clara, in this manner, was acknowledged by the head of the Romish church, while Miss Southcott was disowned by every Protestant community. An altar, by the permission of his infallibility, was erected opposite her bed. Mass was often said in her bed-room, and the sacrament left in

her chamber as in a sacred repository. Clara communicated every day, and pretended to her followers that she took no food but the consecrated bread. This delusion lasted for several years. But the inquisition at last, on the strength of some information, interfered in 1802, in its usual rude manner, and spoiled the play.[1] The punishments, however, contrary to custom, were mild. This was, perhaps, the only act of justice which the holy office ever attempted, and the only good of which its agents were ever guilty.

The Revelations of sister Nativity, with all their ridiculous folly, have been recommended in glowing and unqualified language by Rayment, Hodson, Bruning, and Milner. This prophetess, if she had little brains, had, it seems, clear eyes and good ears. She saw, on one occasion, in the hands of the officiating priest at the consecration of the wafer, a little child, living and clothed with light. The child, eager to be received, or in other words eaten, spoke, with an infantile voice, and desired to be swallowed. She had the pleasure of seeing, at another time, an infant in the host, with extended arms and bleeding at every limb. All nature, on the day of the procession, she perceived sensible of a present deity and manifesting joy. The flowers, on that auspicious day, blew with brighter beauty, and the anthems of angels mixed with the hosannas of men. The very dust becoming animated, danced in the sepulchre of the saint with exultation, and in the cemetery of the sinner shuddered with terror.

The French prophetess also amused her leisure hours in the nunnery, with the agreeable exercise of self-flagellation. The use of the disciplining whip, unknown, say Du Pin and Boileau, to all antiquity, began in the end of the eleventh century. The novelty was eagerly embraced by a community which boasts of its unchangeability. The inhuman absurdity has been advocated by Baronius, Spondanus, Pullus, Gerson, and the Roman Breviary. Baronius, the great champion of Romanism, followed by Spondanus, calls flagellation 'a laudable usage.'[2] This satisfaction, Cardinal Pullus admits, is rough, but, in proportion to its severity, is, he has discovered, 'the more acceptable to God.'[3] Gerson, in the council of Constance in 1417, though he condemned the absurdity in its grosser forms, recommended the custom, when under the control of a superior, and executed by another with moderation, and without ostentation or effusion

[1] Llorente, 559.
[2] Ille laudabilis usus, ut pœnitentiæ causa, fideles verberibus seipsos afficerent flagellis. Spon. 1056. III.
[3] Satisfactio aspera, tamen, et tanto Deo gratior. Pull. in Boileau 227.

of blood.[1] Self-flagellation, indeed, is sanctioned by the Popish church. The Roman Breviary, published by the authority of Pius, Clement, and Urban, has recommended the absurdity by its approbation. This publication details and eulogizes the flagellations practised by the Roman saints. These encomiums on the disciplinarian whip are read on the festivals of these canonized flagellators. The work containing these commendations, is authorized by three Pontiffs, and received with the utmost unanimity by the whole communion. The usage, therefore, in all its ridiculousness, possesses the sanction of infallibility.

This improved species of penance was adopted by the friendly monks of the age of the crusades, who, with a lusty arm, belaboured the luckless backs of the penitential criminals, men and women, even of the highest rank in society. The nobility, gentry, and peasantry, the emperor, the king, the lord, the lady, the servant, and the soldier, as well as the cardinal, the metropolitan, the bishop, the priest, the monk, and the nun, all joined in the painful and disgusting extravagance.[2] Cardinal Damian in 1056, brought it into fashion, and Dominic, Pardolf, Anthelm, Maria, Margaret, Hedwig, Hildegard, and Cecald, who have all, men and women, been canonized, followed Damian's example, and lacerated their backs for the good of their souls.

The Roman Breviary, already mentioned, edited by three Popes, commends many of its saints for their happy and frequent application of the whip to their naked backs. Self-flagellation, according to Pontifical authority, became, in their hands, the sanctified means of superior holiness. This roll contains the celebrated names of Xavier, Canutus, Francisca, Regulatus, Bernard, Franciscus, Teresia, and Bertrand. Xavier, the Indian apostle, wielded against his own flesh, 'an iron whip, which, at every blow, was followed with copious streams of blood.' Canutus, the Danish sovereign, 'chastised his body with hair-cloth, and flagellation. Francisca copied the holy pattern. Her saintship 'took continual pains to reduce her body to submission by frequent self-flagellation.' Regulatus, by the skilful application of the sanguinary lash, 'subjected the flesh to the spirit.' Bernardin, Franciscus, and Bertrand, following the useful example, operated with a thong on the back for the good of the soul. Teresia merits particular and honourable mention, for applying with laudable attention, these Chris-

[1] Flagellatio fiat, judicio superioris, et sine scandalo, et ostentatione, et sine sanguine. Gerson, in Labb. 16. 1161.

[2] Non modo viri, sed et nobiles mulieres verberibus seipsos afficerent. Spon. 1056. III. Boileau, 180, 307 Labb. 16. 1161. Du Pin, 2. 265. M. Paris, 90.

tian means of holy torment. 'She often applied the bloody lash' This, however, did not satisfy her saintship. She also, in addition, 'rolled herself on thorns;' and by this means, says the Breviary, the Holy Nun, blasphemous to tell, 'was accustomed to converse with God.' Her carcass, however, it seems, enjoys, since her death, the benefit of these macerations; and, 'circumfused in a fragrant fluid, remains, till the present day, the undecayed object of worship.'[1] The church, that retains such senseless and ridiculous absurdity, in a publication, reviewed by Pius, Clement, and Urban, may cease to reproach Protestantism with the acts of a few mistaken fanatics or moon-struck maniacs, who, whatever name they may assume, are disowned by every reformed denomination in Christendom.

Dominic, Hedwig, and Margaret, merit particular attention in the annals of flagellation. Dominic of the iron cuirass seems to have been the great patron and example of this discipline. He showed himself no mercy, and whipped, on one occasion, till his face, livid and gory, could not be recognized. This scourging was accompanied with psalm-singing.[2] The music of the voice and the cracking of the whip mingled, during the operation, in delightful variety.

Dominic, in the use of the whip, had the honour of making several improvements, which, in magnitude and utility, may be reckoned with those of Copernicus, Flamsteed, Newton, and La Place. He taught flagellators to lash with both hands, and, consequently, to do double execution.[3] The skilful operator, by this means could, in a given time, peel twice as much superabundant skin from his back, and discharge twice as much useless blood from his veins. He obliged the world also with the invention of knotted scourges. This discovery also facilitated the flaying of the shoulders, and enabled a skilful hand to mangle the flesh in fine style for the good of the soul.

Hedwig, and Margaret, though of the softer sex, rivalled Dominic in this noble art. Hedwig was Duchess of Silesia and Great Poland. She often walked during the frost and cold, till she might be traced by the blood dropping from her feet on the

[1] Xavier ferreis in se flagellis ita saevit, ut saepe copioso cruore diffluereet. Brev. Rom. 604.

Canutus corpus suum jejuniis, cilleiis, et flagellis castigavit. Brev. Rom. 648.

Francisca corpus suum crebris flagellis in servitutem redigere jugiter satagebat Brev. Rom. 710.

Regulatus flagellis carnem intra subjectionem spiritus continebit. Brev. 787.

Bernardinus flagellis delicatum corpus affligens. Brev. Rom. 801.

Teresia asperrimis flagellis saepe cruciaret. Aliquando inter spinas volutaret sic Deum alloqui solita. Ejus corpus usque ad hanc diem incorruptum, odorato liquore circumfusum, colitur. Brev. Rom. 1043.

[2] Psaltaria integra recitabantur. Boileau, c. 7.

[3] Se utraque manu affatim diverberasse. Boileau, 185.

snow. She wore next her skin, a hair-cloth that mangled her flesh, which she would not allow to be washed. Her women had, by force,[1] to remove the clotted blood, which flowed from the torn veins. The Duchess invented or adopted an effectual, but rather rough means of sanctification. She purified her soul by the tears which she shed, and her body by the blows which she inflicted with a knotted lash.[2]

Margaret, daughter to the King of Hungary, wore a hair-cloth and an iron girdle. She underwent not only the usual number of stripes, but made the nuns inflict on her an extraordinary quantity, which caused such an effusion of blood from her flesh as horror-struck the weeping executioners. Her devotion still augmenting during the holy week, she lacerated her whole body with the blows of a whip.[3]

Edmond, Matthew, and Bernardin, used their disciplinarian thongs on particular occasions. Edmond, who is a saint and was Archbishop of Canterbury, was solicited to unchastity by a Parisian lady. The saint directed the lady to his study, and whether from a taste for natural beauty, or more probably, to facilitate his intended flagellation, proceeded, without ceremony, to undress his enamoured dulcinea, to which, being unacquainted with his design, the unsuspecting fair submitted with great Christian resignation. He then began to ply her naked body with a whip.[4] The operation, though it did not in all probability, excite very pleasing sensations, tended, it appears, to allay her passion.

Friar Matthew's adventure had a similar beginning and end. A noble nymph, young, fair, and fascinating, disrobed her lovely person, for the purpose, probably, of unveiling her native charms; and in this captivating dress or rather undress, paid a nocturnal visit to her swain after he was in bed.[5] But this Adonis was insensible and unkind. A lash of Spanish cords, administered front and rear to her naked beauty, vindicated the Friar's purity and expelled from his apartment 'the love-sick shepherdess.'

Bernardin was tempted in the same way and preserved by the same means. A citizen of Sienna invited him to her house; and, as soon as he entered, shut the door. She then, in unequivocal language, declared the object of her invitation. Bernardin, says the story, according to divine suggestion, desired

[1] Ses femmes l'en retirassent par force. Andilly, 769.
[2] Andilly, 770. [3] Andilly, 795.
[4] Virgis cecidit, et nudatum corpus cruentis vibicibus conscribillavit. Boileau, 217.
[5] Noctu quadam, spoliata suis vestibus, ad eum in sponda jacentem accesserat. Boileau, 217. Sulcos sanguinolentos, in juvenilibus femoribus, clunibus, ac scapulis diduxit. Boileau, 218.

the woman to undress.[1] Flagellators, indeed, on those occasions, generally chose to exhibit in the costume of Adam and Eve, and, by this means, contrived to add indecency to folly.[2] The lady, accordingly, on the intimation of his will and misunderstanding his design, immediately complied. But she was soon disagreeably undeceived. Contrary to her expectations, and probably to her desire, he began to apply his whip, which he used with great freedom, till she was tired of his company and civility.

This flagellation was not peculiar to men and women. Satan, it seems, enjoyed his own share of the amusement. This, on one occasion, says Tisen and after him Boileau, was bestowed on his infernal majesty by Saint Juliana.[3] Her sister nuns, on this emergency, heard a dreadful noise in Juliana's apartment. This, on examination, was found to proceed from her conflict with Beelzebub. Her saintship engaged his devilship in a pitched battle in her own chamber. But Satan, for once, was overmatched and foiled. The saintess seized the demon in her hands, and thrashed him with all her might. Juliana then threw Belial on the earth, trampled him with her feet, and lacerated him with sarcasms. Satan, if accounts may be credited, has sometimes taken the liberty of whipping saints. Coleta, for instance was, according to the Roman Breviary, often complimented in this way. Her saintship frequently felt the effects of the infernal lash. But Juliana, for once, repaid Satan with interest for all his former impoliteness and incivility. The sainted heroine, it appears, fought with her tongue as well as with her fists and feet.[4] This weapon she had at command, and she embraced the opportunity of treating the Devil to a few specimens of her eloquence.

Dunstan, the English saint, showed still greater severity than Juliana. The Devil at one time assumed the form of a bear, and attacked the saint. Satan, in commencing hostilities, gaped and showed his teeth; but, it appears, could not bite. He contrived, however, to seize Dunstan's pastoral staff in his paws, and attempted to drag this ensign of office to himself. But this, Dunstan was not disposed tamely to resign. He chose rather to retain the weapon, and to use it as an instrument of war against his diabolical assailant. He accordingly applied it to Belial's back with such dexterity and effect, that the enemy was soon put to flight. The conqueror, also, like a skilful general,

[1] Ut se vestibus nudaret: nec mulier distulit. Boileau. 216. Sarius, 272.

[2] Nudatis corporibus, et omni stamine spoliatis, palam et in conspectu hominum se flagellare. Boileau, 222.

[3] Tisen, 60. Boileau, 270.

[4] Dæmonem, quem manibus comprehensum, quanti poterat caedebat. In terram deinde prostratum, pedibus obterebat, lacerabat sarcasmis. Boileau, 270. Brev. Rom. 700.

resolving to secure the victory, pursued the routed adversary, and thrashed with might and main. The saint, in this manner, continued his military operations till he broke the cudgel in three pieces on the vanquished Devil.[1]

Dunstan on another occasion, discovered, saint as ne was, still less mercy. Satan, or some other Devil, had the assurance to put his head through the window of Dunstan's cell, for the purpose of tempting the saint. But the demon's intrusion cost him his nose, which, it seems, was of an enormous length. His saintship heated a pair of pincers in the fire, and actuated with holy rage, seized Beelzebub's nose in the red-hot forceps. The saint then pulled in, and Belial, if it were he, pulled out, till the nose gave way: and Satan, who, during the comfortable operation, yelled like a fury and alarmed the whole neighborhood, escaped with the loss of his olfactory organ. The Devil, though the prominence of his face had formerly been nearly as large as if he had been at Sterne's promontory of noses, has been distinguished ever since by the flatness of his nasal emunctories.[2] This story is gravely told by Osbern, Ranulph, and other popish historians.

Middleton, during his visit to Rome, witnessed a procession in which the wretched votaries of superstition marched with whips in their hands, and lashed their naked backs till blood streamed from the wounds. A similar exhibition is presented at the annual return of the lent season. Men of all conditions assembled at a certain place, where whips, ready for the work, are given to the operators. The lights are extinguished. An alarm bell announces the moment for commencement. The victims of superstition and priestcraft then ply the thong, and flay their unfortunate shoulders. Nothing is heard during the tragedy, but the groans of the self-tormentors, mingled with the cracking of whips and the clanking of chains, forming, if not a very harmonious, at least a very striking and noisy concert. The comfortable operation, producing of course an agreeable excoriation, continues nearly an hour, accompanied with the vocal and instrumental symphony of groans, whips and chains.

These flagellating exhibitions were perhaps surpassed by the convulsionarian scenes, displayed in Paris about the year 1759. These frightful displays of fanaticism and inhumanity have

[1] Translatus in specium ursi consimilem hianti rictu orantem aggreditur. Fugientum belluam dirissime cædit, etc. Osbern, 105.

[2] Larvelem faciem tenaculis includit, et totis viribus renitens, monstrum introrsum trahit. Osbern, 96.

Dunstanus, forcipibus suis ignitis, nasum dæmonis comprehendit et tenuit, donec dæmone ululante factum hoc convicaneis innotesceret. Ranulph. vi. p. 270. Le Sueur, 4. 157.

been recorded by Baron Grimm with the greatest exactness, from reports taken on the spot by Condamine and Castel. These shocking and degrading transactions, countenanced by several of the Roman clergy, were continued for upwards of twenty years in the capital of his Most Christian Majesty. The convulsionaries were Popish fanatics, who pretended to extraordinary visitations of the Spirit. During these visitations, the enthusiasts of this school fell into convulsions, or, at their own request, suffered crucifixion or some other punishment.[1]

Rachel and Felicité, two pupils of the sisterhood, were actresses in the tragedy. These two maniacs suffered crucifixion, for the purpose, they said, of exhibiting a lively image of the Saviour's passion. Each was nailed to a wooden cross through the hands and feet, and remained in this situation for more than three hours. During this time, the sisters slumbered in a beatific ecstacy, uttered abundance of infantile nonsense, and addressed the spectators in lisping accents and all the silly babyism of the nursery. The nails at length were drawn; and the sisters, after their wounds were washed and bandaged, sat down to a repast in the apartment, and pretended that the operation was attended with no pain, but with transporting pleasure. They both indeed had, with wonderful self-command, suppressed all audible indications of torment by groans or murmurs. Visible marks, however, betrayed their inward misery. Their agony, especially at the drawing of the nails, appeared by various contortions, writhings, and other unequivocal tokens of internal distress.

A second exhibition consisted in the crucifixion of Fanny and Mary. Condamine, who was a spectator, on the occasion, took his description from life. Fanny suffered with the greatest heroism. She remained three hours nailed to the cross, and was shifted, during this period, into a great variety of postures. But Mary wanted faith or fortitude. She shuddered at the fastening of the nails, and, in less than an hour, shouted for relief. She was, accordingly, taken from the cross, and carried out of the chamber in a state of insensibility.

This tragedy was succeeded by a comedy. Sister Frances announced that God had commanded her on that day to burn the gown off her back, for the spiritual edification of herself and the spectators. Fire, accordingly, was, after a great deal of grimacing, set to her skirts. But her saintship, instead of experiencing consolation and delight, screamed with terror and yelled like a fury. Water, therefore, was poured on her petti-

[1] Middleton, 3. 100. Edinburgh Review for September 1814.

coats, and her ladyship, half-roasted and half-drowned, and utterly ashamed of the exhibition, was carried into another apartment.

The melody of this flagellating and convulsionarian worship, indeed, to vulgar ears, appears something harsh; and the devotion might, to common understandings, seem not very high in the scale of rationality. But the music, in the one instance, was as harmonious, and the worship, in the other, as reasonable as in the Feast of the Ass, celebrated, for some time, in the Gallican church, at Beauvais in Burgundy. The friends of this ceremony had, by their superior discernment, discovered that an ass was the conveyance of Joseph and Mary, when they fled for an asylum from Herod into Egypt. An institution, therefore, was appointed for the commemoration of the flight and deliverance, and the solemnity was a pattern of rationality and devotion.[1]

A handsome girl, richly attired, represented Mary, who, from some flattering portraits of her ladyship, was accounted a Jewish beauty. The girl, bedizened with finery, was placed on an ass covered with a cloth of gold and superbly caparisoned. The ass, accompanied with a vast concourse of clergy and laity, was led from the cathedral to the parish church of St. Stephen. The girl, who represented the mother of God, seated on the ass, was conducted in solemn procession into the sanctuary itself, and placed with the gospels near the altar. High mass began with great pomp; and the ass, who was a devout worshipper on the occasion, was taught to kneel, as in duty bound, at certain intervals, while a hymn, no less rational than pious, was sung in his praise. The holy hymn, recorded by Du Cange, is a model for elegance and devotion. The following is a translation of four stanzas of the sacred ode in the Miltonian style; though no version can equal the sublimity and sense of the inimitable original.

The Ass he came from Eastern climes,
Heigh-ho, my assy,
He's fair and fit for the pack at all times.
Sing, Father Ass, and you shall get grass,
And straw and hay too in plenty.

The Ass is slow and lazy too;
Heigh-ho, my assy,
But the whip and the spur will make him go.
Sing, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,
And straw and hay too in plenty.

* * * *

The Ass was born and bred with long ears
Heigh-ho my assy,

[1] Du Cange, 3. 426. Velly, 2. 537.

And yet he the Lord of asses appears,
Grin, Father Ass, and you shall get grass,
And straw and hay too in plenty.

The Ass excels the hind at a leap,
Heigh-ho, my assy,
And faster than hound or hare can trot.
Bray, Father Ass, and you shall have grass,
And straw and hay too in plenty.[1]

The worship concluded with a braying-match between the clergy and laity in honour of the ass. The officiating priest turned to the people, and in a fine treble voice and with great devotion, brayed three times like an ass, whose fair representative he was; while the people, imitating his example in thanking God, brayed three times in concert. Shades of Montanus, Southcott, and Swedenborg, hide your diminished heads! Attempt not to vie with the extravagancy of Romanism. Your wildest ravings, your loudest nonsense, your most eccentric aberrations have been outrivalled by an infallible church.

The ridiculousness of the asinine ceremony was equalled, if not surpassed, by the decision of a Roman Synod. His Infallibility, Boniface the Fourth, presided on the occasion. The acts of the council were published from a manuscript in the Vatican, by Holstenius, and have been inserted in the works of Du Pin and Labbé. The holy Roman Council condemned an opinion, which, it appears, had prevailed in England, that monks, because dead to the world, are incapable of receiving ordination or performing the sacerdotal or episcopal functions. The sacred synod, under the immediate superintendency of his Holiness, proved by the soundest logic, that monks are angels, and therefore proper ministers of the Gospel. The synodal dialectics supply a beautiful specimen of syllogistic reasoning. An angel, in Greek, said his Infallibility and the learned Fathers, is in the Latin language, called a messenger. But monks are angels, and therefore monks are messengers. Monks are demonstrated to be angels, by a very simple and satisfactory process. All animals with six wings are angels. But monks have six wings,

[1] Orientis partibus,
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez
Vous anrez du foin assez,
Et de l'avoine a plantez.

Lentus erat pedibus,
Nisi foret baculus,
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.

Hez, Sire Asnes, etc.
* * * *

Ecce magnis auribus
Subjugalis filius
Asinus egregius
Asinorum Dominus.
Hez, Sire Asnes, etc.

Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas et capreolos.
Super dromedarios,
Velox Madianeos.
Hez. Sire Asnes, etc.

Du Cange, 3. 426, 427.

and therefore monks are angels. The minor of this syllogism is evinced in a most conclusive manner. The cowl forms two, the arms two, and the extremeties two wings. Monks, therefore, have six wings, and, consequently are angels, which was to be demonstrated.[1] The annals of fanaticism and folly, through the whole range of Protestant Christendom, afforded no equal example of unqualified senselessness and absurdity.

Du Pin and Bruys suspect the document of forgery. The reasons of their suspicion are its nonsense, frivolity, barbarism, and illogical argument.[2] These, however, to persons acquainted with Roman Councils, are rather proofs of its genuineness. Sense, found in an ancient synodal monument, would go a great way to prove its supposititiousness. The unwieldy collection of councils, if the nonsense were subtracted, would, in a great measure, disappear from the view, and present a wide and unmeaning blank. The ponderous folios of Crabbe, Binius, Labbé and Cossart, under which the shelf now groans, would, if the sense only were retained, contract their ample dimensions and shrink into the pamphlet or the primer.

These observations show the unity of Protestantism, as well as the folly of Popery. But the antiquity of Romanism has, by its partisans, been contrasted with the novelty of Protestantism, Popery, in the language of its advocates, is the offspring of antiquity; but Protestantism, the child of the Reformation. The one originated with the first heralds of the Gospel; but the other with Luther and Calvin.

Antiquity, however, in the abstract, is no criterion of truth. Superstition is nearly as old as religion, and originated in the remotest period of time, in the darkness and profanity of the antediluvian world. Indian Braminism existed long antecedent to Italian Popery. Christianity was preceded by Judaism and Paganism, and the Christian revelation by the Grecian and Roman mythology.

The truths of the Gospel, however, must, it is granted, have been known and professed from its original promulgation; and the Christian church has existed from the commencement of the Christian era. The Gospel was proclaimed and a church planted by their Divine Author. The apostolic heralds, commisioned by His immediate authority, disseminated evangelical truth and enlarged the Christian society. This system continued for some time in all its original purity, unmixed with the

[1] Ut cherubim, monachi sex alis velantur: duæ in capitio, quo caput tegitur. Illup vero quod brachiis extenditur duas alas esse dicimus; et illud quo corpus conditur alas duas. Sacerdotales igitur monachi atque canonici angeli vocantur. Labb 6, 1358. Beda, 718.

[2] Du Pin, 2. 7. Bruy. 1. 410.

muddy influx of human folly and superstition. The friends of Protestantism, therefore should be prepared to show that their religion is no novelty; but existed from the origination of Christianity, and before the Papacy or the Reformation.

Protestantism comprises three things. These are the Name, the Faith, and the Church, or, in other terms, the Appellation, the Profession, and the People. The name, all admit, is, in this acceptation, a novelty, which originated in the sixteenth century and as late as the days of Luther. The patrons of the Reformation in Germany protested, in 1529, against the unjust decision of the Diet of Spires, and in consequence, were called Protestants.[1] An old institution, therefore, came to be distinguished by a new appellation. Protestantism, in its modern and ecclesiastical application, began to signify Christianity.

But changing a sign does not change the signification. Britain, according to the ancient appellation, is now called England, without any change in the territory. The ancients called that Hibernia which the moderns call Ireland. France was formerly named Gaul, and Columbia lately Terra Firma; whilst these divisions of the European and American continents, notwithstanding their new designations, remain the same. Boniface the Third was not transubstantiated into another man, when, according to Baronius, he assumed the new appellation of Universal Bishop. The modern Popes, on their elevation to the papal chair, change their names; but, as all confess, retain their identity. Catholicism, according to the primitive designation, began in this manner to be denominated Protestantism, for the purpose of distinguishing the simplicity of Christianity from the superstition of Romanism.

But the name, in itself, is unimportant. The sign is nothing compared with the signification. The antiquity of the PROTESTANT FAITH is easily shown. The theology of the Reformed is found in the Bible, in the fathers, in the primitive creeds, and in the early councils. Protestantism is contained in the word of God. The sacred volume is the great repository of the Reformed faith. The religion, therefore, which is written with sun-beams in the New Testament, the earliest monument of Christianity, the great treasury of revealed truth, cannot with any propriety. be denominated a novelty.

The truths of Revelation and the theology of Protestantism are contained in the early fathers. These authors indeed, according to the usual reckoning, include a vast range. The ec clesiastical writers, from Clemens to Bernard, from the Bishop

[1] Alex. 4. 566. Mageog. 2 243.

of Rome to the Monk of Clairvaux, comprising a period of eleven hundred years, have been denominated Fathers. Their works, immediately after the council of Nice, began to be infected with popery. Each succeeding author, in each following age, added to the gathering mass of error. Superstition accumulated. The filth and mud of Romanism collected, till the system of delusion, or "the Man of Sin," in all his dimensions, was completed. The post-Nicene Fathers, therefore, may, with safety and without regret, be consigned to the Vatican, to rust or rot with the lumber and legends of a thousand years.

But the ante-Nicene Fathers exhibit a view of Protestantism, in all its grand distinctions and in all its prominent traits. These, too, it must be observed, were uninspired and fallible, and therefore, display no unerring standard of truth. Many things contained in their works are exploded both by the Romish and Reformed, such as the Millenium, the administration of the Lord's Supper to infants, and the subterranean repository of souls from death till the resurrection. The errors and ignorance of the Fathers have been acknowledged by Erasmus and Du Pin, the friends of Romanism. The ancient commentators, says Erasmus, such as Origen, Basil, Gregory, Athanasius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, 'were men subject to failings, ignorant in some things and mistaken in others.' Du Pin makes a similar concession.[1] Some errors, says the Parisian Doctor, were frequent in the first ages, which have since been rejected. The ancients, he grants, varied in terms and in circumstantials, though they agreed in essentials. The errors, however, of the ante-Nicene fathers, which were many, were not the errors of Romanism. The ecclesiastical productions of three hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era, teach, in the main, the principles of Protestantism.

The Reformed also recognized the three pristine creeds. The Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian formularies of belief were adopted by the patrons of Protestantism, and have been distinguished by their general reception in Christendom. The confessions of Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Gregory, and Lucian, as well as those of Jerusalem, Aquileia, and Antioch, which still remain, though less known, are equally orthodox. All these agree, in substance, with the confessions issued immediately after the Reformation, and believed by all genuine Protestants to the present day.

The doctrinal definitions of the first six general councils,

[1] Homines erant, quædam ignorabant, in nonnullis hallucinati sunt Erasm. 5 133. Du Pin, 1. 567.

which were held at Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople, have been adopted into the Reformed theology. The Nicene, and Byzantine councils declared the divinity of the Son and Spirit, in opposition to Arianism and Macedonianism. The Ephesian, Chalcedonian, and Byzantine synods taught the unity of the Son's person and the duality of his nature and will, in contradistinction to Nestorianism, Eutychianism, and Monothelitism. All these promulgated the principles of Protestantism, and are lasting monuments of its antiquity.

A person being asked where Protestantism was before the Reformation, replied by asking in turn, where the inquirer's face was that morning before it was washed. The reply was just. Dirt could constitute no part of the human countenance; and washing, which would remove the filth, could neither change the lineaments of the human visage nor destroy its identity. The features by the cleansing application, instead of alteration, would only resume their natural appearance. The superstition of Romanism, in like manner, formed no part of Christianity; and the Reformation, which expunged the filth of adulteration, neither new modelled the form, nor curtailed the substance of the native and genuine system. The pollutions of many ages, indeed, were dismissed; but the primitive constitution remained. The heterogeneous and foreign accretions, which might be confounded but not amalgamated with the primary elements, were exploded: and deformity and misrepresentation gave place to simplicity and truth.

Popery may be compared to a field of wheat overrun with weeds. The weeds, in this case, are only obnoxious intruders which injure the useful grain. The wheat may remain and advance to maturity with accelerated vegetation, when the weeds, which impede its growth, are eradicated. The superstition of Romanism, in the same manner, like an exotic and ruining weed, deformed the Gospel and counteracted its utility. The Reformers, therefore, zealous for the honour of religion and truth, and actuated with the love of God and man, proceeded with skill and resolution, to separate Popish inventions from divine revelation, and exhibited the latter to the admiring world in all its striking attraction and symmetry.

But nothing, perhaps, presents a more striking image of Popery than a person labouring under a dreadful disorder; while the same person, restored to vigorous health, will afford a lively emblem of Protestantism. The malady, let it be supposed, has deranged the whole animal economy. Appetite and strength fail, and are succeeded by languor and debility. The disease, which works within, appears in all its disgusting effects

on the exterior, and produces emaciation, paleness, swelling, ulceration, tumour, and abscess. The whole frame, in consequence, exhibits a mass of deformity. The patient, in this state, affords a striking picture of Popery. But a physician, in the mean time, exerts his professional skill. Medical applications arrest the progress of disease, and renovate the functions of the whole human system. Every protuberance, excrescence, suppuration, and pain is removed by an unsparing application of the lancet, regimen, medicine, and aliment. The blood, in reviving streams, begins to flow with its usual velocity, and the pulse, in healthy movements, to beat with its accustomed regularity. Debility and decay give place to vigour, bloom, and beauty. The healthy subject, in this state, presents a portrait of Protestantism; and the Reformers acted the part of the physician. Religion, by their skilful exertions, was divested of the adventitious and accumulated superadditions of a thousand years, and restored to its native purity, flourishing in health, invigorated with strength, and adorned with beauty. A patient, however, does not, on the return of health, become another person or lose his identity: neither does Christianity, when reduced to its original state, change its nature or become a novelty.

The faithful existed, at the earliest period, as well as the faith; and the people as well as the profession. The churches unconnected with the Romish and rejecting the most obnoxious abominations of Popery, or professing, in all the grand leading truths, the principles of Protestantism, were, from the primitive times, numerous and flourishing. These were the Waldensians, the Greeks, the Nestorians, the Monophysites, the Armenians, and the Syrians.

Western or European Christendom was the theatre of Waldensianism. The patrons of this system were distinguished by various appellations. But the principal branches of this stock, were Waldensianism, Albigensianism, and Wickliffism. These, however, though called by several names, had one common origin and one common faith—the faith of Protestantism.

Albigensianism, indeed, has often been accused of Manicheanism and Arianism. Calumny of this kind has been very common from the Popish pen of misrepresentation against this persecuted denomination of Christians. But the imputation is unfounded, and has been refuted by Perrin, Basnage, Usher, Peyran, and Moreri. Moreri, though attached to Romanism, has vindicated the Albigensian theology from this slander with generosity and effect.[1] This charge, according to Moreri, may

[1] Moreri, 1. 234.

be refuted from the silence of original records; the admission of Popish historians; and the testimony of Albigensian confessions.

The original monuments, such as the Chronicle of Tolosa, the testimony of Bernard, Guido, and the Councils of Tours and Lavaur, in 1163 and 1213, contain no trace of this allegation. The Tolosan Chronicle contains an account of the processes against the Albigensians signed by the Inquisitors, and, in many instances, by the Bishops; but no mention is made of Albigensian Manicheanism or of Arianism. A similar silence is preserved by Bernard and Guido, as well as by the synods of Tolosa, Tours, and Lavaur, that brought several accusations against this people.[1]

The same appears from Popish admissions. The Albigensians, according to Æneas Sylvius, Alexander, and Thuanus, were a branch of the Waldensians, who, all admit, were untainted with the Manichean or Arian heresy.[2] The Albigensians, says Alexander, 'did not err on the Trinity,' and, therefore, were not Arians.[3] Bruys, Henry, Osca, and Arnold, who were the chiefs of this denomination, were never accused of these errors. Moreri, on this subject, quotes the admissions of Mabillon, Tillet, Serrus, Vignier, Guaguin, and Marca, in vindication of these injured people.[4] All these testify that the Albigensians differ little in doctrine from the Waldensians and the Reformed, who, all confess, were free from Arianism.

This calumny is repelled by the Albigensian Confessions. Several of these remain. One is preserved in Leger. The Treatise on Antichrist, written in 1120 before the days of Waldo, contains an outline of the Albigensian theology. Graverol also possessed an ancient manuscript, which detailed the persecutions of the Inquisition against the professors of Albigensianism. The Confession of Osca, who belonged to this denomination, is still extant, and contains an outline of Protestantism. The Albigensians, who were accused before the council of Lombez, made, in the synod, a public profession of their faith. All these records reject the Manichean and Arian errors, and include, in the essentials, the faith of the Reformation. The accused, at Lombez, professed their belief in one God in

[1] Bened. 14. Labb. 12. 1284. et 13. 841. Du Pin, 2, 32.

[2] Ab ecclesia Catholica recedentes, impiam Waldensium sectam atque insanam amplexi sunt. Aen. Sylv. c. 35. Albigenses Waldensium esse progeniem. Alex. 20. 268. Pauperes Lugdunenses, Albigei dicti sunt. Thuan. 1. 222. Du Pin, 1. 318.

[3] Non hi circa Trinitatis fidem erraverint. Alexan. 20. 269. Mabil. 3. 456.

[4] Ils etoient dans les memes sentimens que les Reformez. Leurs sentimens etoient les memes que ceux, qui ont eté renouvellez par Wiclef et par Luther. Moreri, 1. 235.

Ills n'y avoient pas grande difference de doctrine entre les Albigeois et Vaudois. Vignier, 3. 23a.

three persons, the Father, Son, and Spirit; and therefore disclaimed Arianism, as well as Manicheanism.[1]

A few Manicheans and Arians, indeed, who lived among the Albigensians, united, as appears from Laurentius and Guido, with the latter denomination to oppose their common persecutors. These, though differing among themselves, conspired against the Roman community, and, in consequence, were confounded by the Inquisitors. The common enemy, therefore, ascribed the errors of the one to the other. Laurentius wrote during the hottest persecutions of the Albigensians, whom he distinguished from the Manicheans and Arians. Guido was a Dominican persecutor, and wrote in the Tolosan Chronicle.[2]

The antiquity of the Waldensians is admitted by their enemies, and is beyond all question. Waldensianism, says Rainerus the Dominican, 'is the ancientest heresy; and existed, according to some, from the time of Silvester, and, according to others, from the days of the apostles.'[3] This is the reluctant testimony of an Inquisitor in the thirteenth century. He grants that Waldensianism preceded every other heresy.

The Waldensians, say Rainerus, Seysel, and Alexander, dated their own origin and the defection of the Romish Communion from the Papacy of Silvester.[4] Leo, who flourished in the reign of Constantine, they regard as their founder. Romanism, at this period, ceased to be Christianity, and the inhabitants of the valleys left the unholy communion. These simple shepherds lived, for a long series of years, in the sequestered recesses of the Alpine retreats, opposed to Popish superstition and error.

The Waldensians, as they were ancient, were also numerous.[5] Vignier, from other historians, gives a high idea of their populousness. The Waldensians, says this author, multiplied wonderfully in France, as well as in other countries of Christendom. They had many patrons in Germany, France, Italy, and especially in Lombardy, notwithstanding the Papal exertions for their extirpation.

This sect, says Nangis, were infinite in number; appeared,

[1] Pour l' essentiel, leur doctrine etoit conforme a celle des Vaudois et des Protestans Osca a laissé une confession de foi, dont les articles accordent avec la doctrine des Reformez. Moreri, 1. 234, 235. Du Pin, 325. Labb. 13. 384.

[2] Moreri, 1. 234.

[3] Aliqui enim dicunt, quod duravit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui a tempore Apostolorum. Rainerus, 3. 4.

[4] Romana ecclesia non est ecclesia Jesu Christi, sed ecclesia malignantium, eamque sub Sylvestro deficisse. Alex. 17. 368. Seysel, 9. Moreri. 8. 47.

[5] Les Vaudois se trouverent merveilleusement multipliez, tant en France qu'en autres contrées de la Chretienté. Ils avoient grand nombre des complicees et adherans, tant en l' Allemagne, qu'en France et Italie, specialement en la Lombardie. Vignier, 3. 283, 392.

says Rainerus, in nearly every country; multiplied, says Sanderus, through all lands; infected, says Cæsarius, a thousand cities, and spread their contagion, says Ciaconius, through almost the whole Latin world. Scarcely any region, says Gretzer, remained free and untainted from this pestilence.[1] The Waldensians, says Popliner, spread, not only through France, but also through nearly all the European coasts, and appeared in Gaul, Spain, England, Scotland, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Saxony, Poland, and Lithuania.[2] Matthew Paris represents this people as spread through Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Spain, and Germany. Their number, according to Benedict, was prodigious in France, England, Piedmont, Sicily, Calabria, Poland, Bohemia, Saxony, Pomerania, Germany, Livonia, Sarmatia, Constantinople, Philadelphia, and Bulgaria.[3]

Thuanus and Moreri represent the Waldensians, as dispersed through Germany, Poland, Livonia, Italy, Apulia, Calabria, and Provence.[4] Persecuted by the Inquisition, this simple people fled into England, Switzerland, Germany, France, Bohemia, Poland, and Piedmont, and became, says Newburg, like the sand of the sea, without number in Gaul, Spain, Italy, and Germany.[5]

The Diocese of Passau, it was computed, contained forty Waldensian schools and eighty thousand Waldensian population.[6] The Albigensian errors, according to Daniel, infected all Languedoc and corrupted the nobility and the populace.[7] The Romish temples, according to Bernard, were left without people, the people without pastors, and the pastors without respect.[8]

The number of the Albigensians appears from the army which

[1] Infinitus erat numerus. Nangis, An. 1207. Dachery, 3. 22.

Fere enim nulla est terra, in qua haec secta non sit. Rain. c. 4. Per omnes terras multiplicati sunt. Sanderus, VII. Infecerunt usque ad mille civitates. Cæsar. V. 21. Totum fere Latinum orbem infecisse. Ciacon. 525.

Vix aliqua regio, ab hac peste, immunis et intacta, remansit. Gretz. c. 1.

[2] Non per Galliam solum totam sed etiam per omnes pene Europae oras. Poplin. 1. 7.

[3] Albigenses in finibus Bulgarorum, Croatiae, et Dalmatiae. M. Paris, 306. Albigenses in partibus Hispaniae et illis regionibus, invaluerunt. M. Paris, 381. Ils se disperserent dans les vallées de Piemont, dans la Sicile, la Calabre, Pouille et la Boheme. L'Allemagne, qui n'en etoit pas moins remplie. Bened. 2. 243—248.

[4] Pars in Germaniam et Sarmatiam, et inde in Livoniam usque ad extremum septentrionem transmigravit. Pars in Italiam profecta in Apulia et Calabria consedit. Pars denique in Provincia nostra locis incultis et asperis latuit. Thuan. XXVII. 8. VI. 16. Ils s'en retira un bon nombre en Angleterre, en Suisse, en Boheme, en Pologne, et dans les vallees de Piemont. Moreri, 8. 48.

[5] In latissimis Galliae, Hispaniae, Italiae, Germanineque provinciis tum multi hac peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut secundum prophetam, multiplicati esse, super numerum arenae videntur. Labb. 13. 285. Newburg. II. 13.

[6] Computatae sunt scholae in diocaesi Passaviensi, 40. Rain. c. 3.

[7] Les erreurs avoient infecté tout le Languedoc, et autant corrompu l'esprit de Noblesse, que celui du peuple. Daniel, 3, 510.

[8] Basilicae sine plebe, plebes sine sacerdote. Bernard. Ep. 240.

they equipped against the crusaders. Benedict reckons the Albigensian army against Count Montfort at 100,000 men.[1] The French, according to the same historians, sent 300,000 warriors, who, under the holy banners of the cross, went to combat the heretics of Languedoc. Waldensian bravery, even according to his partial relation, withstood for near two hundred years, the vigilance of pontiffs, the piety of bishops, the zeal of monarchs, and the magnanimity of warriors; and injured the church in the west, as much as the infidels in the east. The heterodox army of the Albigensians, adds the historian, had nearly on one occasion, overwhelmed the holy warriors of the cross. Any other hero but Montfort, if Benedict may be believed, would have despaired of success and abandoned his conquests. The church could oppose to the storm only prayers, tears, and groans; while the Albigensians, in triumphant anticipation, hoped to establish heresy on the ruins of Romanism.

Waldensianism was, in anticipation, a system of the purest Protestantism, many ages before the Reformation. This, in its fullest sense, has, with the utmost candour, been acknowledged by many cotemporary and succeeding historians who were attached to Romanism. The conformity of the Waldensian with the Reformed faith may be shown from Popish statements and admissions, and from Waldensian confessions.

The following statements are taken from the unexceptionable authority of Sylvius, Petavius, Gaufridus, Serrus, Marca, Thuanus, More, Vignier, and Alexander.[2] The Waldensians, according to Sylvius, afterward Pius the Second, in his History of Bohemia, rejected the papacy, purgatory, image-worship, sacra-

[1] Il se forma une armée de cent mille hommes. Bened. 1. 6, 228, 100, 214.

[2] Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri: vanum esse orare pro mortuis: Dei et Sanctorum imagines delendas; confirmationem et extremam unctionem inter ecclesiæ Sacramenta minime contineri: auricularem confessionem nugacem esse. Sylv. c. 35. Non esse obediendum Pontifici Romano: Indulgentias nihil valere: non extare Purgatorium: sanctos non attendere precibus nostris: festa et jejunia indicta non esse servanda et alia. Petavis, 2. 225. Ils declament contre l'eglise, contre ses ceremonies, contre ses dogmes. Ils tournent sa hierarchie en derision. Ils disent, que le purgatoire est une fable, que la priere pour les morts est une illusion, que l'invocation des saints, que le culte de leurs images est une foiblesse. Gaufrid 2. 458. Ils rejettoient le culte des images, le purgatoire, merite des œuvres, les indulgences, les pelerinages, les vœux, l'invocation des saints, et le celibat des pretres. Méreri, 1. 235. Ecclesiam Romanam, Babylonicam meretricem esse: monasticam vitam ecclesiæ sentinam ac Plutonium esse: vana illius vota: ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encænia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium Satanæ commenta esse. Thuan. 1. 221. Auricularem confessionem prorsus tollunt. Docent imagines esse tollendas ab ecclesia. Indulgentias contemnunt. Docent, &c. More, 387. Ils niovent la transubstantiation et le purgatoire, disans que les prieres et suffrages des vivans ne servent de rien aux trespassez. N' attribuoyent aussi aucune authorité au Pape; méprisans toutes les traditions de l' eglise, mesmement l' institution des fetes et des jeunes, comme aussi de l' extreme onction. Vignier, 3. 283.

mental confession, extreme unction, invocation of saints, prayer for the dead, and the use of oil and chrism in baptism. Petavius represents the Christians of the valleys as opposed to the papal supremacy, indulgences, purgatory, fast, festivals, and saint-invocation. The Waldensians, says Gaufridus in his history of Provence, disseminated their poison till the origin of Lutheranism, and derided the Romish hierarchy, dogmas, rituals, purgatory, saint-invocation, image-worship, and prayer for the dead. Serrus and Marca, quoted by Moreri, mention the Waldensian rejection of the supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, indulgences, pilgrimages, festivals, tradition, image-worship, decretals of the church, intercession of saints, merit of works, and celibacy of the clergy. Thuanus details their disclaiming of the Romish church, pontiff, festivals, mass, monkery, purgatory, worship of saints, and prayer for the dead: and More and Vignier deliver a similar statement on the subject of Waldensian theology.

The following is an outline of Alexander's impartial statement, which the learned Sorbonnist supports by the testimony of the original historians, Rainerus, Seysel, Bernard, Pilichdorff, and Ebrardus de Bethunia. 'The text of the Sacred Scriptures is to be received, in opposition to traditions and comments. The Pope is the head of all errors. The sacraments are only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is not absolutely necessary for salvation. Transubstantiation or the corporal presence is unscriptural. Penance, matrimony, confirmation, extreme unction, and holy orders are no sacraments. The church erred, when it enjoined the celibacy of the clergy. Dispensations, indulgences, relics, canonizations, vigils, fasts, festivals, purgatory, altars, consecrations, incensing, processions, exorcisms, holy water, sacerdotal vestments, annual confession, modern miracles, sacred burial, and saint-invocation, all these the Waldensians despised and rejected. Remission of sin is obtained through the merits of Jesus. No sin is venial, but all are mortal. The Virgin Mary herself is not to be worshipped. The Waldensians had just thoughts of God and Jesus, and, therefore, in Alexander's opinion, were Trinitarians. Rainerus himself clears them of the blasphemy of Manicheanism and Arianism. Christian pastors, are to be ordained by the imposition of hands; and elders, besides, should be chosen to govern the people.'[1] The Parisian doctor's portrait of Waldensianism presents a picture of Protestantism taken from life.

[1] Solum Scripturae sacrae textum recipiebant. Traditiones, expositiones patrum, decreta, et decretales rejiciebant. Papa est omnium errorum caput. Duo tantum sacramenta se credere profitentur, baptismum et eucharistiam. Baptismum, ipsos

The admissions of Romish historians, bear testimony to the conformity of Waldensianism and Albigensianism, with Protestantism. This conformity has been admitted among others, by Gratius, Popliner, Alexander, Mezeray, Gaufridus, Moreri, Tillet, Serrus, Evenswyn, and Marca. The Waldensians, says Gratius, 'differed little from the Reformed in any thing.' Popliner admits 'their near approximation to the Protestant faith.' Alexander acknowledges the same conformity, and Luther's approbation of the Waldensian confession, at the commencement of the Reformation. 'The Henricians and Waldensians,' says Mezeray, 'held nearly the same dogmas as the Calvinists.' According to Gaufridus, 'the Lutherans and Calvinists praised the learning, disinterestedness, and morality of the Waldensians, and consulted them as oracles on points of religion.' Moreri, Tillet, Serrus, Evenswyn, and Marca, grant 'the agreement of the Waldensian faith, in all the principal articles with the Reformed theology.'[1]

The Waldensian Confessions, issued on several occasions, show the conformity of their principles to Protestantism. The Waldensians, who, to avoid persecution, had removed into Bohemia and Moravia, published their Confession in 1504. This formulary of belief was presented to King Ladislaus, in vindication of their character from the slanderous accusations of the Papists and Calixtines. The same people published another Confession in 1535. This was compiled from older documents, and presented by the Bohemian nobility to the Emperor Ferdinand. This celebrated production, as Alexander states, 'was prefaced and approved by Luther, and praised by Bucer and

non existimasse absolute necessarium ad salutem. Waldenses transubstantiationem non admittebant. Confessionem annuam rejiciebant. Poenitentiam ex sacramentorum numero expungebant. Matrimonium, sacramentum esse negabant. Ecclesiam errasse dicebant, cum caelibatum clericis indixit. Sacramentum unctionis extremae rejiciunt. Infirmum adhortabantur, ut certam fiduciam et securitatem remissionis peccatorum per merita Christi haberet. Sacramentum ordinis rejiciebant. Dispensationes ecclesiae et indulgentias respuebant. Sanctorum invocationem impugnabant reliquias, translationes, canonizationes, vigilias, festivitates sanctorum contemnebant. Miraculis nullam adhibebant fidem. Electos Dei, immo, ipsam Christi genetricem honorandos negabant. Purgatorium negabant. Ecclesias, altaria, eorum consecrationes, ornatum et supellectilem, sacerdotalia indumenta, luminaria, thurificationes, aquam benedictam, processiones, aliosque sacros ritus rejiciebant et deridebant. Sacram sepulturam nihili faciebant. Exorcismos impugnabant. Ecclesiastica jejunia, quasi idolatriam et superstitionem redolentia aversabantur. Nullum veniale peccatum, sed omnia mortalia. Waldenses puros de Deo et Christo recte sensisse. Rainerus ipsos a Manichaeorum et Arianorum blasphemiis absolvit. Waldenses pastores habebant; ad praedicandi munus, impositione manuum admittebantur. Seniores praeterea ad regendum populum eligebant. Alex. 17. 370—388.

[1] Non multum alicubi dissentiunt ab iis. Gratius in Fascicul. 85. Doctrinam suam ab eo quam hodie Protestantes amplectuntur parum differentum disseminarunt. Popliner, 1. 7.

Melancthon.[1] Oecolompadius, Beza, and Bullinger, also recognized these people, though despised and persecuted, as a constituent part of the great Christian Commonwealth. The Lutherans and Zuinglians, in this manner, acknowledged the Waldensians as Christians, and their faith as the truth of the Gospel. The Waldensians also published a Confession in the reign of Francis the First. This, in 1544, was followed by another, which, in 1551, was transmitted to the French King and read in the Parisian Parliament. All these are in strict harmony with the Reformed Theology; and all breathe the spirit and teach the truths of Christianity.[2] This same people, as late as in 1819, in a Confession found among the manuscripts of Peyran, declared their adherence to the doctrines of the churches of England, Netherlands, Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, Poland, and Hungary; and entreated these communions and others settled in America, to regard them, though few and destitute, as members of the same ecclesiastical body.

The sanctity of Waldensian morality corresponded with the purity of the Waldensian faith. The piety, benevolence, innocence, and holiness of this people have challenged the esteem and extorted the approbation of friend and foe, of the protestant, the papist, and even the inquisitor. Many partizans of popery have concurred with the patrons of protestantism in their eulogy. The following character of this people is taken from Rainerus, Seysel, Lewis, Hagec, Alexander, Labbé, Gaufrid, and Thuanus.

Rainerus, quoted by Alexander, admits 'their show of piety and integrity before men.' This is pretty well for a Dominican Inquisitor, who discovered, however, that Waldensian piety was mere dissimulation. But Rainerus also acknowledges 'their sobriety, modesty, chastity, and temperance, with their aversion to taverns, balls, vanity, anger, scurrility, detraction, levity, swearing, and falsehood. He grants their attention, men

[1] Quod nunc, quoque, Calvinistae nostri faciunt. Alex. 17. 375.

Lutherus hanc Valdensium Bohemorum Confessionem approbavit. Alex. 17. 401.

Henericiens et Vaudois tenoient a peu pres les memes dogmes que les Calvinistes. Mezeray, 2. 577. Les Lutheriens et les Calvinistes commencerent a louer leur maniere de vivre: leur disinteresement, leurs lumieres. On commenca a les consulter comme des oracles sur les points de la religion. Gaufrid. 2. 458.

Leur doctrine est conforme a celle des reformez, dans les principaux articles. Moreri, 8, 48. Tillet croit qu'ils etoient dans les memes sentimens que les Reformez. Serres declare que leurs sentimens etoient les memes que ceux qui ont ete renouvellez par Wiclif et par Luther. Moreri, 1. 235.

Evenswyn dit que les Albigeois etoient dans les memes sentimens que les Reformez. Marca parle des Albigeois à peu pres de la meme maniere que les Reformez. Moreri, 1. 235.

Præfatus est honorifice Lutherus. Alex. 17. 405, 406.

[2] Du Pin, 3, 250. Thuan. 2. 82. Benedict, 260.

and women, young and old, night and day, to learning or teaching; and he had seen a Waldensian rustic, who repeated Job, word for word, and many who perfectly knew the whole of the New Testament.'[1]

Seysel acknowledged 'their purity of life, which excelled that of other Christians.' Lewis, the French King, asserted 'their superiority, both to himself and to his other subjects, who were professors of Catholicism.' Hagec admits 'their simplicity of habits and their show of piety,' under which, however, his penetration enabled him exclusively to discover 'their miscreancy.' His eyes must have been very clear to discern miscreancy through such distinguished simplicity and piety. Alexander pourtrays 'their disposition to love their enemies, to live, if possible, in peace with all men, and, at the same time, to avoid revenge, judicial litigation, love of the world, and the company of the wicked.' Alexander, also vindicates the Waldensians from the calumny of Ebrard and Emeric, who had accused them of avarice, lewdness, and unchastity. Labbé, like Rainerus and Hagec, allows the Waldensians 'a pretended show of piety.' The Jesuit, of course, must, like the inquisitor and the historian, have been a notable discerner of hearts. Gaufridus mentions 'their industry, which, in a superior manner cultivated the lands and increased the national revenue.' Thuanus records 'their detestation of perjury, imprecations, scurrility, litigation, sedition, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, divination, sacrilege, theft, and usury.' He mentions their chastity, which they accounted a particular honour, their cultivation of manners, their knowledge of letters, their expertness in writing, and their skill in French. A boy could scarcely be found among them, but, if questioned on his religion, could, with readiness, give a reason for his faith. Tribute, they paid with the utmost punctuality; and if prevented for a time by civil war, they discharged this debt on the return of peace.'[2]

[1] Magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivunt. Sunt in moribus, compositi et modesti. Casti etiam sunt, maxime Leonistæ, temperati in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent. Cavent a scurrilitate, detractione, verborum levitate, mendacio, et juramento. Omnes, viri et fœminæ, parvi et magni, die noctuque docent vel discunt. Vidi quendam rusticum, qui Job recitavit, de verbo ad verbum; et plures, qui totum Novum Testamentum perfecte sciverunt. Rain. c. 4, 7, 9. Alex. 17, 38, 390, 393.

[2] Puriorem quam cæteri Christiani vitam agunt. Seysel, 92. Alex. 17. 387.

Me et cætero populo meo Catholico, meliores illi viri sunt. Camer. 419. Ils savoient cacher leur mechanceté sous des habits fort simples, et sous une grande apparence de pieté. Hagec, 550. Lenfan. 1. 10.

Has conversationis externæ regulas proponebant. Mundum non diligere, malorum consortium fugere, pacem habere cum omnibus, quantum fieri potest, non contendere in judicio, non ulcisci injurias, inimicos amare. Alex. 17. 399

The Waldensians, notwithstanding the sanguinary persecutions of Romanism, still exist, and still are persecuted in their native valleys. A population of twenty thousand always remain, and exhibit, to an admiring world, all the grandeur of truth and all the beauty of holiness. Their relics still show what they have been, and they continue unaltered amid the revolution of ages. The world has changed around this sacred society; while its principles and practice, through all the vicissitudes of time, live immutably the same. The Waldensian church, though despised by the Roman hierarchy, illuminated, in this manner, the dark ages; and appears, in a more enlightened period, the clearest drop in the ocean of truth, and shines the brightest constellation in the firmament of holiness; sparkles the richest gem in the diadem of Immanuel, and blooms the fairest flower in the garden of God.

Romanism, renounced, in this manner, in the West by the Waldenses, was opposed in the East by the Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians, and Syrians. The Greeks occupy European Turkey and the Mediterranean Islands; and are dispersed, though in fewer numbers, through Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia, Palestine, Georgia and Mingrelia. The religion of the Greek Church is also the religion of European and Asiatic Russia, comprehending a territory more extensive than the empire of Alexander or Tamerlane. The Greeks, as they possess an extensive country, comprehend a numerous people. The patriarch of Constantinople, says Allatius, quoted by Thomassin, governed, in the eleventh century, sixty-five Metropolitans and more than six hundred bishops.[1]

The Greeks, indeed, agree not with modern Protestants in all things. Some of the Orientals had drunk more and some less from the muddy fountain of human invention, according to the period of their connexion with the Romish communion. The Greeks continued longest in conjunction with the Latins; and in consequence, have imbibed most corruption. The assimilation indeed between the Greek and Latin communions is, in many points, close and striking. The Greeks, however, concur to a man, in opposing Papal usurpation and tyranny; in denying that the Romish is the true church; and in condemning the dogmas of

Popinarum frequentationem prohibebant. Alex. 17. 389. Praetenta specie pietatis. Labbeus, 13. 285. Ils s'appliquerent a cultiver la terre avec tant d'industrie, que les Seigneurs en augmenterent considerablement leurs revenus. Gaufride, 2. 458. Omnem a se ac suis coetibus iniquitatem eliminare illicitas dejerationes perjuria, diras, imprecationes, contumelias, rixas, seditiones, &c. Thuan. 2. 85, 89, 91.

[1] Le Patriarche de Constantinople dominoit encore à soixante-cinq Metropolitains, et a plus de six cens evesques. Tho. Part IV. 2. 17. Allat. I. 24.

purgatory, supererogation, half-communion, human merit, clerical celibacy, prayers for the dead, and restricting the circulation of the Bible. The Greeks excommunicate the Roman pontiff and all the Latin episcopacy, as the abettors of schism and heresy. Prateolus, Fisher, More, Renaudot, Guido, Innocent, Bellarmine, and Aquinas confess the Grecian disbelief in purgatory and in the utility of supplications for the dead. Their rejection of confirmation and extreme unction is testified by Simon; while their belief in the divine obligation of communicating in both kinds is declared by Simon, Prateolus, and More. Thevenot and Le Bruges testify the Greek proscription of purgatory, the pontifical supremacy, and communion in one kind.[1]

The Greeks have shewed great resolution in opposing papal despotism. Thomassin complains of their peculiar unwillingness, beyond all the other Orientals, to acknowledge the pontifical supremacy. Matthew Paris deprecates their open or concealed hostility, on all occasions, to Romanism, and their blasphemy against its sacraments. Baldwin, the Grecian Emperor, honored the Latins with the name, not of men, but of dogs; and this seems to have been their common appellation for all the partisans of popery. The Greeks, says the Lateran Council, detest the Latins, rebaptize those whom they admit to their communion, and wash the altars on which the Romish clergy celebrate mass, and which, in their mind, had been polluted with the defilement of the popish sacrament.[2]

The Mingrelians, who belong to the Greek church, appear

[1] Ils ne reconnoisent point absolument la primanté de Pape. Ils nient que l' eglise Romaine soit la veritable eglise. Ils excommunient le Pape, et tous les evêques Latins, comme Heretiques et schismatiques. Simon c. 1. Graeci omnes Latinos, excommunicatos reputant. Canisius, 4. 433.

Docent nullum purgatorium. Prateol. VII. Græcis ad hunc usque diem, non est creditum purgatorium esse. Fisher, Art. 18. Docent esse nullum purgatorium locum. More, 199. Nec tertium illum locum, quem purgatorium appellamus agnoscunt. Renaudot, 2. 105. Idem tribuitur Graecis a Guidone. Bell. 1. 1370. Locum purgationis hujusmodi dicunt (Graeci) non fuisse. Innocent, 4. Ep. ad Otton. Du Fresne, 5. 931. Credibile est, Graecos de hac haeresi saltem suspectos fuisse; nam B. Thomas, in opusculo contra Graecos, refellit etiam hunc errorem. Bell. 1. 2. Docent etiam nihil prodesse defunctis orationes. More, 200. Ils ne reçoivent point la confirmation ni l' Extreme onction. Simon, c. 1. Esse necessario sub utraque specie, panis scilicet et vini, communicandum. More, 199.

Les Grecs n 'admittent point de purgatoire. Ils ne reconnoisent point le Pape pour chef de l' eglise. Ils communient sous les deux especes. Ils rejettent ' purgatoire. Le Bruyn, 1. 338, 339, c. 13.

[2] Toutes ces Eglises Chrestiennes, excepté la Greque, on paru extremement disposées a reconnoitre la primanté du Saint Siege. Thom. I. 5.

Graeci, in malitia sua, perseverant, qui ubique, aut latenter aut aperte, ecclesiae Romanae contradicunt. Omnia sacramenta nostra blasphemant. M. Paris, 426.

Vocabant eos canes. Cossart, 3. 21. Graeci coeperunt abominari Latinos. Labb. 13. 938. Altaria sua, supra quae Latini celebraverunt divina, abluere consueverunt. Canis. 4. 433. Les Grecs ont une grande aversion pour l' eglise Romaine. Ils ont la messe des Romains en grande aversion. Le Bruyn, 1. 327. c. 13.

to disbelieve transubstantiation. Sir John Chardin, while on his travels in Mingrelia, asked a priest, if the sacramental bread and wine became the body and blood of our Lord. The priest, on the occasion, laughed, as if the question had been intended in raillery. The simple Mingrelian, in the exercise of common sense, could not understand how the Mediator between God and man could be compressed into a loaf, or why he should descend from heaven to earth.[1]

The Nestorians overspread Asiatic Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Tartary, India, and China. Their number and extent will appear from the statements of Cosmas, Vitricius, Canisius, Polo, Paris, Godeau, and Thomassin. Cosmas, in Montfaucon, represented the Nestorian churches, in the sixth century, as infinite or unnumbered. Vitricius records the numerical superiority of the Nestorians and Jacobites over the Greeks and Romans. Canisius, from an old author, gives a similar statement. Polo, the Venetian, who remained seventeen years in Tartary, and was employed by the Cham on many important commissions, testifies the dissemination of Nestorianism through Tartary, China, and the empire of the Mogols. Matthew Paris relates the spread of the Nestorian heresy through India, the kingdom of Prester John, and the nations lying nearer the East. Godeau mentions the extension of Nestorianism through the East, and its penetration into the extremity of India, where it remains to the present day. Thomassin attests its diffusion through India, Persia, and Tartary, and its multiplication in the North and East, nearly to infinity.[2]

The Jacobites or Monophysites are divided into the Asiatics and Africans. The Asiatics are diffused through Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia; and the Africans through Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia. The vast number of this denomination, and the extensive territory which they have occupied, may be shown from the relations of Vitricius, Paris, Canisius, and Thomassin.

Vitricius records the dissemination of the Monophysite contagion through more than forty kingdoms. The Patriarch of

[1] Chardin, 1. 100.

[2] Ecclesiae Infinitae sunt. Montfaucon, 2. 179. Orientalem regionem, pro magna parte, infecit. Canisius, 4. 433. Qui cum Jacobinis, plures esse dicuntur, quam Latini et Græci. Vitricius 1. 76. Les Nestoriens avoient plusieurs eglises dans la Tartarie, dans le pais des Mogols, et dans la Chine. Thom. 1. 4. Part 4. Nestoriana hæresis per Indiam Majorem, et regnum sacerdotis Johannis, et per regna magis proxima orienti dilatatur. M. Paris, 425. Ils se repandit dans tout l'Orient, et penetra jusqu' aux extremitez des Indes. Godeau, 3. 354. Ils s'entendirent jusques dans les Indes, la Perse, et la Tartarie. Thom. 2. 20. Part IV. Ils s'y multiplierent presque a l'infini vers l'orient et le Nord. Thom. 1. 375. Bayle, 3. 2079.

the Jacobites, says Matthew Paris, superintends the Chaldeans, Medians, Persians, Armenians, Indians, Æthiopians, Lybians, Nubians, and Egyptians. These, mingled with the Saracens or fixed in their own settlements through Asia, Africa, and the East, occupy more than forty kingdoms, containing an innumerable Christian population. Canisius, from the manuscript of an anonymous historian, has transmitted a similar account. The Jacobites, according to Thomassin, spread, under the empire of the Saracens, through all Asia and Africa. The patriarch of Antioch presides over the Metropolitans of Jerusalem, Mosul, Damascus, Edessa, and Cyprus. The patriarch of Alexandria and Abyssinia presides over Egypt, Æthiopia, and Nubia.[1] Abyssinia boasts a Christian empire and establishment. Jowett, the missionary, found in Siout, an Egyptian city, about 5000 Coptic Christians.

The Jacobites reject the supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, half-communion, auricular confession, extreme unction, the Latin Liturgy, and the seven sacraments. The usurped authority of the Roman Hierarch, they view with contempt. Their communion in both kinds, as well as their rejection of confirmation and extreme unction, are testified by Dresser and Godeau. Canisius, from an old author, in his Lections, and Moreri show the Jacoban disbelief of purgatory. The Monophysan Missal, cited by Geddes, disclaims transubstantiation. According to this document, 'the bread and the wine are distinct from our Lord in nature, but the same in power and efficacy. His body is broken, but only by faith.' An Abyssinian or Monophysan priest expressly declared against transubstantiation to Bruce. 'The Priest,' says this author, 'declared to me with great earnestness, that he never did believe that the elements in the Eucharist were converted into the real body and blood of Christ. He said, however, that he believed this to be the Roman Catholic faith, but it never was his, and that he conceived the bread was bread and the wine was wine even after consecration.' Vitricius attests their rejection of auricular confession. Their disuse of the Latin Liturgy is well known; and their renunciation of confirmation, confession, and extreme unction, shows their opinion of the seven sacraments.[2]

[1] Patriarcha Jacobitarum præest Chaldaeis, Medis, Persis, et Armeniis. Septuaginta provinciæ ei obediunt, in quibus habitant innumerabiles Christiani. Huic subdita est Minor India, Aethiopia, Lybia, cum Aegypto. Occupaverant Nubiam et omnes regiones usque in Indiam, plusquam quadraginta regna. Paris, 425, 426

Jacobini majorem partem Asiæ inhabitant. Conterminata Aegypto, magnam partem Aethopiæ et plures regiones usque in Indiam Citeriorem, plura regna possident. Canisius, 4. 433 Cette secte s'entendit dans toute l'Asie et l'Afrique. Thom. 2. 20. Vitricius, 1. 75. Renandot, 1. 375, 438, 440.

[2] Sacramentum integrum, tam clerici quam laici, accipiunt. Dress. 525.

The Nestorians were said to divide the person of the Son, and the Jacobites to confound his natures. But this controversy, as the ablest and most candid theologians and historians admit, was a dispute about words. This is the opinion of the Protestant historians, Mosheim, Bayle, Basnage, La Croze, Jalonsky, and Buchanan. Many Romish as well as Reformed critics entertained the same opinion. This was the judgment of Simon, Bruys, Assemanni, Tournefort, Gelasius, Thomassin, and Godeau. Nestorianism, says Simon, is only a nominal heresy, and the controversy originated in a mutual misunderstanding. Bruys, Assemanni, Tournefort, and Gelasius speak to the same purpose. Thomassin calls the Jacobites, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, Demi-Eutychians, who rejected the extravagant imaginations of the original Monophysites. Modern relations, says this author, show that the Jacobites confounded not the godhead and manhood of the Messiah, but represented these as forming one person, without confusion, in the Son, as soul and body in man. The Abyssinians, who are a branch of the Monophysites, disbelieve, says Godeau, any commixture of Deity and humanity in the Son of God.[1]

The Armenians are scattered through Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Persia, India, Cyprus, Poland, Turkey, Transylvania, Hungary, and Russia. Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan, is, say Renaudot and Chardin, entirely inhabited by this denomination. This colony amounted to 30,000 persons. Abbas, the Persian monarch, contemporary with Elizabeth of England, invited, says Walsh, the Armenians to settle in his dominions, where he gave them every protection. Twenty thousand families were placed in the province of Guilam. Forty thousand reside in India, and carry on a great part of the inland trade. Two hundred thousand of them remain in Constantinople, in the adjoining villages, and on the Bosphorus.[2]

The Armenian merchants are distinguished for their industry, frugality, activity, and opulence. Fixing their settlements in every principal city and emporium of Asia, the Arminians, says

Ils communient sous les deux especes. Ils ne pratiquent ni la confirmation, ni l' extreme unction. Godeau, 1. 275.

De Purgatorio nil credunt. Canis. 4. 434. Les Jacobites ne croyent pas le purgatoire. Moreri, 8. 429.

O Christe, sicut in pane et vino naturæ sunt a te distinctæ, in virtute et potentia idem sunt tecum. Corpus frangimus, sed tantum per fidem. Gedd. 169.

Confessiones peccatorum suorum, non sacerdotibus, sed soli Deo latenter faciunt. Vitricius, 1. 76. Bruce V. 12.

[1] Bayle, 2077. Simon, c. 9. Bruys, 1. 207. Assem. 291. Tourn. 2. 297. Gel. de duob. Thom. 2. 21. Godean, I. 275.

[2] Abbas Magnus Armenorum Julfæ prope Ispahanam, coloniam constituit, etc. Renaud. 2. 376. Chard. 2. 97.

Buchanan, are the general merchants of the East, and in constant motion between Canton and Constantinople. Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have each an Armenian church. Tournefort extols their civility, politeness, probity, sense, wealth, industry, and enterprising disposition. Godeau reckons the Armenian families, under one of the Armenian patriarchs, at more than 1500. The Armenian patriarch of Antioch, says Otho, superintends more than a thousand bishops, and is, in consequence, called Universal. He governs, says Vitricius, twenty provinces and fourteen metropolitans, with their suffragans, who occupy, according to Thomassin, many churches through all the East, in Mesopotamia, Persia, Caramania, and Armenia.[1]

This denomination, beyond all the Christians in Central Asia, have repelled Mahometan and Romish superstitions. True to their ancient faith, they have nobly resisted the oppression of Islamism, and the allurements of popery. Preserving the Bible, their faith, says Buchanan, is a transcript of biblical purity. The Armenians condemn the Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Image-worship, Clerical Celibacy, the Seven Sacraments, the Latin Liturgy, the power of the Sacraments to confer grace, the observance of Vigils and Festivals, and the withholding of the Bible from the laity. Their re-baptism of papists who join their communion, as mentioned by Godeau and More, is a sufficient evidence of the opinion which they entertain of the Supremacy and of Romanism. The uncatholicism and falsehood of popery besides, is, says More, one of their professed dogmas. Their disbelief of the real presence in the Communion, except in sign and similitude, is acknowledged by Godeau, Guido, and More. Their denial of purgatory and prayers for the dead is admitted by Godeau, More, and Canisius; while Nicetas, Baronius, and Spondanus proclaim the Armenian renunciation of image-worship. The Armenians, according to Godeau, ordain only married men to the priesthood, and detract from the Sacraments the power of conferring grace. Thevenot attests their rejection of purgatory and the pope, as well as their great enmity to all the professors of Romanism.[2]

[1] Les familles, qui sont sous sa jurisdiction excedent le nombre de quinze cens mille. Godeau, I. 273. Le patriarche des Armeniens etoit appellé Catholique ou Universel, parcequ'il avoit plus de mille evêques sous sa juridiction. Thomassin, 1. 4. Labbeus, 12. 1572. Habet sub se viginti provincias Antiochenus Patriarcha, quarum quatuordecim Metropolitanos habebant, cum sibi suffraganeis Episcopis. Vitricius, c. 23. Ils occupent presentement plusieurs eglises dans tout l'orient, dans la Mesopotamie, la Perse, la Caramanie, et dans les deux Armenies. Thom. I. 4. part 4. Spon. 1145 IV.

[2] Ils rebaptizent les Catholiques Romains qui viennent a leur communion.

The Syrian Christians who agree in faith with the Reformed, inhabit India, where Travancore and Malabar constitute their chief settlements. These had occupied Western India from the earliest ages, and had never heard of Romanism or the Papacy till Vasco De Gama arrived at Cochin in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The infernal spirit of Popery and persecution then invaded this ancient church, and disturbed the tranquillity of 1200 years.[1] The Syrians on the sea-coast yielded, for a time, to the storm. But the inland inhabitants, in support of their ancient religion, braved all the terrors of the inquisition with unshaken resolution.

The Syrians constitute a numerous church. Godeau reckons the Syrian population of Comorin, Coutan, Cranganor, Malabar, and Negapatam at 16,000 families, or 70,000 individuals.[2] But the multitude is greater towards the west, the north, and the city of Cochin.

The antiquity of the Syrian church reaches beyond that of Nestorianism, Jacobitism, or Armenianism, and this appears in the purity and simplicity of their theology. Godeau admits their reading of the New Testament in the Syrian tongue in their churches; and their rejection of extreme unction, image-worship, and clerical celibacy. The Syrians, says Moreri as well as Thomas, quoted by Renaudot, neither believe purgatorial fire nor pray for the dead. These Indian Christians, says Renaudot, celebrate the communion in Syriac, and reckon, says Canisius, all the Latins excommunicated.[3]

But the Synod of Diamper, in which Menez, Archbishop of

Godeau, 1. 273. Rebaptizant eos, qui jam simul baptisma susceperunt in ecclesia Romana. More, 62. Apud Latinos, non esse veram et catholicam ecclesiam affirmans. More, 62. Ils nient la presence reelle du corps de Jesus Christ en l'eucharistie. Godeau, 1. 272. Non credunt quod sit sub specieibus panis et vini vere et realiter verum corpus et sanguis Christi, sed tantum in similitudine et signo Guido, c. 22. Negant illi verum Christi corpus realiter in sacramento Eucharistiæ sub panis, et sanguinem sub vini speciebus contineri. More, 62 Ils rejettent le purgatoire, et la priere des morts. Godeau, 1. 273. Nullam esse purgatorium locum. More, 63. De purgatorio nil credunt. Canisius, 4. 434. Sacras imagines non adorabant. Spond. 863. V. Ils n'admittent au sacerdoce que les hommes mariez. Godeau, 1. 273. Ils otent aux sacremens la vertu de conferer la grace. Godeau, 1. 273. Ab omnibus sacramentis, virtutem conferendi gratiam tollunt. More, 62. Negant in nuptiis contrahendis aliquod esse sacramentum. More, 63. Armeni in vulgari sermone Divinas Scripturas pronunciant. Vigilias et festa sanctorum non sanctificant. Canisius, 4. 434.

Les Armenieus n'admittent point de purgatoire. Ils ne réconnoissent point le Pape. Ils sont universellement grands ennemis de tous ceux qui professent la foi Catholique Romaine. Thevenot, 3. 396.

[1] Coss. 6. 83.

[2] On faisoit monter a quinze ou seize mille familles, ou a soixante et dix mille personnes. Il y en avoit une plus grande multitude, &c. Godeau, 1. 270.

[3] Ils n'avoit en usage le sacrement de l'Extreme-Onction, ni des images des saints. Leurs prêtres pouvoient se marier une fois. Le Nouveau Testament se

Goa, presided, affords unexceptionable evidence of the opposition of the Syrian church to Popery, and of its agreement, in every essential, with Protestantism. The acts of this synod are inserted in Cossart's collection, and supply the following statements. 'The Babylonian patriarch is independent of the Roman pontiff, and the Syrian church of the Papal communion. The Son of God conferred no authority on Peter above his apostolic fellows. The Romish communion has renounced the faith and fallen into heresy. The Popish theology is a system of falsehood, which was propagated through Christendom, by the arms and enactments of the Roman emperors.

'Transubstantiation is an absurdity. The body of Jesus is not in the host, and is only in heaven. The bread and wine are the emblems of his body and blood, from which they differ as a picture from the original. The Sacramental elements are the Lord, not in reality but in appearance, not in substance but in efficacy. When Menez elevated the host, the Syrians shut their eyes lest they should see the object of idolatry.

'Images are not to be venerated. These hateful and filthy idols are to be excluded from the churches and houses of the faithful.' When Menez exhibited an image of the Virgin Mary, the people cried, 'away with this abomination. We are Christians, and do not worship idols.'

'Matrimony, confirmation, and extreme unction are no sacraments. The Syrians had no knowledge of confirmation; and regarded it, when proposed by the Metropolitan of Goa, not only as superfluous and unnecessary, but as an insult. The Syrian clergy administered no extreme unction, and were ignorant of its supposed institution, use, and efficacy. The Syrian laity practised no auricular confession. The Syro-Indian church used no holy oil, either in baptism or in any other ceremony. Menez, the Popish metropolitan, ordered baptism to be administered according to the Roman ritual; a certain token that the chrism, exorcism, spittle, and other ridiculous superstitions of Romanism in the administration of this sacrament had been unknown in this ancient communion. Sacerdotal celibacy was no institution of Syrian discipline. The clergy married, and sometimes even widows.' Such is the Synod of

lisoit dans leur eglises en langue Syriaque. Godea. 1. 270. Les Chrestiens de S Thomas n'avoient point entendu parler du Purgatoire, ni du sacrifice offert pour en retirer les ames, avant le Synode de Diamper, en 1599. Moreri, 7. 397. Illos Purgatorium ignem non agnoscere. Neque illos orare pro mortuis. Thomas. VII. 15. Renaudot, 2. 105. Syri Syriace sacra celebrant. Renaud. 1. 374. Syriani omnes Latinos excommunicatos reputant. Canisius, 4. 433.

Diamper's representation of the distinctions which discriminated Syrianism from Popery.[1]

Buchanan and Kerr visited this Christian community, and have transmitted accounts of its people and profession. Their knowledge of the Syrian clergy and laity was obtained by personal acquaintance, and their delineations possess all the merit of pictures taken from life. Buchanan held long conversations with the Syrian clergy, and found, after mature examination, the conformity of their faith with the reformed. He acknowledged the antiquity of Syrianism, and its identity, in all its tenets, with Protestantism. India, from time immemorial, contained a church which was unknown to the rest of Christendom, but which held the same theology that had been professed in the European nations by the Waldensians, and which, in the sixteenth century, was promulgated by Luther and Calvin, and is received, at the present day, by a great part of the Old and New World.

The European, Asiatic, and African denominations that dissented from Popery were four times more numerous than the partisans of Romanism, when, prior to the Reformation, the Papacy shone in all its glory. Popery, instead of universality, which it its vain but empty boast, was never embraced by more than a fifth part of Christendom. The West and especially the East were crowded by the opponents of the Romish despotism and absurdity. Superstition and error, indeed, except among the Waldenses, prevailed through the European nations, and reigned in the realms of Papacy with uncontrolled sway.

[1] Unam esse legem Sancti Thomæ, aliam vero Divi Petri, quæ tamen constituebant duas ecclesias distinctas, et alteram ab altera independentem, nec pastorem unius debere pastori alterius obedire. Patriarcham Babylonicum subjectum non esse Romano Pontifici. Potestatem a Christo Petro relictam in ecclesiam nihil omnino differre ab ea quam sacerdotibus aliis contulit: quamobrem Petri successores non excedere in jurisdictione episcopos alios. Ecclesiam Romanam a fide excidisse; Romanorum hæreticam falsam, et armorum vi, necnon Decretis Imperatorum, quoad majorem Orbis partem introductam. Cossart, 6, 29, 36, 37, 39, 40.

Sacram Eucharistiam esse tantum imaginem Christi, et ab eo distingui non secus ac imago ab homine vero; nec in illa esse Christi corpus, quod solum in cœlo existit. In Eucharistia tantummodo Christi virtutem, non autem verum corpus et sanguinem contineri. Cossart, 6. 39, 40.

Imagines venerandas non esse, utpote idola turpia, et immunda. Imagines ulterius idola esse impie docetur, nec venerandas in ecclesiis. Cossart, 6. 40, 47.

Matrimonium non esse sacramentum, sed nec esse posse. Hactenus confirmationis usu notitiaque populus Christianus hujus Diœceseos caruerit. Rem superfluam, nec necessariam, hactenus ignotam, et non visam dicerent. Hactenus in hoc episcopatu nullus fuerit usus sacramento Extremæ Unctionis. Nulla de eo, ejusque effectu, et efficacia, nec de ipsius institutione, notitia habita fuit. Præceptum hujusmodi (confessionis) non fuit adhuc ita in usu, in hoc episcopatu. Sacri Olei usus in sacramentis huc usque in hac episcopali sede, aut nullus fuit, aut Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ritibus minime consentaneus. Presbyteri matrimonia contrahebant. Neque ulla habebatur ratio, an virgo esset, an vidua, an prima uxor esset, an secunda, an etiam tertia. Cossart, 6. 36, 65, 72, 73, 83, 101, 112, 127.

Darkness, within its dominions, covered the earth and gross darkness the people. But the Waldenses, who were numerous, held up, in the Western world, a steady light which shone through the surrounding obscurity, and illuminated, with its warming beams, the minds of many. The oriental Christians, more numerous than the Waldenses and divided and disputing about minor matters of words and ceremony, opposed, with firmness and unanimity, the tyranny and corruptions of Romanism. All these, overspreading the Eastern and Western world and resisting the usurpations of pontifical despotism, far outnumbered the sons of European superstition and Popery.

THE VARIATIONS OF POPERY.

CHAPTER II.

POPES.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE PONTIFICAL SUCCESSION—HISTORICAL VARIATIONS—ELECTORAL VARIATIONS—SCHISMS IN THE PAPACY—LIBERIUS AND FELIX—SILVERIUS AND VIGILIUS—FORMOSUS, SERGIUS, AND STEPHEN—BENEDICT, SILVESTER, JOHN AND GREGORY—GREAT WESTERN SCHISM—BASILIAN AND FLORENTINE SCHISM—DOCTRINAL VARIATIONS—VICTOR—STEPHEN—LIBERIUS, ZOSIMUS, AND HONORIUS—VIGILIUS—JOHN—MORAL VARIATIONS—STATE OF THE PAPACY—THEODORA AND MAROZIA—JOHN—BONIFACE—GREGORY—BONIFACE—JOHN—SIXTUS—ALEXANDER—JULIUS—LEO—PERJURED PONTIFFS.

THE pontifical succession is attended with more difficulty than the quadrature of the circle or the longitude at sea. The one presents greater perplexity to the annalist and the divine, than the others to the geometrician and the navigator. The quadrature and the longitude, in the advanced state of mathematics, admit an approximation. But the papal succession mocks investigation, eludes research, and bids proud defiance to all inquiry.

The difficulty on this topic arises from the variations of the historians and electors, and from the faith and morality of the Roman pontiffs. Historians, for a century, differed in their records of the papacy; and the electors, in thirty instances, disagreed in their choice of an ecclesiastical sovereign. Many of the Popes embraced heresy and perpetrated immorality; and these considerations render the problem of their legitimate succession an historical and moral impossibility.

History has preserved a profound silence on the subject of the first Roman Bishop. This honour, indeed, if such it be, has by Romish partisans been conferred on the apostle Peter. But the patrons of this opinion cannot, from any good authority, show that the apostle was ever in the Roman capital, and still less that he was ever a Roman hierarch. The evidence of his visit to that city is not historical but traditional. History, for a century after the alleged event, presents on this topic an universal blank, which is supplied from the very suspicious testimony of tradition.

A single hint on this subject is not afforded by Peter himself, nor by his inspired companions, Luke, James, Jude, Paul, and John. Pope Peter in his epistolary productions, mentions nothing of his Roman residency, episcopacy, or supremacy. Paul wrote a letter to the Romans; and, from the Roman city addressed the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Timothy, and Philemon. He sends salutations to various Roman friends, such as Priscilla, Aquila, Epenetus, Mary, Andronicus, Julia, and Amplias: but forgets Simon the supposed Roman hierarch. Writing from Rome to the Colossians, he mentions Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, Justus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, who had afforded him consolation; but, strange to tell, neglects the sovereign pontiff. Addressing Timothy from the Roman city, Paul of Tarsus remembers Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia; but overlooks the Roman bishop. No man, except Luke, stood with Paul at his first answer or at the nearer approach of dissolution.[1] His apostolic holiness could not then have been in his own diocese, and should have been prosecuted for non-residence. His Infallibility, perhaps, like some of his successors, had made an excursion, for amusement, to Avignon. Luke also is silent on this theme. John, who published his gospel after the other Evangelists, and his Revelation at the close of the first century, maintains, on this agitated subject, a profound and provoking silence.

The omission is continued by the Apostolic men, Clemens, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Not one of all these deigns to mention a matter of such stupendous importance to Christendom. Clemens, in particular, might have been expected to record such an event. He was a Roman bishop, and interested in a peculiar manner, in the dignity of the Roman See. An apostolic predecessor, besides, would have reflected honour on his successor in the hierarchy. He mentions his pretended predecessor indeed; but omits any allusion to his journey to Rome, or his occupation of the pontifical throne.

The fiction of Peter's visit to the metropolis of the world began to obtain credit about the end of the second century. Irenæus, trusting to the prattlement of Papias or to common report, recorded the tradition; and was afterwards followed by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Ephraim, Lactantius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Arnobius, Prudentius, Theodoret, Orosius, Prosper, Cyril, Eusebius, Optatus, Sozomen, and Augustine.[2] The tradition, however, seemed doubtful to Eusebius. He introduces it as something reported, but not certain. The relation, to the father of eccle-

[1] Rom. XVI. Coloss. IV. 2 Tim. IV.
[2] Iren. III. 3. Maimb. 22. Bruy. 1. 10. Spon. 44. X. Bell. II. 3. Euseb. II. 24.

siastical history, was a mere hearsay. Bede, on this subject, uses a similar expression, which corroborates this interpretation of the Greek historian. Peter, according to the British annalist, having founded the Roman church, is SAID to have consecrated his successor.[1]

The evidence of the tale may be reduced to small compass. Irenæus is the first author of any credibility who mentions the report. The Apostle, according to Baronius, Binius, and Labbé, came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, in the year 45; and Irenæus, at the close of the second century, relates the supposed transaction.[2] A hundred and fifty years, therefore, elapsed, from the occurrence of the alleged event till the time of its record. The cotemporary and succeeding authors for a century and a half, such as Luke, Paul, John, Clemens, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, who detail Peter's biography, and who were interested in the supposed fact, say nothing of the tradition. The intervening historians between Peter and Irenæus are on this topic silent as the grave. The belief of such a story requires Popish prejudice and infatuation.

Simon, however, even if he were at the Roman city, could not have been the Roman bishop. The Episcopacy, in its proper sense, is, as Chrysostom, Giannon, and Du Pin have observed, incompatible with the Apostleship. A bishop's authority, say Chrysostom and Giannon, 'is limited to a city or nation; but an apostle's commission extends to the whole world.'[3] The Apostles, says the Parisian Sorbonnist, 'perambulated the principal parts of the earth, and were confined to no place or city.'[4] This constituted one distinction between the Apostolic and Episcopal functions. The Apostles founded and organized churches, and then consigned their superintendency to fixed and ordinary pastors. The one formed an army of conquest for the formation of ecclesiastical kingdoms, and the other an army of possession for the purpose of occupation and government.

This statement corresponds with the details of Irenæus, Ruffinus, Eusebius, and the author of the Apostolic constitutions, who lived near the scene of action and the fountain of tradition. These represent Linus as the first Roman bishop, who, succeeded by Anacletus and Clemens, exercised the Roman prelacy; while Peter and Paul executed the Christian apostleship. Peter and Paul, says Irenæus, having founded

[1] Fundata Romae ecclesia, successorem consecrasse perhibetur. Beda, V. 4.
[2] Bin. 1. 24. Labb. 1. 64. [3] Πάντα τοῦτον οὗτος. Chrysostom, 11. 83.
[4] Apostoli praecipuas orbis partes peragrarunt, nulli aut urbi aut loco addicti. Du Pin, 15. Qui les obligeoit d'aller par toute la terre annoncer une nouvelle loi. An. Eccl. 22. Giannon. I. 2.

the Roman church, committed its episcopacy to Linus, who was succeeded by Anacletus and Clemens.[1] Linus, Cletus, and Clemens, says Ruffinus, in the Clementin Recognitions edited by Cotelerius, 'were Roman bishops during Peter's life, that he might fulfil his apostolic commission.'[2] According to Eusebius, 'Linus was the first Roman bishop, who was followed in succession by Anacletus and Clemens.'[3] The apostolic constitutions refer 'the ordination of Linus, the first Roman bishop, to Paul, and the ordination of Clemens, the second in succession after the death of Linus, to Peter.'[4] Linus, therefore, to the exclusion of Peter, was the first Roman bishop; and Clemens, Cletus, or Anacletus succeeded during the apostolic age as the ordinary overseers of the church; while Paul and Peter accomplished their extraordinary mission.

The episcopacy of Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens was incompatible with that of Simon in the same city. Had he been bishop, the consecration of another during his life would have been a violation of the ecclesiastical canons of antiquity. The ancients, to a man, deprecated the idea of two prelatic superintendents in one city. Gibert has collected seven canons of this kind, issued by Clemens, Hilary, and Pascal, and by the councils of Nicea, Chalons, and the Lateran. The Lateran Fathers, in their fourth canon, compared a city with two bishops to a monster with two heads. The Nicene and Lateran synods were general, and therefore, according to both the Italian and French schools, were vested with infallibility. No instance indeed can, in all antiquity, be produced, of two bishops ruling in conjunction in the same city.[5]

The reasoning of the Romish advocates on this question is remarkable only for its silliness. Bellarmine's arguments on this topic are like to those of a person, who, in the manner of Swift, wished, in solemn irony, to ridicule the whole story. He is so weak, one can hardly think him serious. A supposition which, if true, should be supported by evidence the most indisputable, is as destitute of historical testimony as the visions of fancy, the tales of romance, or the fictions of fairy-land.

A specimen of Bellarmine's reasoning may amuse the reader. Babylon, from which Peter wrote, was, Bellarmine as well as

[1] Apostoli Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Iren. III. 3.

[2] Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem Episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro, ut illi episcopatus curam gererent, ipse vero apostolatus impleret officium. Cotel. I. 492.

[3] Λινος δε ὁ πρῶτος ἦν, και μετ' αυτων, Ανεγκλητος. Euseb. III. 21. et v. 6.

[4] Romanorum Ecclesiæ primus quidem Linus, a Paulo; secundus autem a me Petro post mortem Lini ordinatus fuit Clemens. Con. Ap. VII. 46. Cotel. 1. 387. Labb. 1. 63.

[5] Ne in civitate duo sint Episcopi. Labb. 2. 38. Duo, in una civitate uno tempore, nec ordinentur nec tolerantur episcopi. Labb. 7. 397, et 13. 946. Gibert 2.

Maimbourg gravely affirms, the Roman capital: and in support of his opinion he cites Jerome and Bede, who seem, on this subject, to have possessed about as much sense as Bellarmine. Paul found Christians at Rome on his arrival at that city; and the learned Jesuit could not, for his life, discover how this could have been the case had Peter not been at the capital of the world.[1] Peter's victory at Rome over Simon the magician, the Cardinal alleges, proves his point; and indeed the Apostle's conflict with the magician, and his Roman episcopacy, are attended with equal probability. Both rest on the same authority of tradition. But the ridiculousness of the magician's exploits, who rose in the air by the power of sorcery, and fell by the prayer of Peter, and broke his leg, overthrows its probability. The airy and ridiculous fabrication of the necromancer's achievements falls, like their fabled author, and buries in its ruins, the silly fiction of the Apostle's Roman episcopacy.

But the whole accounts of this event are as discordant as they are silly. The partisans of this opinion differ in the time of the Apostolic pontiff's arrival and stay in the Roman capital, Jerome, Eusebius, Binius, Orosius, Labbeus, Spondanus, Onuphrius, Nauclerus, Petavius, Bede, Bruys, Baronius. and Valesius send Peter to Rome in the reign of Claudius. These, however, disagree in the year; the second, third, fourth, thirteenth, and fourteenth years of the Emperor's reign being assigned by different authors for the era of this important event. Simon, says Jerome, having preached to the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, proceeded to Rome in the second year of Claudius, and held the sacerdotal chair twenty-five years. Lactantius, Origen, Balusius, and Pagius fix his arrival at the Roman metropolis to the reign of Nero. But these too differ as to the year. The length of Peter's episcopacy is also disputed. Twenty-three, twenty-five, twenty-seven, and twenty-nine years have been reckoned by various chronologers for its duration.[2] This discordance of opinion is the natural consequence of deficiency of evidence. Contemporary historians, indeed, say no more of the Apostle Peter's journey to Rome than of Baron Munchausen's excursion to the moon.

Many fictions of the same kind have been imposed on men, and obtained a temporary belief. Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of the Trojan Brutus is well known. The English Arthur, and the French Roland were accounted real heroes, and

[1] Quis hos Christianos fecerit, si Petrus non fuit Romæ? Bell. I. 551. Maimb. 20. Acts 28. 15. Peter 5. 13. Alex. 1. 511.

[2] Jerome, 4, 107. Euseb. II. 15. Petav. 2, 130. Beda, 17. Bruy. I. 7 Lactan. c. 2. Bin. 1. 24. Labb. 1. 64. Maimb. 16.

presented a popular theme for the poet, the novelist, and the historian. The whole story of the Apostle's Roman episcopacy seems to have originated with the garrulous Papias, and to have been founded on equal authority with these legends. The Popedoms of Peter and Joan display wonderful similarity Joan's accession remained unmentioned for two hundred years after her death, when the fiction, says Florimond, was attested by Mariana. The reign of the Popess was afterwards related by thirty Romish authors, and circulated through all Christendom without contradiction, for five hundred years, till the era of the Reformation. The Popedoms of Peter and Joan, in the view of every unprejudiced mind, possess equal credibility.

The earliest ecclesiastical historians, differing, in this manner, on the subject of the first Pope, show the utmost discordance on the topic of his successors. Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Theodoret, Optatus, Augustine, and the apostolic constitutions place Linus immediately after Peter. Tertullian, Jerome, and the Latins, in general, place Clemens immediately after the apostle. Jerome, however, in sheer inconsistency, gives this honour, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical authors, to Linus. Cossart could not determine whether Linus, Clemens or some other was the second Roman Pontiff. He also admits the uncertainty of the Pontifical succession. Clemens, according to Tertullian, was ordained by Peter.[1] Linus, according to the apostolic constitutions was ordained by Paul. Linus, however, at the present day, is, by Greeks and Latins, accounted the second Roman Pontiff.

The succession of the Roman hierarchs, exclusive of Peter, in the first century, according to Augustine, Optatus, Damasus, and the apostolic constitutions, was Linus, Clemens, and Anacletus; but, according to Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Alexander, was Linus, Anacletus, and Clemens. The arrangement of Epiphanius, Nicephorus, Ruffinus, and Prosper, is, Linus, Cletus, and Clemens: whilst that of Anastasius, Platina, More, Binius, Crabbe, Labbé and Cossart, is Linus, Cletus, Clemens, and Anacletus. Cletus, who is inserted by others, is omitted by Augustine, Optatus, Damasus and the apostolic constitutions. Baronius, Bellarmine, Pagius, Godeau, and Petavius reckon Cletus and Anacletus two different pontiffs. Cotelerius, Fleury, Baillet, and Alexander account these two names for the same person. Bruys and Cossart confess, that whether Cletus and Anacletus were identical or distinct, is doubtful or unknown.[2]

[1] Iren. III. 3. Euseb. III. 21. Epiphan. II. XXVII. Jerom, 4 107. 126. Theod. in Tim. 4. Optatus, II. Aug. Ep. 161. Con. Ap. VII. 46. Tertul. 213.

[2] Alex. 1. 545. Cotel. 1. 387. Bin. 1. 30. Nicep. II. Prosp. 1. 410. Anastas in Pet. Crabb. I. 30. Coss. 1. 6. Bell. II. 5. Godeau, 1. 389.

The variations of historians in this manner, have introduced confusion into the annals of the Roman pontiffs. Petavius confesses their doubtfulness till the time of Victor, and Bruys, the impossibility of discovering the fact. The most eagle-eyed writers, says Cossart, cannot, amid the darkness of these ages, elicit a shadow of truth or certainty in the Papal succession.[1] This diversity appears, indeed, in the history of the Popedom, during the early, the middle, and the modern ages. The partizans of Romanism boast of an uninterrupted and unbroken succession in the sovereign Pontiffs and in the Holy See. But this is all empty bravado. The fond conceit shuns the light; and vanishes, on examination, like the dream of the morning. Each historian, ancient and modern, has his own catalogue of Popes, and scarcely two agree. The rolls of the Pontiffs, supplied by the annalists of the papacy, are more numerous than all the denominations which have affected the appellation of Protestantism. Such are a few of the historical variations on this topic, and the consequent disorder and uncertainty.

Electoral variations have produced similar difficulty. The electors, differing in their objects as the historians in their details, have caused many schisms in the papacy. These, Baronius reckons at twenty-six. Onuphrius mentions thirty, which is the common estimation. A detailed account of all these would be tedious. Some are more and some less important, and, therefore, in proportion to their moment, claim a mere allusion or a circumstantial history. The following observations will refer to the second, seventh, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth schisms.

The second schism in the papacy began in the ecclesiastical reigns of Liberius and Felix, and lasted about three years. Liberius, who was lawful bishop, and who, for a time, opposed Arianism, was banished in 355 to Berea, by the Emperor Constantius. Felix, in the meantime, was, by the Arian faction, elected in the room of Liberius, and ordained by Epictetus, Basil, and Acasius. Liberius, afterwards, weary of exile, signed the Arian creed, and was recalled from banishment, and restored to the Popedom. His return was followed by sanguinary battles between the two contending factions. The clergy were murdered in the very churches. Felix, however, with his party, was at length overthrown, and forced to yield.

[1] Fluxa et dubia, quæ de summis pontificibus ad Victorem usque traduntur. Petav. 2. 138. Il est impossible de decouvrir la verité. Bruy. 1. 27. Nec in tanta sæculorum caligine, oculatissimi quique scriptores quidquam indicare potuerint, ex quo veritatis umbra saltem aliqua appareat. Nec certi quidquam statui posse arbitror de illorum ordine et successione. Cossart, 1. 1.

He retired to his estate on the road to Ponto, where, at the end of seven years, he died.[1]

The several claims of these two Arians to the papacy have caused great diversity of opinion between the ancients and the moderns. Liberius, though guilty of Arianism, was supported by legitimacy of election and ordination. Felix, on the contrary, was obtruded in an irregular manner by the Arian party. Godeau represents his ordination as surpassing all belief, and compares the ceremony on the occasion to 'the abomination of Antichrist.'[2] Felix had sworn to resist the intrusion of another bishop during the life of Liberius. His holiness, therefore, in accepting the Popedom, was guilty of perjury. His Infallibility, according to Socrates and Jerome, was an Arian; and, according to Theodoret, Ruffinus, Baronius, Spondanus, Godeau, Alexander, and Moreri, communicated with the Arians, and condemned Athanasius. All the ancients, among whom are Jerome, Optatus, Augustine, Athanasius, and Prosper, followed, in modern days, by Panvinius, Bona, Moreri, Lupus, and Fleury, reject his claim to the Papacy. Athanasius calls his holiness 'a monster, raised to the Roman hierarchy, by the malice of Antichrist.'[3]

These two Arians, nevertheless, are, at the present day, Roman saints. Their names are on the roll of canonization; and the legality and validity of their Popedom are maintained by the papal community. The Arian Liberius is the object of Romish worship. The devout papist, according to the Roman missal and breviary, on this saint's festival, addresses his Arian Infallibility as 'the light of the holy church, and the lover of the Divine law, whom God loved and clothed with the robe of glory,' while supplication is made for 'pardon of all sin, through his merits and intercession.'[4] Similar blasphemy and idolatry are addressed to Felix, who, in the days of antiquity, was accounted an Arian, a perjurer, an antichristian monster and abomination, shunned by all the Roman people like contagion; but who is now reckoned a saint and a martyr.

His saintship, however, had nearly lost his seat in heaven in 1582, when the KEYS, for the purpose of reforming the Roman Calendar, were transferred from Peter to Baronius. Doubts were entertained of the perjured Arian's title to heaven. Gregory the Thirteenth, however, judging it uncourteous to

[1] Socrat. IV. 5. Jerome, 4. 124. Platina, 44.
[2] Une image de l'abomination de l'Antichrist. Godeau, 2. 266.
[3] Athan. ad Sol. Labb. 2. 991. Spon. 357. XVII. et 355. X. Socrat. II. 37. Ruffin. 1. Theod. II. 17. Bruy. 1. 123. Alex. 7. 20. Moreri, 4. 42.
[4] Ejus intercedentibus meritis ab omnibus nos absolve peccatis. Miss. Rom. P. XIV. Brev. Rom. P. XXXV.

uncanonize his holiness, and turn him out of heaven without a fair trial, appointed Baronius as counsel for the prosecution, and Santorio for the defence. Santorio, unable to answer the arguments of Baronius, prayed to his client the departed Pontiff for assistance. The timely interposition of a miracle, accordingly, came to the aid of his feeble advocacy. Felix was just going to descend, like a falling star, from heaven, when a marble coffin was discovered in the Basilic of Cosmas and Damian, with this inscription: 'The body of Saint Felix, who condemned Constantius.' This phenomenon, which Moreri calls a fable, and Bruys a cheat, silenced, as might be expected, all opposition. Te Deum was sung for the triumph of truth; and the perjured Arian Vicar-General of God, was declared worthy the honours of martyrdom,—canonization and worship.[1]

The seventh schism distinguished the spiritual reigns of Silverius and Vigilius. Silverius, in 536, was elected by simony. He bribed Theodatus, who, says Anastasius, threatened to put all who should oppose him to the sword.[2] His election, Godeau admits, was owing to the power of the Gothic king, rather than to the authority of the Roman clergy. His ordination, in consequence, was the effect of fear and violence.[3]

The election and ordination of Silverius, therefore, according to a Bull of Julius and a canon of the Lateran Council, was illegal and invalid. Julius the Second pronounced the nullity of an election effected by simony, and declared the candidate an apostate, a thief, a robber, a heresiarch, a magician, a pagan, and a publican. The elected, in this case, might be prosecuted for heresy, and deposed by the secular arm; while the electors were to be deprived of their possessions and dignity. The Lateran Council, in which Nicholas the Second presided, decreed the invalidity of an election obtained by simony, the favour of the powerful, or the cabals of the people or soldiery. Possession of the Papacy, procured in this way, exposed the intruder, as a felon, to deposition by the clergy and laity.[4] These regulations abrogated the claims of Silverius to the Pontifical throne.

Silverius, who obtained the Popedom by simony, was, in a short time, supplanted by Vigilius, who also gained the same dignity by similar means. His stratagems were aided by the machinations of Theodora and Belisarius. Theodora the Empress was friendly to Monophysitism, and hostile to the council

[1] Spon. 357. XVIII. Labb. 2. 993. [2] Gladio puniretur. Anastasius, 21.
[3] Ordinato Silverio sub vi et metu. Anastasius, 21.
[4] Is non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus, liceatque cardinalibus, clericis, laicis, illum ut praedonem anathematizare. Caranza, 51. Platina, 146.

of Chalcedon. Her aim was the degradation of Mennas, the Byzantine patriarch, who adhered to the Chalcedonian faith; and the restoration of Anthimus, Theodosius, and Severus, who had been deposed for their attachment to the Monophysite heresy. Theodora applied to Silverius for the execution of her design, and was refused. She then turned her attention to Vigilius, and offered him seven hundred pieces of gold and the Papacy, to effect her intention. The offer was accepted. The Empress then suborned Belisarius, at Rome, to expel the refractory Silverius, and raise the complying Vigilius to the Papal chair. The General, influenced by the Empress and aided by his wife Antonia, obeyed. He scrupled, indeed, at first; but on reflection, like a prudent casuist, complied. Two hundred pieces of gold, which he received from Vigilius, had, in all probability, a happy effect in reconciling his conscience, such as it was, to his work. False witnesses were suborned against Silverius. These accused the Pontiff of a design to betray the city to the Goths. He was banished, in consequence, to Palmaria, where, according to Liberatus, he died of hunger, but, according to Procopius, by assassination. The degradation of Silverius was followed by the promotion of Vigilius, who assumed the Pontifical authority. The enactments of Julius and the Lateran Council condemn Vigilius as well as Silverius.[1]

The election and ordination of Vigilius were invalid, prior to the death of Silverius. Two Pontiffs, according to the canons, could not, at the same time, occupy the Papal chair. Ordination into a full See, besides, was condemned by the Nicean Council. Baronius, Binius, and Maimbourg, indeed, pretend that Vigilius, on the dissolution of his competitor, resigned, and was again elected.[2] Nothing of the kind, however, is mentioned by any cotemporary historian. No monument of his abdication, says Alexander, is extant.[3] The annalist and the collector of councils, therefore, must have got the news by inspiration. Procopius, on the contrary, dates the election of Vigilius immediately after the banishment of Silverius, and Liberatus, on the next day. Du Pin and Pagius, accordingly, with their usual candour, reject the tale of re-election, and found the title of Vigilius on his general reception in Christendom.[4]

The simony of the two rivals betrays the canonical illegitimacy of their election. The occupation of the Episcopal chair

[1] Godeau, 4. 204. Bin. 4. 141. Bruy. 1. 315. Platina, 68. Procop. 1. 25.
[2] Baron. 540. IV. Bin. 4. 142. Maimb. 66.
[3] Quod si Vigilius abdicavit, ex nullo monumento habetur. Alex. 12. 32.
[4] Procopius, 281. Libera. c. 22. Du Pin, 4. 452. Bruy 1. 330.

by his predecessor, besides, destroyed the title of Vigilius. His moral character, also, if villany could affect his claims, placed another obstacle in his way. His history forms an uninterrupted tissue of enormity and abomination. He was guilty of murder, covetousness, perfidy, prostitution of religion for selfish ends, and mockery of both God and man. He killed his secretary with the blow of a club. He whipped his nephew to death, and was accessory to the assassination of Silverius. His conduct with Theodora, Belisarius, Justinian, and the fifth general council, showed him to be a miser and a traitor, regardless of religion and honour, of God and man.[1]

The thirteenth schism disgraced the Papacy of Formosus and Sergius. Formosus, in 893, gained the Pontifical throne by bribery. His infallibility, therefore, by the Bulls of Nicholas and Julius, forfeited all claim to the ecclesiastical supremacy. He was Bishop of Porto, and therefore was incapacitated, according to the canons, to become Bishop of Rome. He had sworn to John the Eighth, by whom he had been excommunicated and banished, never to revisit the Roman metropolis. His holiness, therefore, was guilty of perjury. The hierarch, contrary to another canon, had recourse, in his extremity, when the Sergian party opposed his election, to the aid of Arnolf, the Gothic king. His Majesty's authority, however, though uncanonical, was successful. Sergius, his rival, whose claims were supported by a Roman faction, was expelled by royal power; and Formosus retained possession of the Papal sovereignty till the day of his death.[2]

But an extraordinary scene was exhibited by his successor. Stephen, who succeeded in 896, raged with unexampled fury against the memory and remains of Formosus. Solon, a heathen legislator, enacted a law to forbid the Athenians to speak evil of the dead. But the vicar-general of God outraged, in this respect, the laws of earth and heaven. Stephen unearthed the mouldering body of Formosus, which, robed in Pontifical ornaments, he placed before a Roman Council that he had assembled. He then asked the lifeless pontiff, why, being bishop of Porto, he had, contrary to the canons, usurped the Roman See. The body probably made no unnecessary reply. The pontiff then stripped the bloated corpse, and amputated its head and fingers. The disinterred and mutilated carcass, despoiled of its dress and mangled in a shocking manner, he threw without any funeral honours or solemnity into the Tiber. He rescinded his acts, and declared his ordinations irregular

[1] Platina, 68.
[2] Alex. 15. 82. Bruys, 2. 186. Baron. 897. 1.

and invalid.[1] Such was the atrocity perpetrated by the viceroy of heaven, and approved and sanctioned by a holy Roman council.

Stephen's sentence, however, was afterwards repealed by his successor. John the Tenth, on his accession, assembled a synod of seventy-four bishops at Ravenna, condemned the acts of Stephen, and re-established the ordinations of Formosus. But John's decisions again were destined to proclaim the variations of Popery, and display the mutability of earthly things. Sergius the Third, on his promotion to the Roman Hierarchy, called a council, rescinded the acts of John, and once more annulled the ordinations of Formosus.[2]

Vengeance soon overtook Stephen, the violator of the sepulchre and the dead. His miscreancy met with condign punishment. The Romans, unable to bear his ruffianism, expelled his holiness from the hierarchy. He was then immured in a dungeon, loaded with chains, and finally strangled. He entered, says Baronius, like a thief, and died as he deserved by the rope. 'This father and teacher of all Christians,' was, says Bruys, ignorant as he was wicked. This head of the church and vicar-general of God was unacquainted with the first elements of learning.[3]

Omitting the intermediate distractions in the Papacy, the nineteenth schism deformed the ecclesiastical reigns of Benedict, Silvester, and John. Benedict was son to Alberic Count of Tuscany; and, in 1033, was raised to the pontifical throne in the tenth or, some say, in the twelfth year of his age. His promotion was the effect of simony, and his life was a scene of pollution. His days were spent in debauchery. He dealt, says Benno, in sorcery, and sacrificed to Demons.[4]

Such was the miscreant, who, for ten years, was, according to the popish system, the head of the church, the judge of controversy, and, in deciding on questions of faith, the organ of inspiration. A Roman faction, however, in 1044, headed by the Consul Ptolemy, expelled Benedict and substituted Silvester. But Silvester's reign lasted only a short time. The Tuscan faction, in three months, expelled Silvester and restored Benedict. Benedict again soon resigned in favour of John. He was induced to retire, to avoid the public odium caused by his mis-

[1] Luitp. 1. 8. Spon. 897. II Bruy. 2. 193. Platina, 126. Petav. 1. 407. Bin. 7. 162.

Stephanus, Formosum post obitum mense effosum, et in sella positum, criminatum, et quasi convictum, degradavit, et per crura de ecclesia pertractum in Tiberim projici praecepit. Hermann, Anno 896. Canisius, 3. 256.

[2] Platina, 127, 128. Luitprand, I. 7.

[3] Spon. 900. II. Baron. 900. V. Bruys, 2, 194.

[4] Spon. 1033. II. Du Pin. 2. 206. Bruy. 2. 327. Bin. 7 221

creancy, and to enjoy a freer indulgence in licentiousness and sensuality. Led by this view, the vicar-general of God sold the papacy for 1500 pounds to John.[1] Benedict then departed, with the price of the papal chair, to private life, to continue his debauchery. Silvester, in the mean time, resolved to re-assert his right to the pontifical throne, and took possession of the Vatican. Benedict, weary of privacy, renewed his claim, and seized, by dint of arms, on the Lateran. These three ruffians, therefore, Silvester, John, and Benedict, on this unexampled occasion, occupied Saint Mary's, the Vatican, and the Lateran; and fixed their head quarters in the principal Basilics of the Roman capital. 'A three-headed BEAST,' says Binius and Labbè, 'rising from the gates of hell, infested in a woful manner the holy chair.'[2] A three-headed monster, therefore, emerging from the portals of the infernal pit, constituted a link in the sacred unbroken chain of the pontifical succession.

The conduct of Benedict, Silvester, and John exhibited, on the occasion, an extraordinary spectacle. Their mutual agreement and concessions were not the least striking traits in the picture. These wretches resolved not to interrupt their pleasures by unnecessary contention. No attempt was made at reciprocal expulsion. These earthly Gods forbore to waste the precious hours of sensuality in vain jangling, and, in the utmost harmony, divided the ecclesiastical revenues, which they spent in revelry and intoxication.

Gratian, in the mean time, a man of rank and authority, added another feature to the ridiculousness of the spectacle. His design was to deliver the church from this three-headed monster. The end might be praiseworthy; but the means was something like that attempted by Simon the magician. The argument which he used on the occasion was in the form of money.[3] He purchased the papacy, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, be the same more or less, from the proprietors, Benedict, Silvester, and John. Benedict, probably on account of his greater interest in the property, received the greatest compensation. He stipulated for the ecclesiastical revenues of England, to expend in every enormity. Gratian's money, which, according to Platina, was in these times a ready

[1] Vendidit Papatum complici suo, acceptis, ab eo, libris mille quingentis. Benno, in Hildeb. Moyennant une somme de quinze livres de deniers, il ceda le Pontificat à Jean. Bruy. 2. 331. Spon. 1044. I. II. Le siege de Rome devenu la proie de l' avarice et de l' ambition, etoit donné au plus offrant. Giannon, VII. 5. An. Eccl. 345.

[2] Triceps Bestia, ab inferorum portis emergens, sanctissimam Petri cathedram miserrime infestavit. Bin. 7. 221. Labb. 11. 1280.

[3] Eis a sede sancta cedere, pecunia persuasit. Spon. 1048. I. Platina. 142. Bruy. 2. 332. Bin. 7. 227. Labb. 11. 1303.

passport to the papacy, delivered the Holy See from the usurpers. Gratian himself succeeded, under the appellation of Gregory the Sixth. The patrons of Romanism may determine which of those three ruffians, Benedict, Silvester, or John, preserved the pontifical succession, and was on earth the viceroy of heaven.

The great western schism, which constituted the twenty-ninth division in the popedom, troubled the ecclesiastical reigns of Urban, Boniface, Innocent, Gregory, Clement, and Benedict. This contest began in 1378, and distracted Christendom for half a century with atrocity and revolution.[1] The papal court having continued at Avignon for seventy years, was restored to Rome by Gregory the Eleventh. The conclave proceeding at his death, in 1378, to a new election, a mob of thirty thousand, fearing, should a Frenchman be chosen, that he would remove to Avignon, threatened the cardinals with death, if they did not select an Italian. The sixteen electors, twelve French and four Italian, intimidated by such a formidable sedition, returned Urban the Sixth, a Neapolitan, or some say, a Pisan. But retiring to Fundi as a place of safety, the sacred college appointed Clement the Seventh to the popedom.[2] Clement, at Avignon, was succeeded by Benedict; and Urban, at Rome, by Boniface, Innocent, and Gregory.

Urban and Clement divided Christendom. The church could not determine which of the two was its head, the vicar general of God, and the plenipotentiary of heaven. The rival pontiffs therefore received, in nearly equal proportions, the obedience of the European kingdoms. Scotland, France, Spain, Arragon, Castile, Lorrain, Naples, Navarre, Sicily, Cyprus, and Savoy acknowledged Clement; while Urban was recognized by Italy, Portugal, Germany, England, Belgium, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. A few states remained neutral; and some, for a time, obeyed his Roman holiness, and afterwards, according to the dictation of policy, conscience, whim, or passion, shifted to his French infallibility.[3] Hainault asserted its neutrality. Arragon at first hesitated, but soon recognized Urban; and afterwards, when the pontiff disputed the sovereign's pretensions to Sicily, affected neutrality, and finally declared without any ceremony in favour of Clement. Spain and Naples, at the commencement of the schism, supported the Italian hierarch; but afterward, in the fluctuation of caprice or folly, veered round to the French

[1] Ce schisme dura plus de 50 ans. Morery, 3. 454.
[2] Platina, 233. Alex. 24. 439. Daniel, 5. 244. Giannon, XXIII. 4.
[3] Nonnullis interdum variantibus, et neutralitatem amplexantibus. Alex. 20. 254.

pontiff. Joanna, the Neapolitan queen, received Clement with particular honours. His holiness, on the occasion, had his sacred foot well kissed. The queen began the AUGUST CEREMONY: and her majesty's holy example was followed with great elegance and edification by the Neapolitan barons, knights, ladies, and gentlemen, such as Margaret, Agnes, Otho, Robertus, and Durazzo. Urban, in return, as a token of his pontifical friendship, deposed Joanna from her royalty, despoiled her of her kingdom, and recommended her soul to the devil.[1] Two powerful and contending factions, in this manner, divided the papacy, and distracted the Latin communion.

The schism spread dissension, animosity, demoralization, and war through the European nations; and especially through Italy, France, Spain, and Germany. Kings and clergy formed ecclesiastical factions, according to the dictates of faith or fancy. The pontiffs pursued their several interests, often without policy, and always without principle. The pontifical conscience evaporated in ambition and malignity. The kings, in general, dictated the belief of the priesthood and laity, who followed the faith or faction, the principles or party of their sovereign. Christendom, in consequence, was demoralized. Paper and ink, says Niem, would fail to recount the cabals and iniquity of the rival pontiffs, who were hardened in obduracy, and full of the machinations of Satan. High and low, prince and people, abjured all shame and fear of God. The belligerents, who waged the war, carried it on by unchristian machinations, which disgraced reason and man. The arms used on the occasion were excommunication, anathemas, deposition, perjury, prevarication, duplicity, proscription, saints, miracles, revelations, dreams, visions, the rack, the stiletto, and the dagger.[2]

Urban and his electors had the honour of opening the campaign. These commenced hostilities with a free use of their spiritual artillery. The cardinals declared the nullity of Urban's appointment, and enjoined his speedy abdication. But his infallibility had no relish for either the declaration or the injunction; and resolved to retain his dignity. The sacred college in their extremity, had recourse to excommunication. The ecclesiastical artillery was well served on the occasion, and launched their anathemas with singular precision; but, nevertheless, without effect. His holiness, in addition to these execrations, was, by his own electors, found guilty of apostacy, usurpation, intrusion, dissemination of heresy, and enmity to religion and truth.[3]

[1] Labb. 15. 940. Bruy. 3, 535, 539, 557. Du Pin, 2. 509. Coss. 3. 632, 638.
[2] Bruy. 3. 651. Daniel, 5. 238. [3] Bruy. 3. 529. Daniel, 5. 207. 308.

His infallibility soon returned these compliments. The plenipotentiary of heaven was gifted with a signal facility in hurling excommunications, and fulminated his anathemas with singular practical skill. He was enabled, in consequence, to repay the conclave's congratulation with due interest. He anathematized his electors, whom he called sons of perdition and heresy, a nursery of scandal and treachery, who were guilty of apostacy, conspiracy, treason, blasphemy, rapine, sacrilege, contumacy, pride, and calumny. Their cold remains after death, his infallibility, by a judicial sentence, deprived of Christian burial. The persons who should consign their lifeless bodies to the grave with funeral honours, he also excommunicated, till with the hands which administered the sepulchral solemnity, they should unearth the mouldering flesh, and cast each accursed and putrifying carcass from the consecrated soil of the hallowed tomb.[1]

Seven of his cardinals, whom he suspected of a conspiracy against his life, he punished with a more cruel sentence. The accused were men of merit and of a literary character; whilst the accusation was unsupported by any evidence. But his holiness, outraging reason and common sense, pretended to a special revelation of their guilt. He also, in defiance of mercy and justice, put the alleged conspirators to the rack to extort a confession. The tortures which they endured were beyond description; but no guilt was acknowledged. The unfeeling pontiff, in hardened insensibility, amidst the groans of the agonizing sufferers, counted his beads in cold blood, and encouraged the executioners in the work of torment. His nephew, unreproved, laughed aloud at sight of the horrid spectacle. These unhappy men afterwards suffered death. The pontiff slew Aquilla in his flight from Nocera and the Neapolitan army, and left the unburied body for the flesh to moulder without a grave, and the bones to whiten in the sun. Five of the cardinals, according to common report, he thrust into sacks, and threw into the sea. Two, says Callenicio, were beheaded with an axe. The headless bodies were fried in an oven, and then reduced to powder. This, kept in bags, was carried before Urban to terrify others from a similar conspiracy.[2]

The holy pontiffs next encountered each other in the war of excommunication. Urban and Clement, says Alexander, 'hurled mutual execrations and anathemas.' These vicegerents

[1] Labb. 15. 942, 944. Giannon, XXIII. 4.
[2] Labb. 15. 941. Bruy. 3. 547. Giannon, XXIV. 1.
[3] Mutuas diras, execrationes, et anathematum fulmina, ab Urbano et Clemente vibrata. Alex. 20. 254. Bruy. 3. 515.

of God cursed one another indeed with sincere devotion. His holiness at Rome hailed his holiness at Avignon with direful imprecations: and the Christian and polite salutation was returned with equal piety and fervor. The thunder of anathemas, almost without interruption, continued, in redoubled volleys and reciprocal peals, to roar between the Tiber and the Rhone. The rival vice-gods, in the language of Pope Paul, unsatisfied with mutual excommunications, proceeded with distinguished ability to draw full-length portraits of each other. Each denominated his fellow a son of Belial; and described, with graphic skill, his antichristianity, schism, heresy, thievery, despotism, and treachery. These heads of the church might have spared their execrations, but they certainly did themselves justice in the representations of their moral characters. The delineations, sketched by the pencil of truth, possess all the merit of pictures taken from life.

Urban having, in this manner, excommunicated his competitor, proceeded to the excommunication of several kings who withstood his authority. He anathematized Clement and all his adherents, which included the sovereigns of the opposition. He bestowed a particular share of his maledictions on John, Lewis, Joanna, and Charles of Castile, Anjou, and Naples. He declared John a son of iniquity, and guilty of apostacy, treason, conspiracy, schism, and heresy. He then pronounced his deposition and deprivation of his dignity and kingdom, absolved his vassals from their oath of fidelity, and forbade all, on pain of personal excommunication and national interdict, to admit the degraded Prince into any city or country. He pronounced a similar sentence against Lewis, on whom Clement had bestowed the crown of Naples. He declared this sovereign accursed, guilty of schism and heresy, and published a crusado, granting plenary indulgence to all who would arm against his majesty.[1]

Joanna, Queen of Naples, received a full proportion of the hierarch's maledictions. His holiness declared her Majesty accursed and deposed, guilty of treason and heresy, and prohibited all obedience of this Princess, under the penalty of excommunication of person and interdict of the community. He next freed her vassals from their fealty, transferred her kingdom to Charles, and her soul to Satan.

Charles, on whom Urban had bestowed the kingdom of Naples, soon met a similar destiny. This Prince had been the Pontiff's chief patron and friend. The king's friendship, however, the hierarch, in a short time, requited with anathemas

[1] Bruy. 3. 539, 541. Giannon, XXIII. 5. et XXIV. 1.

and degradation. The attachment, indeed, between Charles and Urban was the mercenary combination of two ruffians for mutual self-interest, against the unoffending Neapolitan Queen, whom the miscreants betrayed and murdered. But a quarrel between the two assassins, as might be expected, soon ensued. The Pontiff, then, in requital of former kindness, erected a cross, lighted tapers, interdicted the kingdom, cursed the king, and consigned his Majesty, soul and body, to the devil. This effusion of pontifical gratitude was followed with dreadful reprisals. Charles tormented the clergy who acknowledged Urban as pope, and offered ten thousand florins of gold for his head, dead or alive. He led an army against Urban, and besieged him, amid the inroads of famine and fear, in the castle of Nocera. Four times a day the terrified Pope from his window, cursed the hostile army with 'bell, book, and candle-light.' He bestowed absolution on all who should maim any of the enemy; and on all who would come to his aid, he conferred the crusading indulgence granted to those who marched to the Holy Land. Urban, in a wonderful manner, escaped, and Charles was afterwards assassinated in Hungary. The holy Pontiff rejoiced in the violent death of the Neapolitan king. The blood-stained instrument of murder, which was presented to his infallibility, red with the enemy's gore, excited in the vicar-general of God a fiendish smile.[1]

These are a few specimens of Urban's ability in the Pontifical accomplishment of cursing. Urban, in this art, which is a matter of great importance in a good Pope, seems to have excelled Clement. Both indeed showed splendid talents in this edifying department, which is an essential qualification in a plenipotentiary of heaven. But Urban, in this part of a Pope's duty, eclipsed his rival and carried this practical science to perfection.

These mutual maledictions, with which the competitors attempted to maintain their several pretentions, were supported in the rear by another species of ecclesiastical artillery; such as miracles, visions, dreams, and revelations. Each faction was supplied with these in copious profusion. Peter and Catharine appeared for Urban. Peter was a Franciscan and famed for sanctity, miracles, and celestial visions; Catharine of Sienna, a Dominican virgin, who has been raised to the honours of saintship, appeared for his Roman infallibility. She supported her patron with all the influence of her sanctity, and wrote a bad letter to the French king in his favour. Vincent and Peter declared for Clement. Vincent, a Dominican, besides

[1] Bray. 3. 550. 553.

heavenly visions, and miraculous powers, had, according to accounts, proselyted multitudes of the Jews and Waldenses. But Vincent, in the end, deserted his French holiness, and called him, in saintly language, a schismatic and a heretic. Peter, the cardinal of Luxemburg, who adhered to Clement, was in equal odour of sanctity and superior to all in the manufacturing of miracles. Forty-two dead men, at one cast, revived at his tomb. Many others, of each sex and of the same sanctified class, supported each party. 'Many holy men and women,' said Urban's advocate in the council of Modena in 1380, 'had revelations for his Roman holiness.' His French infallibility's party was also prolific in prophets, prophetesses, and wonders. All these, in favour of their several patrons, saw visions, uttered revelations, wrought miracles, and dreamed dreams.[1]

The evils which the schism had long inflicted on Christendom, at length induced men to think of some remedy. The distractions extended through all the European nations, and were attended with dreadful effects. The charities of life, in the unsocial divisions, were discarded, and men's minds wound up to fury and madness. Society seemed to be unhinged. War, excited by the rival pontiffs and their several partizans, desolated the kingdoms of the Latin communion, and especially France and Italy. Treachery, cabal, massacre, assassination, robbery and piracy reigned through the nations. These evils, in loud appeal, called for the extinction of the schism in which these disorders had originated.

The end indeed was the wish of all. The European kingdoms were unanimous for the termination of division and the return of tranquillity. The means for effecting the end were the only subject of disputation. The difficulty consisted in the discovery of a remedy. Three ways were proposed for the extinction of the schism. These were cession, arbitration, and a general council. Cession consisted in the voluntary resignation of the rivals for the election of another, who should be acknowledged by all Christendom. Arbitration consisted in ascertaining by competent judges, which of the two competitors was the true vicar-general of God. A general council would, by a judical sentence, depose both, and elect a third whose claim would obtain universal recognition. The difficulty of assembling a general council, and the utter impossibility of deciding by arbitration on the claims of the reigning Pontiffs, militated, in the general opinion, against each of these means. Cession therefore was at first the commonly adopted remedy.

[1] Alex. 20. 255. et 24. 476, 479. Mez. 3. 235. Bruy. 3. 516. Daniel, 5. 237 Cossart, 3. 632. Andill. 861.

Resignation and degradation were the only plans, which, in fact, were attempted. These means, which alone were attended with moral possibility, were adopted by the French church and the Pisan and Constantian council.

The French favoured the method of cession. This plan was suggested by the Parisian university, which, in that age, had obtained a high character for learning and catholicism. This faculty proposed the renunciation of the French and Roman hierarchs; and, in this proposal, confessed the difficulty of discrimination. The Sorbonne, supported by the Gallican church, unable to decide between Benedict and Gregory, required both to resign. The design, after some discussion, was seconded by the king, the nobility, the clergy, and the people. The method of abdication was also approved and supported by the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Burgundy, who governed the nation during the indisposition of the king. A majority of the European kingdoms concurred with the French nation. A few, indeed, such as Portugal and the northern nations, refused their co-operation. But the abdication of the contending pontiffs was recommended by England, Bohemia, Hungary, Navarre, Arragon, Castile, and Sicily.[1]

This attempt, however, was defeated by the selfish obstinacy of the two competitors. These, to frustrate the scheme, used all kinds of chicanery, practised perjury, and issued anathemas and execrations. Speech, said a French wit, was given, not to discover, but to conceal our sentiments. This observation was exemplified in Innocent, Gregory, and Benedict. These viceroys of heaven had sworn to relinquish their several claims, for the good of the church and the tranquillization of Christendom. But the pontifical perjurers violated their oaths to retain their power, and wounded conscience, if they had any, to gratify ambition.[2] The church, therefore, had, for several years, two jarring heads, and God two perjured vicars-general. All descriptions of falsehood these impostors added to perjury. Their ambition and selfishness caused their perpetration of any enormity, and their submission to any baseness, which might enable them, for a few months, to hold their precarious authority.

The subtraction of obedience from Benedict by the French was the consequence of his shuffling and obstinacy. This measure, which, like that of cession, was suggested by the Parisian university, consisted in the rejection of his infallibility's authority. The King, at the instance of the Sorbonne faculty,

[1] Dan. 5. 337. 381. Du Pin, 2. 512.
[2] Labb. 15. 1003, 1080. 1081. Coss. 3. 695. Daniel, 5. 431.

called an assembly of the bishops, abbots, and universities of the kingdom; and the meeting was also attended by the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, Burgundy, and Bourbon. The council, indeed, on this occasion were divided. The Duke of Orleans, the university of Toulouse, and the bishops of Tours and Le Puy, were against subtraction. The majority, however, recommended the proposed measure; and a total rejection of pontifical authority was published. Benedict's cardinals, also, except Boniface and Pampeluna, approved the decision of the French assembly, and advised the French sovereign to declare the pontiff, from his disregard of his oath, guilty of schism and heresy.[1]

The French nation, however, in 1403, in the vacillation of its councils, repealed the neutrality and restored obedience. The neutrality had lasted five years, from its commencement in 1398. Its abrogation was chiefly owing to the agency and cabals of the Duke of Orleans, who was opposed, but without success, by the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The cardinals also were reconciled to Benedict, and the re-establishment of his authority was advocated by the universities of Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, and Toulouse. The King, cajoled by the artifice of Orleans, ordered the recognition of obedience.[2]

But this recognition was temporary. The French, remarkable for their fickleness, enjoyed, on this occasion, all the charms of variety. An assembly of the French prelacy declared again in favour of neutrality; and his majesty, in 1408, commanded the nation to disown the authority of both Benedict and Gregory. The example of France was followed by Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and indeed by the majority of the European nations. Benedict, in the mean time, issued a bull of excommunication against all who countenanced the neutrality, whether cardinal or king, interdicted the nation, and absolved the subjects from the oath of fidelity. A copy of this precious manifesto the pontiff transmitted to the king, who treated it with merited contempt.[3]

Benedict and Gregory, in the midst of these scenes of animosity, retired in 1408 from Avignon and Rome, to Arragon and Aquileia, where, having convened councils, these rival vice-gods encountered each other, as usual, with cursing and anathemas. His Italian infallibility, in the synod of Aquileia, condemned, as illegal, the election of Clement and Benedict, and sanctioned, as canonical, that of Urban, Boniface and

[1] Du Pin, 2. 512. Daniel, 5. 378. Labb. 15. 1072.
[2] Boss. 2. 100. Daniel, 5. 405, 406. Bruy. 3. 620. Cossa. 3. 771.
[3] Daniel, 5. 444. Giannon. XXIV. 6. Cossart, 3. 771.

Innocent. He then condemned and annulled all Benedict's ordinations and promotions. His French infallibility, in the council of Arragon, reversed the picture. Having forbidden all obedience, and dissolved all obligations to his rival, he annulled his ordinations and promotions. Gregory convicted Benedict of schism, heresy, contumacy, and perjury. Benedict convicted Gregory of dishonesty, baseness, impiety, abomination, audacity, temerity, blasphemy, schism, and heresy.[1]

The perverse and unrelenting obstinacy of the two pontiffs caused the desertion of their respective cardinals. These, weary of such prevarication, fled to the city of Pisa, to concert some plan for the extermination of the schism and the restoration of unity. The convocation of a general council appeared the only remedy. The Italian and French cardinals, therefore, now united, wrote circular letters to the kings and prelacy of Christendom, summoning an œcumenical assembly, for the extirpation of division and the establishment of union.[2]

The Pisan council, in 1409, unable to ascertain whether Gregory or Benedict was the canonical head of the church, proceeded by deposition and election. The holy fathers, incapable of determining the right or title, used says Maimbourg, 'not their knowledge but their power;' and having dismissed Gregory and Benedict, appointed Alexander. Gregory and Benedict were summoned to appear, and, on refusal, were, in the third session, convicted of contumacy. The Pisans, representing the universal church, and vested with supreme authority, proceeded without ceremony, in the nineteenth session, to the work of degradation.[3] Their definitive sentence against the French and Italian viceroys of heaven is a curiosity, and worthy of eternal remembrance.

The Pisans began with characterizing themselves as holy and general, representing the universal church; and then declared his French and Italian holiness guilty of schism, heresy, error, perjury, incorrigibleness, contumacy, pertinacity, iniquity, violation of vows, scandalization of the holy, universal church of God, and unworthy of all power and dignity. The character of these plenipotentiaries of heaven, if not very good, is certainly pretty extensive. The sacred synod then deprived Gregory and Benedict of the papacy, and forbade all Christians, on pain of excommunication, notwithstanding any oath of fidelity, to obey the ex-pontiffs, or lend them counsel or favour.[4]

The papacy being vacated by the sentence of deposition, the

[1] Cossart, 3. 381, 382. Du Pin. 2. 6. Labb. 15. 1107.
[2] Giann. XXIV. 6. Bray. 3. 655. Du Pin. 2. 515.
[3] Labb. 15. 1123, 1229. Du Pin. 3. 3, 5.
[4] Dachery 1. 847. Bray. 3. 671. Labb. 15. 1131, 1132.

next step was to elect a supreme pontiff. This task, the council, in the nineteenth session, performed by the French and Italian cardinals, formed into one sacred college. The conclave, with cordial unanimity, elected the Cardinal of Milan, who assumed the appellation of Alexander the Fifth. He presided in the ensuing session, and ratified the acts of the cardinals and general council.

The Pisan council, however, notwithstanding its alleged universality, did not extinguish the schism. The decision of the synod, and election of the conclave only furnished a third claimant for the pontifical chair. The universality and authority of the Pisan assembly were, by many, rejected; and Christendom was divided between Gregory, Benedict, and Alexander. Gregory was obeyed by Germany, Naples, and Hungary; while Benedict was recognized by Scotland, Spain, Armagnac, and Foix. Alexander was acknowledged, as supreme spiritual director, by the other European nations. The schism, therefore, still continued. The Latin communion was divided between three ecclesiastical chiefs, who continued to distract the western church. The inefficiency of the Pisan attempt required the convocation of another general council, whose energy might be better directed and more successful.[1] This remedy was, in 1414, supplied by the assembly of Constance.

The Constantian council, like the Pisan, proceeded by deposition and election; and confessed, in consequence, like its predecessor, its inability to discriminate between the comparative right and claims of the two competitors. John the Twenty-third had succeeded to Alexander the Fifth. The rival pontiffs were, at that time, Gregory, Benedict, and John. Gregory and Benedict, though obeyed by Scotland, Spain, Hungary, Naples, and Germany, were under the sentence of synodical deposition. John, on the contrary, was recognized, even by the Constantian council, as the lawful ecclesiastical sovereign of Christendom.

The Constantians, though they admitted the legitimacy of John's election, and the legality of his title, required him to resign for the good of the church and the extinction of schism. The pontiff, knowing the power and resolution of the council, professed compliance; and, in the second session, confirmed his declaration, in case of Gregory's and Benedict's cession, with an oath. This obligation, however, he endeavored to evade. Degradation from his ecclesiastical elevation presented a dreadful mortification to his ambition, and he fled, in consequence, from Constance, with the fond, but disappointed

[1] Giannon, XXIV. 6. Labb. 16. 495. Bruy. 4. 7. Bossuet, 2. 101.

expectation of escaping his destiny. Gregory and Benedict were also guilty of violating their oath.[1] The church, therefore, at this time, had three perjured heads, and the Messiah three perjured vicars-general.

The council, seeing no other alternative, resolved to depose John for immorality. The character, indeed, of this plenipotentiary of heaven was a stain on reason, a blot on Christianity, and a disgrace to man. The sacred synod, in the twelfth session, convicted his holiness of schism, heresy, incorrigibleness, simony, impiety, immodesty, unchastity, fornication, adultery, incest, sodomy, rape, piracy, lying, robbery, murder, perjury, and infidelity. The holy fathers then pronounced sentence of deposition, and absolved the faithful from their oath of fealty.[2]

Gregory, seeing the necessity, abdicated. His infallibility, in defiance of his oath, and though deposed by the Pisan council, had retained the pontifical dignity; but was in the end, and in old age, forced to make this concession. Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, in Gregory's name renounced the papacy, with all its honours and dignity.

John and Gregory, notwithstanding their frightful character, as sketched by the Pisan and Constantian synods, were raised to the cardinal dignity. The two councils had blazoned their immorality in strong and appalling colours, and pronounced both unworthy of any dignity. Martin, however, promoted John to the cardinalship. The Constantian fathers, in the seventeenth session, and in the true spirit of inconsistency, placed Gregory next to the Roman pontiff, and advanced him to the episcopal, legatine, and cardinal dignity, with all its emoluments and authority. Benedict, though importuned by the council of Constance and the king of the Romans to resign, resolved to retain the pontifical dignity, and retired, with this determination, to Paniscola, a strong castle on the sea-coast of Valentia. The old dotard, however, was deserted by all the European states; but, till his death, continued, twice a day, to excommunicate the rebel nations that had abandoned his righteous cause. The council, in the mean time, pronounced his sentence of deposition, and convicted him of schism, heresy, error, pertinacity, incorrigibility, and perjury, and declared him unworthy of all rank or title.[3] Martin was raised to the papacy; and his elevation terminated a schism, which, for half a century, had divided and demoralized the nations of Western Christendom.

The pontifical succession, it is clear, was, during this schism,

[1] Labb. 16. 142, 148 Du Pin, 3. 10.
[2] Labb. 16. 178, 222. Coss. 4. 90, 110. Du Pin. 3. 14.
[3] Labb. 16. 277, 681, 715, Cossart, 3. 881. et 4. 81. Du Pin. 3. 15, 19.

interrupted. The links of the chain were lost, or so confused, that human ingenuity can never find their place, nor human penetration discover their arrangement. Their disentanglement may defy all the art of man and all the sophistry of Jesuitism. The election of Urban or Clement must have been uncanonical, and his papacy unlawful: and the successors of the unlawful pontiff must have shared in his illegality. Clement and Benedict commanded the obedience of nearly the half of Western Christendom; while the remainder obeyed Urban, Boniface, Innocent, and Gregory. One division must have recognized the authority of a usurper and an impostor.

The church dispersed could not ascertain the true vicar-general of Jesus, and hence its divisions. All the erudition of the Parisian university and the Spanish nation was unavailing. The French and Spanish doctors, in the assemblies of Paris and Medina, in 1381, examined the several claims of the competitors with erudition and ability. The question was treated by the canonists and theologians of Spain, France, and Italy, with freedom and impartiality. But Spanish, French, and Italian ingenuity on this subject was useless. The Pisan and Constantian councils, in all their holiness and infallibility, were, says Daniel, equally nonplused. These, notwithstanding their pretensions to divine direction, could depose, but could not discriminate; and were forced to use, not their information or wisdom, but their power and authority.[1] The inspired fathers could, in their own opinion, depose all the claimants, but could not ascertain the right or title of any. This conduct was a plain confession of their inability to discover the canonical head of the church and vicar-general of God. Moderns, in this part of ecclesiastical history, are at an equal loss with the cotemporary authors and councils.

The impracticability of ascertaining the rightful pontiff has been admitted by the ablest critics and theologians of Romanism, such as Gerson, Antoninus, Bellarmine, Andilly, Maimbourg, Alexander, Mezeray, Daniel, and Moreri.[2] Gerson admits

[1] Alexander, 24. 466, 467. Daniel, 5. 227.

[2] Est varietas opinionum Doctorum, et inter doctissimos et probatissimos ex utraque parte. Gerson, in Alex. 24. 474. Peritissimos viros in sacra pagina et jure canonico habuit utraque pars, ac etiam religiossimos viros, et etiam miraculis fulgentes: nec unquam sic potuit quaestio illa decidi. Antonin. c. II. Alex. 24. 477. Nec poterit facile praedicari quis eorum verus et legitimus esset Pontifex, cum non decessent singulis doctissimi patroni. Bell. IV. 14. L'affaire étant obscure et difficile d'elle même, n'a point encore été décidée. Andilly, 860. Pour cette impossibilité morale, où l'on étoit démêler les vrais Papes d'avec les Anti-Papes. Maimb. I. Bruy. 3. 515. Adeo obscura erant et dubia contendentium jura, ut post multas virorum doctissimorum dissertationes plurimosque tractatus editos, cognosci non posset quis esset verus et legitimus Pontifex. Alex. 24. 444. On n'a jamais pû vuider ce démelé. Mez. 3. 235. De très savans hommes, et des saints

the reasonableness of doubt, and the variety of opinions among the most learned and approved doctors on the several claims of the rival pontiffs.' Antoninus acknowledges 'the unsettled state of the controversy, notwithstanding each party's shining miracles, and the advocacy of pious men, deeply skilled in Sacred Writ and in canon law.' Bellarmine mentions 'the learned patrons which supported the several competitors, and the difficulty of determining the true and lawful pontiff.' Andilly agrees with Gerson, Antoninus, and Bellarmine. He grants 'the obscurity and difficulty of the question, which has not yet been decided.' Maimbourg, on the Western schism, states 'the moral impossibility of ascertaining the rightful pope, and relates the support which each faction received from civilians, theologians, and universities, and even from saints, and miracles.' Alexander, after an impartial and profound examination, comes to the same conclusion. He shows the impracticability of ascertaining the true and legitimate pontiff, 'notwithstanding the dissertations and books published on the subject by the most learned men.' Each party, in the statement of Mezeray, 'had the advocacy of distinguished personages, saints, revelations, and miracles; and all these could not decide the contest.' Daniel and Moreri confess, on this topic, 'the jarring and contradictory opinion of saints, as well as of lawyers, theologians, and doctors, and the unwillingness or inability of the church, assembled afterwards in the council of Constance, to discriminate among the several competitors the true vicar-general of God and ecclesiastical sovereign of Christendom.' Similar concessions have been made by Giannon, Bruys, Panormitan, Balusius, Zabarella, Surius, Turrecrema, and a long train of other divines and critics.

The Basilian and Florentine schism, which was the thirtieth in the papacy, troubled the spiritual reign of Eugenius and Felix. This contest presented the edifying spectacle of two popes clothed in supremacy, and two councils vested with infallibility, hurling mutual anathemas and excommunications. Martin, who had been chosen by the Constantian Convention, had departed, and been succeeded by Condalmerio, who assumed the name of Eugenius, The council of Basil deposed Eugenius and substituted Felix. Eugenius assembled the

même furent partagés là dessus. L'église assemblée, dans le concile de Constance, ne voulût point l'examiner. Daniel, 5. 227. Le droit des deux partis ne fût jamais bien éclairci, et il y a en des deux côtés de très savans jurisconsultes, de célebres théologiens, et de grands Docteurs. Moreri, 7. 172. Les doux papes avoient chacun des partisans illustres par leur science et par leur piété. Moreri, 3. 454.

council of Florence, and excommunicated Felix and the council of Basil.

The council of Basil met anno 1431. The holy fathers, in the second session, decreed the superiority of a general council to a pope, and the obligation of all, even the Roman pontiff, under pain of condign punishment, to obey the synodal authority in questions of faith, extirpation of schism, and reformation of the church.

The idea of synodal superiority and moral reformation conveyed horror, in general, to all popes, and in particular to Eugenius. His holiness, in consequence, issued against the council two bulls of dissolution, and annulled all its enactments. The bulls, however, contained no terror for the council. The Basilians, supported by the Emperor Sigismond, entreated Eugenius to repeal his proclamations; and threatened, in case of refusal, to pronounce his holiness guilty of contumacy. The pontiff, therefore, was under the direful necessity of revoking his bulls of dissolution, and declaring the legality of the council; and, at the same time, its title, in its commencement and continuation, to his approbation.[1]

His infallibility's approbation, however, which was extorted, was soon recalled. New dissensions arose between the pope and the council. The reformation, which the Basilians had effected and which they still contemplated, was, to this head of the church, altogether intolerable. His holiness, therefore, in 1438, translated the council to Ferrara, with the immediate intention to gainsay the Basilian assembly. The Basilians, in return, accused Eugenius of simony, perjury, abuse of authority, wasting the ecclesiastical patrimony, ruining the city of Palestrina, and hostility to their enactments. The Fathers then annulled the translation of the council to Ferrara, cited his holiness to appear at Basil in sixty days, and on his refusal, pronounced him guilty of contumacy.[2]

Sentence of contumacy was only a prelude to sentence of deposition. Eugenius proceeded in hostility to the Basilians, who, therefore, by a formal enactment in 1439, deprived him of the papacy. The sentence against God's vicar-general by the church's representatives is a curiosity. The general council, representing the universal church, in its thirty-fourth session, found this plenipotentiary of heaven guilty of contumacy, pertinacity, disobedience, simony, incorrigibility, perjury, schism, heresy, and error; and, in consequence, unworthy of all title, rank, honor, and dignity. The sacred Synod then deposed

[1] Labb. 17. 236. Bruy. 4. 104, 105. Du Pin, 3. 22, 24.
[2] Alex. 23. 39. Bruy. 4. 115. Du Pin, 3. 27.

Condalmerio from the papacy, abrogated all his constitutions and ordinations, absolved the faithful from their obedience, oaths, obligations, and fidelity; and prohibited the obedience of all, even bishops, patriarchs, cardinals, emperors and kings, under privation of all honour and possessions.[1]

The Basilians, having cashiered one vice-god, appointed another. The person selected for this dignity was Amadeus, duke of Savoy. This prince had governed his hereditary realms for forty years. The ability which, during this revolving period, he had displayed, rendered him the delight of his people, and the admiration of the age. He was accounted a Solomon for wisdom, and made arbiter of differences among kings, who consulted him on the most important affairs. He possessed a philosophical cast of mind, a love of repose, and a contempt for worldly grandeur. Weary of a throne, which, to so many, is the object of ambition, and disgusted probably with the bustle and tumult of life, Amadeus resigned the ducal administration to his sons, and resolved to embrace the seclusion of a hermit. He chose for the place of his retreat the beautiful villa of Ripaille, on the banks of the lake of Geneva. This solitude possessed the advantage of air, water, wood, meadow, vineyards, and all that could contribute to rural beauty. Amadeus, in this sequestered spot, built a hermitage and enclosed a park, which he supplied with deer. Accompanied in his retreat by a few domestics, and supporting his aged limbs on a crooked and knotty staff, he spent his days far from the noise and busy scenes of the world, in innocence and piety. A deputation arrived at this retirement, conveying the triple crown and other trappings of the papacy. The ducal hermit accepted, with reluctance and tears, and after much entreaty, the insignia of power and authority. Western Christendom, amidst the unity of Romanism, had then two universal bishops, and two universal councils.[2] Eugenius and Felix, with the Florentine and Basilian synods, divided the Latin communion, except a few states which assumed an attitude of neutrality.

The two rival pontiffs and councils soon began the work of mutual excommunication. Eugenius hailed Felix, on his promotion to the pontifical throne, with imprecation and obloquy. He welcomed his brother, says Poggio his secretary, to his new dignity with the appellations of Mahomet, heretic, schismatic, antipope, Cerberus, the golden calf, the abomination of desolation erected in the temple of God, a monster that had risen to trouble the church and destroy the faith, and who, willing

[1] Bruy. 4. 126. Du Pin, 3. 39. Dan. 6, 167. Boss. 2. 167.
[2] Labb. 17. 395. Dan. 6. 168. Boss. 2. 177. Alex. 25. 540. Sylv. c. XLIII.

not merely to overthrow a single state but unhinge the whole universe, had resigned humanity, assumed the manners of a wild beast, and crowned the iniquity of his past life by the most frightful impiety.[1] His infallibility, among other accomplishments, discovered in this salutation a superior genius for elegance of diction and delicacy of sentiment. Luther, so celebrated for this talent in his answers to Leo and Henry, the Roman pontiff and the English king, was in this refinement, when compared with his holiness, a mere ninny.

Eugenius congratulated the council of Basil with similar compliments and benedictions. This assembly he called blockheads, fools, madmen, barbarians, wild beasts, malignants, wretches, persecutors, miscreants, schismatics, heretics, vagabonds, runagates, apostates, rebels, monsters, criminals, a conspiracy, an innovation, a deformity, a conventicle distinguished only for its temerity, sacrilege, audacity, machinations, impiety, tyranny, ignorance, irregularity, fury, madness, and the dissemination of falsehood, error, scandal, poison, pestilence, desolation, unrighteousness, and iniquity.[2]

Having sketched the character of the holy fathers with so much precision, his infallibility proceeded next, with equal professional skill, to annul their acts, and pronounce their sentence. This duty he performed in fine style in the council of Florence and with its full approbation. He condemned the Basilian proposition respecting the superiority of a council to a pope, and rescinded all the Basilian declarations and enactments. Their doom, pronounced by the pontiff in full council, soon followed. His infallibility, the viceroy of heaven, in the discharge of his pastoral duty, and actuated with zeal for God, and to expel a pernicious pestilence and an accursed impiety from the church, despoiled the Basilian doctors, bishops, archbishops, and cardinals of all honour, office, benefice, and dignity; excommunicated and anathematized the whole assembly, with their patrons and adherents of every rank and condition, civil and ecclesiastical, and consigned that 'gang of all the devils in the universe, by wholesale, to receive their portion in condign punishment and in eternal judgment with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.'[3] The pontifical and synodical denunciations extended to the Basilian magistracy, consuls, sheriffs, governors, officials, and citizens. These, if they failed in thirty

[1] Bruy. 4. 130. Coss. 5. 232. Labb. 18. 841, 914, 1394. Poggio. 101, 155.
[2] Labb. 18. 914. 1202—1335. Poggio. 156.
[3] Affirmat totius orbis dæmonia ad Latrocinium Basileense confluxisse, ut, ad complendum iniquitatem, abominationem desolationis in Dei ecclesia ponunt. Declarat omnes qui Basiliæ remanserint, cum Core, Datan et Abiron, æternum judicio esse perdendos. Labb. 13. 1884.

days to expel the council from the city, Eugenius subjected to interdict and confiscation of goods. Their forfeited property might, by pontifical authority, be seized by the faithful or by any person who could take possession. This edifying sentence his infallibility pronounced in the plenitude of apostolic power, and subjected all who should attempt any infringement on his declaration, constitution, condemnation, and reprobation, to the indignation of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.[1] This was the act of the general, apostolic, holy, Florentine council, and issued with due solemnity in a public synodal session.

Nicholas the Fifth, who succeeded Eugenius, continued, on his accession, to follow his predecessor's footsteps, and confirmed his sentence against Amadeus of Savoy and the council of Basil. Nicholas denominated Eugenius the supreme head of the church and vicar-general of Jesus. But Felix, whom he excommunicated with all his adherents, he designated the patron of schism, heresy, and iniquity. The dukedom of Savoy, his holiness, by apostolic authority, transferred to Charles the French king, to bring the population back to the sheepfold. This plenipotentiary of heaven then proclaimed a crusade against the duke and his subjects. He admonished the French king to assume the sign of the cross, and to act in this enterprize with energy. He exhorted the faithful to join the French army; and for their encouragement, his holiness, supported by the mercy of the Omnipotent God, and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, granted the crusading army a full pardon of all their sins, and, at the resurrection of the just, the enjoyment of eternal life.[2]

Felix and the Basilians, however, did not take all this kindness for nothing. The holy fathers, with their pontiff at their head, returned the Florentine benedictions with spirit and piety. Their spiritual artillery hurled back the imprecations, and repaid their competitor's anathemas. The Basilians, with devout cordiality, nullified the Florentine council, and rescinded all its acts.[3] The Basilian congress indeed cursed, as usual, in a masterly style. But Felix, through some defect of intellect or education, was miserably defective in this pontifical accomplishment. His genius, in the noble art of launching execrations, was far inferior to that of Eugenius and Nicholas, who, from nature or cultivation, possessed splendid talents for the papal duty of cursing. He did well afterwards to resign the

[1] Du Pin, 3. 28. Bray. 4. 130. Labb. 18. 916, 1205—1384.
[2] Labb. 19. 47. Coss. 5. 261.
[3] Labb. 18. 1365. Bray. 4. 130. Du Pin. 3. 42.

office, for which his inability for clothing imprecations in suitable language rendered him unfit. The council were to blame for choosing a head, who, in this capacity, showed such woful inadequacy. Few of these vice-gods, however, for the honour of the holy See, were incompetent in this useful attainment. Felix, in latter days, seems to have been the only one, who, in this respect, disgraced his dignity.

The schism in the prelacy and popedom communicated to the nations. These were divided into three fractions, according to their declaration for Eugenius, Felix, or neutrality. The two popes and synods, though branded with mutual excommunication, had their several obediences among the people. The majority of the European kingdoms declared for Eugenius. He was patronized by Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Scotland. France and England acknowledged the council of Basil; and yet, in sheer inconsistency, rejected Felix and adhered to Eugenius. Scotland, except a few lords, not only declared for Eugenius, but its prelacy, assembled in a national council, excommunicated Felix. Arragon, through interested motives, declared in 1441 for Felix, and afterwards, in 1443, veered round to Eugenius.[1]

Felix, however, commanded a respectable minority. He was recognized by Switzerland, Hungary, Austria, Bavaria, Strasburgh, Calabria, Piedmont, and Savoy. His authority was acknowledged by many universities of France, Germany, and Poland; such as those of Paris, Vienna, Erfurt, Colonia, and Cracow. The Carthusians and Franciscans also rallied round the standard of Felix.[2]

Germany, forming a third party, disclaimed both the competitors, and maintained, amid these dissentions, an armed neutrality. Its suspension of obedience commenced in 1438, and lasted eight years. During this period, its priesthood and people contrived, in some way or other, to do without a pope.[3] The Germans, on this occasion, anticipated, on the subject of pontifical authority, their revolt under Luther, which ushered in the Reformation.

This schism, however, which had distracted western Christendom for about ten years, terminated in 1449. This was effected by the resignation of Felix, at the earnest entreaty of kings, councils, and people. Amadeus, unlike Urban, Boniface, Innocent, Gregory, Clement, and Benedict, who were rivals in the great western schism, abdicated with promptitude and facility.[4]

[1] Labb. 18. 1396. Daniel, 6. 224. Cossart, 5. 38.
[2] Labb. 18. 1397, 1398, 1403.
[3] Alex. 23. 45. Labb. 18. 1368 1373. Platina, 173.
[4] Du Pin, 3. 43. Dan. 6. 226.

He had accepted the dignity with reluctance, and he renounced it without regret.

Prior to his demission, however, the popes and the councils of the two obediences annulled their mutual sentences of condemnation. Nicholas, in the plenitude of apostolic power, and in a bull which he addressed to all the faithful, rescinded, in due form, all the suspensions, interdicts, privations, and anathemas, which had been issued against Felix and the council of Basil; while, at the same time, he approved and confirmed all their ordinations, promotions, elections, provisions, collations, confirmations, consecrations, absolutions, and dispensations. He abrogated all that was said or written against Felix and the Basilian convention. This bull overthrows the ultramontan system, which maintains the illegitimacy of the Basilian synod from the deposition of Eugenius. Nicholas confirmed it in the amplest manner. Felix then revoked all the Basilian proceedings against Eugenius, Nicholas, and the Florentine council; and, though appointed legate, vicar, first cardinal, and second to the sovereign pontiff, retired again to his retreat at Ripaille, on the banks of the Leman Lake; and there, till his death in 1450, enjoyed a life of ease and piety.[1]

The Basilian and Florentine schism presented an odd prospect of papal unity. Two popes and two synods exchanged reciprocal anathemas; and afterwards, in a short time, sanctioned all their several acts with the broad seal of mutual approbation and authority. Felix,—whom Eugenius had designated Antichrist, Mahomet, Cerberus, a schismatic, a heretic, the golden calf, and the abomination of desolation,—Nicholas, in the friendliest style, and kindest manner, called chief cardinal, and dearest brother.[2] The council of Basil, which Eugenius had represented as an assembly of madmen, barbarians, wild beasts, heretics, miscreants, monsters, and a pandemonium, Nicholas, without any hesitation and in the amplest manner, approved and confirmed. Two general councils condemned each other for schism and heresy, and afterwards exchanged mutual compliments and approbation. The French and Italian schools still continue their enmity. The French detest the Florentine convention and applaud the Basilian assembly; whilst the Italians denounce the conventicle of Basil and eulogize the council of Florence.

The Basilian and Florentine contest displays all the elements of discord, which distinguish the great western schism. Pope,

[1] Labb. 19. 50. Coss. 5. 247. Lenfant. 2. 210. Bruy. 4. 159. Alex. 23, 53.
[2] Carissimum fratrem nostrum Amadeum, primum Cardinalem. Alex. 25, 258. Coss. 5. 274.

in both, opposed pope. Two viceroys of heaven clashed in mutual excommunications. Western Christendom, on both occasions, was rent into contending factions. Nations, severed from nation, refused reciprocal communion, and acknowledged two jarring ecclesiastical sovereigns.

But the latter schism contained also a new element of dissension, unknown to the former. An universal council, as a specimen of Romish unity, opposed an universal council, and both fulminated mutual execrations. Each assembly in its own and in its party's opinion, and, according to many at the present day, represented the whole church; and, nevertheless, in the bitterest enmity, and in unequivocal language, thundered reciprocal sentences of heresy and reprobation.

But doctrinal, as well as historical and electoral variations, troubled the papacy, Historians, for a century, differed in their records of the popedom, while electors, in many cases, disagreed in their choice of a sovereign. Several of the pontiffs also varied from the faith of the majority. All the heads of the church, who patronized heresy, need not be enumerated. A few of the most distinguished, however, may be mentioned; such as Victor, Stephen, Zosimus, Honorius, Vigilius, and John.

Victor, or, according to Bellarmine, Zephyrinus, patronized Montanism. His infallibility approved the prophecies of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla, admitted these fanatics to his communion, and granted the impostors letters of peace or recommendation to the churches of Asia and Phrygia. The pontiff, deceived by appearances, gave Montanus, says Godeau, 'pacific letters, which shews that he had admitted the prophet to his communion.' According to Rhenanus, 'his holiness Montanized.' He sanctioned the blasphemy of these enthusiasts by the seal of his infallibility. Montanism, when countenanced by the pontiff, had been condemned by the church. Victor's recommendation of the heresy, therefore, was without excuse. The pope afterward revoked his letters of peace; and in so doing, varied from himself, as he had, in granting them, differed from the church. Praxeas, says Tertullian, remonstrated against the conduct of Victor, who, in consequence, was forced to recant.[1] The hierarch's approbation and recantation were equal proofs of his infallibility and consistency.

Stephen erred on the subject of baptism. His holiness, followed by the Spaniards, French, and Italians, maintained the validity of baptism administered by any heretical denomination.

[1] Bell. IV. 8. Tertull. 501. Du Pin, 346. Godeau, 136. Spon. 173. 11 Bruy. 1. 40.

His infallibility's language, according to Cyprian, Firmilian, and the plain signification of the words, taught the efficacy of the baptismal ceremony in any form, even without the name of the Trinity.[1] The cotemporary partizans of heresy, indeed, except the Novatians, who were out of the question, rejected the deity of the Son and the Spirit, and, therefore, in this institution, omitted the names of these two divine persons. Their forms, in the celebration of this sacrament, were, as appears from Irenæus, distinguished for their ridiculousness and absurdity. Persons, however, who had been baptized in any heretical communion did not, according to Stephen's system, need a repetition of the ceremony.

Cyprian, the Carthaginian metropolitan, who led the Africans, Numidians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, Galatians, Cilicians, Pontians, and Egyptians, held the opposite opinion. He maintained the invalidity of heretical baptism, and rebaptized all, who, renouncing any heresy, assumed the profession of Catholicism. Cyprian's system was supported by tradition and several councils, and had obtained through Africa and Asia. The decisions of Stephen and Cyprian are in direct opposition, and both contrary to modern Catholicism.[2]

The pontiff and the saint maintained their respective errors with animosity and sarcasm. The pontiff called the saint antichrist, a false apostle, and a deceitful workman. To a deputation sent on this subject from Africa he refused admission into his presence, or even the rights of common hospitality; and excommmunicated both the Africans and Orientals. His inflexibility was returned with interest by Cyprian and Firmilian. Cyprian accused his holiness of error, apostacy, schism, heresy, pride, impertinence, ignorance, inconsistency, indiscretion, falsehood, obstinacy, presumption, stupidity, senselessness, perversity, obduracy, blasphemy, impatience, perfidy, indocility, and contumacy.[3] Such was a Roman saint's character of a Roman pontiff and the vicar-general of God.

Firmilian's portrait of his infallibility is unflattering as that of Cyprian. The prominent traits in Firmilian's picture of his holiness are inhumanity, insolence, audacity, dissension, discord, folly, pride, ridiculousness, ignorance, contumacy, error, schism, and heresy. He even represented the head of the church as an apostate, worse than all heretics, in supporting error and

[1] Cyprian, 210. Bin. 1. 177. Euseb. VII. 2.

[2] Les Romains vouloient qu'il fût bon, par quelque Heretique qu'il fût conferé: et les Afriquains soutenoient, qu'il étoit nul s'il étoit conferé hors de l'église, par les hérétiques. Il n'y a rien de plus opposé, que ces deux decrets. Maim b. 88, 90, 97. Du Pin, 347. Cyprian, Ep. LXXIV

[3] Cyprian, 210—215.

obscuring the light of ecclesiastical truth, who, in attempting to excommunicate others, had separated himself from the whole Christian community.[1] These two moral painters, between them, certainly did great justice to his infallibility's character, and sketched the features as large as life.

Stephen and Cyprian, as well as their several factions, were, after all, both in an error. The validity of baptism, according to the Romish system, depends not on the administrator, but on the matter and form. The administrator may be a heretic or a schismatic, a clergyman, a layman, or a woman, if the element of water and the name of the Trinity be used. Cyprian and Stephen, the saint and the pontiff, differed from one another, and according to the present popish faith, from the truth. The church, in the clashing systems of the Carthaginian metropolitan and the Roman hierarch, varied on this topic from the church which has been established since their day. Cyprian's opinion, though supported by Athanasius, Cyril, Dionysius, Optatus, and Basil, with the Asiatic and African communions, was, in 314, condemned by the council of Arles. Stephen's opinion, which supported the efficacy of any baptism, even without the name of the Trinity, was, in 325, condemned, in the nineteenth canon of the general council of Nice.[2]

Liberius, Zosimus, and Honorius patronized Arianism, Pelagianism, and Monothelitism. Liberius excommunicated Athanasius, and signed an Arian confession of faith. Zosimus countenanced Pelagianism, Honorius professed Monothelitism, and was condemned for this heresy in the sixth general council. These three pontiffs, however, will occur in a future part of this work, when their errors will be more fully developed.

Vigilius, the next topic of animadversion, was the prince of changelings. The celebrated Vicar of Bray seems to have been only a copy, taken from the original—the notorious bishop of Rome. This pontifical shuttlecock, during his supremacy, shifted his ground no less than six times. His infallibility, according to Liberatus, began his popedom by issuing a declaration in favour of Monophysitism. This confession was intended to satisfy the Empress Theodora, who favoured this heresy. His holiness anathematized the Chalcedonian faith and its patrons, and embraced the Eutychianism of Anthemus, Severus, and Theodosius. This system, however, his infallibility, in the vicissitudes of inconsistency, soon retracted, and shifted round, like the veering vane, to the definition of Chalcedon. The pontiff, in 539, in a communication to the Emperor

[1] Cyprian, Ep. 75. Bruy. 1. 65.
[2] Challenor. 5. Labb. 1. 1452. et 2. 42. Maimb. 98. 99. Bin. 1. 20.

Justinian and the patriarch Mennas, disclaimed Eutychianism and excommunicated all its partizans.[1]

His avowal of Jacobitism, indeed, was during the life of his rival Silverius, when, instead of being lawful pastor, Vigilius, according to Bellarmine, Baronius, and Godeau, was only an illegal intruder, who had obtained the ecclesiastical sovereignty by violence and simony.[2] The usurper, however, even then held the whole administration of the papacy; and, after the death of his competitor, made four different and jarring confessions of faith on the subject of the three chapters, which contained the writings of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus.

Vigilius, in 547, opposed Justinian's edict, which condemned the works of these three authors.[3] The emperor, in 545, had issued a constitution, in which he anathematized Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, and condemned their productions, on account of their execrable heresy and blasphemy. The imperial proclamation was subscribed by Mennas, Zoilos, Ephraim, and Peter, patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and by the oriental suffragans, who followed the footsteps of their superiors. His holiness, however, on his arrival in the imperial city, in 547, refused to sign the imperial edict. He declared the condemnation of the three chapters derogatory to the council of Chalcedon, and, in consequence, excommunicated the Grecian clergy, and anathematized all who condemned Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus.

His infallibility's hostility to the royal manifesto, however, was temporary. His holiness, in 548, published a bull, which he called his judgment, and which condemned, in the strongest and most express terms, the works of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus. These productions, according to this decision, contained many things contrary to the right faith, and tending to the establishment of impiety and Nestorianism. Vigilius, therefore, anathematized the publications, the authors, and their abettors. Alexander and Godeau, on this occasion, acknowledged the inconsistency of his infallibility's judgment with his former decision.[4] Godeau's observation is worthy of remark. The pontiff's compliance with the emperor, says the historian, was a prudent accommodation to the malignity of the times.[5]

[1] Liberat. c. XXII. Godeau, 4. 203, 208. Vigil. Ep. IV. V.
[2] Bell. IV. 11. Godeau, 4. 206. Binn. 4. 400.
[3] Damnationi primum obstitit. Alex. 12 33. Godeau, 4. 229. Theoph. 152.
[4] Illa postmodum judicato damnavit. Alexand. 12. 33. Maimb. 67. Labb. 6. 23, 177.
C'étoit un jugement contraire au premier, qu'il avoit si fortement soutenu contre l'Empereur, et contre les évêques Orientaux. Godeau, 4. 233.
[5] Prudent accommodement à la malignité du temps. Godeau, 4. 233.

The badness of the times, in the good bishop's mind, justified the Pope's discretion and versatility.

The Latin clergy, however, had a different opinion of the pontifical judgment. These, to a man, forsook Vigilius: Dacius, Sebastian, Rusticus, and Facundus, with the Illyrians, Dalmatians, and Africans, viewed the decision as the subversion of the Chalcedonian faith, and the establishment of Eutychianism on the ruins of Catholicism. Facundus openly taxed his holiness with prevarication and perfidy.[1]

His infallibility, ever changing, issued, in 553, in a council of sixteen bishops and three deacons, a constitution which overthrew his judgment. Vigilius, in this constitution, disapproved of sixty extracts from Theodorus, in the bad acceptation in which they had been taken; but prohibited the condemnation of his person. He could not, he said, by his own sentence, condemn Theodorus nor allow him to be condemned by any. The pontiff, at the same time, declared the catholicism of the works, and forbade all anathematizing of the persons of Theodoret and Ibas. His supremacy ordained and decreed, that nothing should be done or attempted to the injury or detraction of Theodoret, who signed, without hesitation, the Chalcedonian definition, and consented with ready devotion to Leo's letter. He decided and commanded, that the judgment of the Chalcedonian fathers, who declared the orthodoxy of Ibas, should remain, without addition or diminution. All this was in direct contradiction, as the fifth general council shewed, to his judgment, in which he had condemned the heresy of the three chapters, and anathematized the persons of their authors and advocates. This constitution, however, notwithstanding its inconsistency with his former declaration, the pontiff sanctioned by his apostolic authority, and interdicted all of every ecclesiastical dignity, from writing, speaking, publishing, or teaching any thing against his pontifical decision.[2]

The sixth and last detour of Vigilius was his confirmation of the fifth general council, which condemned and anathematized Ibas, Theodoret, Theodorus, and their works, for impiety, wickedness, blasphemy, madness, heresy, and Nestorianism. The following is a specimen of the infallible assembly's condemnation of the three chapters and their authors, which the holy fathers, as usual, bellowed in loud vociferation. 'Anathema to Theodorus. Satan composed his confession. The Ephesian council anathematized its author. Theodorus renounced the gospel. Anathema to all who do not anathematzie Theodorus.

[1] Godeau, 4. 231. Bruy. in Vigil.
[2] Labb. 5. 1350—1360. Maimb. 68.

Theodoret's works contain blasphemy and impiety against the right faith and the Ephesian council. The epistle of Ibas is, in all things, contrary to the Chalcedonian definition and the true faith. The epistle contains heresy. The whole epistle is blasphemy. Whosoever does not anathematize it is a heretic. Anathema to Theodorus, Nestorius, and Ibas.' All this, notwithstanding his constitution in behalf of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, his infallibility approved and confirmed.[1]

His holiness did not stop with a simple confirmation of the fifth general council. He, also, like the Ecumenical Synod, vented a noisy torrent of obloquy against the departed souls of Ibas, Theodoret and Theodorus, when their flesh was resolved into dust and their bones were mouldering in the tomb. He condemned and anathematized Theodoret and Theodorus, whose works, according to his infallibility, contained impiety and many things against the right faith and the Ephesian council.[2] A similar sentence, he pronounced against Ibas, his works, and all who believed or defended their impiety.

The papacy of Vigilius presents a scene of fluctuation unknown in the annals of Protestantism. The vicar-general of God, the head of the church, and the father and teacher of all Christians shifted his ground six times. He sanctioned Eutychianism and afterwards retracted. He withstood Justinian's edict, and, in his celebrated judgment, afterwards recanted. The changeling pontiff, in his constitution, shielded Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, and afterwards confirmed the general council, which condemned these authors for blasphemy and heresy. His infallibility's condemnation of the three chapters was opposed by the whole Latin communion. The Africans, Illyrians, Dalmatians, and many other churches withdrew from his communion, and accused him of overthrowing the council of Chalcedon and establishing Monophysitism. A general council of the Grecian prelacy, in the mean time, condemned the Pope's constitution and the declaration of the Latin clergy; and this council's sentence, amid the universal distraction of Christendom, was established by Pope Vigilius, and afterwards by Pelagius, Gregory, Nicholas, and Leo.[3]

John the twenty-second was another of these pontiffs, who was distinguished for patronizing heresy. 'This father and teacher of all Christians' denied the admission of disembodied souls into the beatific vision of God, during their intermediate state between death and the resurrection. The spirits of the just, indeed, he believed, entered at death on the enjoy-

[1] Labb. 6. 66, 130, 197, 199, 310. Godeau, 4. 265, 268.
[2] Labb 6. 241, 244. Bruy. 1. 228.
[3] Godeau, 4. 233. Bruy. 1. 327.

ment of happiness and the contemplation of the Son's glorified humanity. But the vision of Jehovah and the perfection of felicity, according to this head of the church, are deferred till the day of general judgment.[1]

This dogma his supremacy taught by sermons, letters, and legations. He preached the heresy in public, according to Balusius, Raynal, and Maimbourg, in three sermons in succession, and caused it to be maintained by cardinals, prelates, and doctors.[2] He transmitted letters in all directions, especially through the French nation, in support of his theory. He sent two theologians on a mission to the Parisian faculty, to effect the proselytism of that literary seminary to his system. John, says Adrian the Sixth, quoted by Launoy, 'publicly taught and declared his innovation, and enjoined its belief on all men.'[3] Nangis has transmitted a similar statement. He endeavoured, in this manner, says Du Pin, 'to spread his error, and disseminate a universal heresy through the whole church.'[4]

His infallibility's speculation, however, soon met decided hostility. The citizens of Avignon, indeed, in which John resided, maintained a profound silence. This, in some, arose from fear, and, in some, from favour. A few believed and countenanced the innovation. Many disbelieved; but, at the same time, concealed their disapprobation through terror of the pontiff's power and tyranny. The king and the Parisian university, however, were not to be affrighted. Philip, in 1333, assembled the faculty, who canvassed the controversy and condemned his infallibility's faith as a falsehood and a heresy. These doctors defined, that the souls of the faithful come at death, to the naked, clear, beatific, intuitive, and immediate vision of the essence of the divine and blessed Trinity. Many doctors concurred with the Parisians in opposition to the pontiff. Gobelin called his infallibility an old dotard. Alliaco denominated John's theory an error; while Gerson characterized it as a falsehood. Philip, the French monarch, proclaimed its condemnation by the sound of a trumpet.[5]

The statements and reasons of the university and of other divines were unavailing. His infallibility was proof against Parisian dialectics. But the French king was an abler logician, and his reasoning, in consequence, possessed more efficiency.

[1] Du Pin, 352. Alex. 22. 451. Maimb. 130.

[2] Il l'enseigna publiquement. Il la prêcha lui-même. Il obligea, par son exemple, les Cardinaux, les prelats de sa cour, et les docteurs, a la soutenir. Maimb. 131.

[3] Publice docuit, declaravit, et ab omnibus teneri mandavit. Launoy, 1. 534

[4] Joannes Papa XXII. errorem de beatitudine animæ, quam ipse diu tenuerat, publice prædicaverat. Nangis, Ann. 1334. Dachery, 3. 97.

[5] Bruy. 3. 420, 422. Cossart, 4. 434. Maimb. 132. Gobelin, c. LXXI.

The royal argument, on the occasion, was composed of fire. His most Christian majesty threatened, if the pontiff did not retract, to roast his Supremacy in the flames.[1] This tangible and sensible argument, always conclusive and convincing, was calculated for the meridian of his infallibility's intellect. This luminous application therefore, soon connected the premises with the conclusion, brightened John's ideas, and convinced him, in a short time, of his error. The clearness of the threatened fire communicated light to his infallibility's understanding. His holiness, though enamoured of heresy, was not, it appears, ambitious of martyrdom. He chose to retract, therefore, rather than be burned alive. His infallibility, accordingly, just before he expired, read his recantation and declared his orthodoxy, on the subject of the beatific vision and the enjoyment of the deity.

Bellarmine and Labbé deny John's heterodoxy.[2] These endeavour to excuse the pontiff, but by different means. Bellarmine grounds his vindication on the silence of the church on this topic, when John published his opinion. No synodical or authoritative definition, declaring the soul's enjoyment of the beatific vision before the resurrection, preceded the papal decision, which therefore was no heresy. Heresy then is no heresy, according to the cardinal, but truth, prior to the sentence of the church. John's opinion, Bellarmine admits, is now heterodoxy; but, on its original promulgation, was orthodoxy. Truth, it seems, can, by an ecclesiastical definition, be transubstantiated into error, and catholicism into heresy, even in an unchangeable church distinguished for its unity. The popish communion can effect the transubstantiation of doctrinal propositions, as well as of the sacramental elements. John's faith, says Labbé, was taught by Irenæus, Lactantius, and other orthodox fathers.[3] This is a noble excuse indeed, and calculated to display, in a strong light, the unity of Romanism. The faith of primitive saints and orthodox fathers is, it seems, become heresy. Labbé attempts to acquit John by arraigning Irenæus and Lactantius. The legitimate conclusion from the premises is, that Irenæus, Lactantius, and John, were all three infected with error,

Moral, as well as historical, electoral, and doctrinal variations diversified and disfigured the popedom. Sanctity characterized the early Roman bishops, and degeneracy their successors. Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, and many of a later period were distinguished by piety, benevolence, holiness, and humility.

[1] Rex rogum ipsi intentans ne revocarit errorem. Alex. 22. 461.
[2] Bell. 1. 780. Labb. 15. 147. Alex. 22. 456.
[3] Labb. 15. 147. Cassant, 4. 437.

Some deviations and defects might appear, marking the infirmity and the imperfection of man. The Roman pastors, however, who, during the earlier days of Christianity, did not, in moral character, aspire to excellence, aimed at decency; and few, for a long series of years, sunk below mediocrity.

But the Roman hierarchs of the middle and succeeding ages exhibited a melancholy change. Their lives displayed all the variations of impiety, malevolence, inhumanity, ambition, debauchery, gluttony, sensuality, deism, and atheism. Gregory the Great seems to have led the way in the career of villainy. This celebrated pontiff has been characterized as worse than his predecessors and better than his successors, or, in other terms, as the last good and the first bad pope. The flood-gates of moral pollution appear, in the tenth century, to have been set wide open, and inundations of all impurity poured on the Christian world through the channel of the Roman hierarchy. Awful and melancholy indeed is the picture of the popedom at this era, drawn, as it has been, by its warmest friends; such as Platina, Petavius, Luitprand, Genebrard, Baronius, Hermann, Barclay, Binius, Giannone, Vignier, Labbé, and Du Pin. Platina calls these Pontiffs monsters. Fifty popes, says Genebrard, in 150 years, from John the Eighth till Leo the Ninth, entirely degenerated from the sanctity of their ancestors, and were apostatical rather than apostolical.[1] Thirty pontiffs resigned in the tenth century: and the successor, in each instance, seemed demoralized even beyond his predecessor. Baronius, in his Annals of the Tenth Century, seems to labour for language to express the base degeneracy of the popes and the frightful deformity of the popedom. Many shocking monsters, says the annalist, intruded into the pontifical chair, who were guilty of robbery, assassination, simony, dissipation, tyranny, sacrilege, perjury, and all kinds of miscreancy. Candidates, destitute of every requisite qualification, were promoted to the papal chair; while all the canons and traditions of antiquity were contemned and outraged. The church, says Giannone, was then in a shocking disorder, in a chaos of iniquity. Some says Barclay, crept into the popedom by stealth; while others broke in by violence, and defiled the holy chair with the filthiest immorality.[2]

[1] Per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter quinquagista a Ioanne scilicet VIII, usque ad Leonem IX, virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, apostatici potius quam apostolici, Geneb. IV. Platina, 128. Du Pin, 2. 156. Bruy. 2. 208.

[2] Plurima horrenda in eam monstra intruserunt. Spon. 900. I. et 908. III.

L'eglise etoi plongée dans un cahos d'impietes. An. Eccl. 344. Giannon, VII. 5.

Sanctissimam Cathedram moribus inquinatissimis foedavisse. Barclay, 36. c. 4. On ne voyoit alors des Papes, mais des monstres. An. Eccl. 345. Giannon, VII, 5

The electors and the elected, during this period, appear, as might be expected, to have been kindred spirits. The electors were neither the clergy nor people, but two courtezans, Theodora and Marozia, mother and daughter, women distinguished by their beauty, and at the same time, though of senatorial family, notorious for their prostitution. These polluted patrons of licentiousness, according to their pleasure, passion, whim, or caprice, elected popes, collated bishops, disposed of diocesses, and indeed assumed, in a great measure, the whole administration of the church. The Roman See, become the prey of avarice and ambition, was given to the highest bidder.[1]

These vile harlots, according to folly or fancy, obtruded their filthy gallants or spurious offspring on the pontifical throne. Theodora, having conceived a violent but base passion for John the Tenth, raised her gallant to the papacy. The pontiff, like his patron, was an example of sensuality; and was afterwards, in 924, at the instigation of Marozia, deposed, and, in all probability, strangled by Wido, Marquis of Tuscany. Marozia was mistress to Sergius the Third, who treated the dead body of Formosus with such indignity. She brought her pontifical paramour a son; and this hopeful scion of illegitimacy and the popedom was, by his precious mother, promoted to the vicegerency of heaven. His conduct was worthy of his genealogy. He was thrown, however, into prison by Alberic, Marozia's son by Adelbert, where he died of grief, or, some say, by assassination.[2] The person who can believe in the validity of such elections, and the authority of such pontiffs, must possess an extraordinary supply of faith, or rather of credulity.

A person desirous of painting scenes of atrocity and filth, might, in the history of the popedom, find ample materials of gratification. A mass of moral impurity might be collected from the Roman hierarchy, sufficient to crowd the pages of folios, and glut all the demons of pollution and malevolence. But delineations of this kind afford no pleasing task. The facts, therefore, on this topic shall be supplied with a sparing hand. A few specimens, however, are necessary, and shall be selected from the biography of John, Boniface, Gregory, Sixtus, Alexander, Julius, and Leo.

John the Twelfth ascended the papal throne in 955, in the eighteenth year of his age. His youthful days were characterized by barbarity and pollution. He surpassed al. his prede-

[1] Le siege de Rome etoit donné au plus offerant. Giannon. VII: 5. An. Eccl. 345.
[2] Spon. 929. I. et 933. I. Giannon, VII. 5. 6. Luitprand, II. 13. Petavius, I. 418. L'infame Theodora fit elire pour Pape, le plus declaré de ses amans, qui fut appellé Jean X. Baronius ecrit, qu' alors Rome etoit sans Pape. An. Eccl. 345. Giannon, VII. 5.

cessors, says Platina, in debauchery. His holiness, in a Roman synod, before Otho the Great, was found guilty of blasphemy, perjury, profanation, impiety, simony, sacrilege, adultery, incest, constupration, and murder. He swore allegiance to Otho, and afterwards revolted to his enemy. Ordination, which he often bartered for money, he conferred on a deacon in a stable, and on a boy ten years old by constituting him a bishop. He killed John, a sub-deacon, by emasculation, Benedict by putting out his eyes, and, in the wantonness of cruelty, amputated the nose of one cardinal, and the hand of another. He drank a health to the devil, invoked Jupiter and Venus, lived in public adultery with the Roman matrons, and committed incest with Stephania, his father's concubine. The Lateran palace, formerly the habitation of purity, he converted into a sink of infamy and prostitution. Fear of violation from Peter's successor deterred female pilgrims, maids, matrons, and widows, from visiting Peter's tomb. His infallibility, when summoned to attend the synod to answer for these charges, refused; but excommunicated the council in the name of Almighty God. The clergy and laity, however, declared his guilt, and prayed, if the accusations were unfounded, that they might be accursed, and placed on the left hand at the day of judgment. The pontifical villain was deposed by the Roman council. But he afterward regained the Holy See; and, being caught in adultery, was killed, says Luitprand, by the devil, or, more probably, by the injured husband. John, says Bellarmine, 'was nearly the wickedest of the popes.'[1] Some of the vice-gods, therefore, the cardinal suggests, surpassed his holiness in miscreancy.

Boniface the Seventh, who seized the papal chair in 974, murdered his predecessor and successor. Historians represent him as the basest and wickedest of mankind. Baronius calls him a thief, a miscreant, and a murderer, who is to be reckoned, not among the Roman pontiffs, but among the notorious robbers of the age. Gerbert and Vignier characterize this vice-god as a monster, who surpassed all mankind in miscreancy.[2] Prompted by Boniface, Crescentius strangled Benedict the Sixth, Boniface's predecessor, and placed Boniface on the papal chair. But the Roman citizens, provoked with the pontiff's atrocity, deposed him from his dignity, and expelled him from the city.

[1] Ordinationes episcoporum faceret pretio. Benedictum lumine privasse, et mox mortuum esse. Joannem virilibus amputatis occidisse.

Viduam Rænarii et Stephanam patris concubinam et Annam viduam cum nepte sua abusum esse: et sanctum palatium lupanar et prostibulum fecisse. Labb. ii. 881. A Diabolo est percussus. Labb. ii. 873. Platina, 132. Bellarmin. ii. 20.

[2] Sacrilegus prædo sedem Apostolicum invasit Bonifacius, annumerandus inter famosos latrones. Spon. 974. I. et 985. Bruy. 2. 265, 271. Boniface, monstre horrible, surmontant tous les humains en mechancétez. Vignier, 2. 606.

The exiled pontiff, however, was not, it appears, ambitious of travelling in the train of poverty. The treasury of the Vatican was rifled by this apostolical robber, and its sacred ornaments and vessels conveyed by his holy hands to Constantinople. Benedict the Seventh was, by universal suffrage, substituted in his stead. He held the papacy nine years, in opposition to Boniface, and was succeeded by John the Fourteenth. Boniface, in the mean time, having sold the spoils of the Vatican, and amassed a vast sum of money, returned to Rome. This treasure he expended in the bribery of his partizans, who, by main violence, replaced the ruffian, in 985, on the pontifical throne. John, who had succeeded during his absence, he imprisoned in the castle of Angelo, where, in four months after, he died of starvation and misery. But even the death of his rival could not satiate the vengeance of Boniface. John's cold, pale, stiffened, emaciated corpse was placed at the door of the castle, and there, in all its ghastly and haggard frightfulness, exposed to the public gaze. But the murderer did not long survive this insult on the dead. He died suddenly, and his naked carcass, mangled and lacerated by his former partizans, to whom he had become odious, was, with the utmost indignity, dragged through the streets.

Gregory the Seventh, who obtained the papacy in 1073, was another pontifical patron of iniquity. He was elected on the day of his predecessor's funeral, by the populace and soldiery, through force and bribery, without the concurrence of the emperor or the clergy. Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, on this head, accused Hildebrand to his face of precipitation. He obtained the supremacy, in the general opinion, by gross simony.[1] He had the hypocrisy or hardihood, nevertheless, to pretend that the dignity was obtruded on him against his will.

Benno has sketched the character of this pontiff in strong colours. This cardinal accused his holiness of simony, sacrilege, epicurism, magic, sorcery, treason, impiety, and murder. The Italians of Lombardy drew nearly as frightful a portrait of his supremacy. These represented his holiness as having gained the pontifical dignity by simony, and stained it by assassination and adultery.

The councils of Worms and Brescia depicted his character with great precision. The council of Worms, comprehending forty-six of the German prelacy, met in 1076, and preferred numerous imputations against Gregory. This synod found his holiness guilty of usurpation, simony, apostacy, treason, schism,

[1] Du Pin, 2. 210, 215. Bruy. 2. 427.

heresy, chicanery, dissimulation, fornication, adultery, and perjury. His infallibility, according to this assembly, debased sacred theology by innovation, and scandalized Christendom by his intimacy with the Princess Matilda. His holiness, in the sentence of the German prelacy, preferred harlots to women of character, and adultery and incest to chaste and holy matrimony.[1]

The council of Brescia, in 1078, pourtrayed his supremacy with equal freedom. This assembly, composed of thirty bishops, and many princes from Italy, France, and Germany, called Gregory a fornicator, an impostor, an assassin, a violator of the canons, a disseminator of discord, a disturber of the Christian commonwealth, and a pestilential patron of all madness, who had sown scandal among friends, dissension among the peaceful, and separation among the married. The Brescian fathers, then declared his holiness guilty of bribery, usurpation, simony, sacrilege, ferocity, vain-glory, ambition, impiety, obstinacy, perverseness, sorcery, divination, necromancy, schism, heresy, Berengarianism, infidelity, assassination, and perjury. The sacred synod having, in this manner, done justice to his character, deposed Gregory from his dignity by the authority of Almighty God.[2]

The fathers of Worms and Brescia supported the Emperor Henry against Pope Gregory. Their condemnation of the pontiff therefore has, by Labbé, Alexander, and Binius, been reckoned the effect of personal hostility, and, on this account, unworthy of credit. Their sentence, indeed, is no great evidence of their friendship for his holiness. But these two councils were, in this respect, in the same situation with the other synods who have condemned any of the Roman hierarchs. The Roman synod that condemned John the Twelfth, the Parisian assembly that convicted Boniface, the Pisan and Constantian councils that degraded Gregory, Benedict, and John, all these were placed in similar circumstances, and actuated by similar motives. But their sentences are not, therefore, to be accounted the mere ebullitions of calumny. Gregory's sentence of deposition against Henry was, according to the partizans of popery in the present day, an unlawful act, and beyond the limits of pontifical authority. The fathers of Worms and Brescia, therefore, had a right to withstand Gregory in his assumption and exercise of illegal and unconstitutional power.

Boniface equalled, if he did not surpass Gregory, in all the arts of villany. These arts he practised on his predecessor

[1] Labb. 12. 517, Cossart, 2. 11, 48. Bruy. 2. 471. Alex. 18. 398.
[2] Labb. 12. 646. Alexander, 18. 402.

Celestin, a silly old dotard, who, prior to Boniface, placed on the pontifical throne, and clothed with infallibility, governed Christendom. He had been a visionary monk, who, in his mountain cave, mistook his own dreams for inspiration, and the whistling of the winds for the accents of divine revelation, and spent his useless days in vain contemplation and in the unrelenting maceration of his body. He considered his body, says Alliaco, as a domestic enemy. He would descend into a pit during the cold and snow, and remain till his clothes would be frozen. He wore a knotted hair-cloth which mangled his flesh, till it sometimes corrupted and produced worms. This visionary, in his fanaticism, was transferred from a mountain cavern of Apulia to the holy chair of Saint Peter; and his election, says Alexander, 'was the effect of divine afflatus.'[1]

Cardinal Cajetan, afterwards Boniface the Eighth, was, in the mean time, ambitious of the popedom. He formed a plan, in consequence, to induce Celestin to resign, that he might be substituted in his stead. Knowing Celestin's superstition, he spoke through a tube during the stillness of the night to the pontiff, and enjoined him to resign the papacy. The voice of the impostor Celestin mistook for the warning of an angel, and, in obedience to the command, renounced his authority. His reasons for abdication are a curiosity. He resigned on account of debility of body, defect of information, and the malignity of the people. Boniface, who in 1294 was chosen in his place, imprisoned the old man with such circumstances of severity as caused his death.[2]

The character of Boniface was placed in a striking point of view by Nogaret and Du Plesis. The pontiff had offended Philip the Fair, King of France, by his bulls of deposition issued against that monarch. His majesty, in consequence, called two conventions of the three estates of the French nation. Nogaret and Du Plesis, in these meetings, accused Boniface of usurpation, simony, ambition, avarice, church-robbery, extortion, tyranny, impiety, abomination, blasphemy, heresy, infidelity, murder, and the sin for which Sodom was consumed. His infallibility represented the gospel as a medley of truth and falsehood, and denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Trinity, the incarnation, and the immortality of the soul. The soul of man, his holiness affirmed, was the same as a beast's; and he believed no more in the Virgin Mary than in an ass, nor in her son than in the foal of an ass.[3]

[1] Clestinus simplex erat. Eberhard, An. 1290. Bruy. 3. 302. Andilly, 806. Alex. 20. 140. Canisius, 4. 223.

[2] Bruy. 3. 307. Mariana, 3. 256.

[3] Les hommes ont les mêmes ames, que les betes. L'Evangile enseigne plusieurs

These accusations were not mere hearsay, but supported on authentic and unquestionable evidence. Fourteen witnesses, men of credibility, deposed to their truth. Nogaret and Du Plesis offered to prove all these allegations before a general council. But Benedict and Clement, successors to Boniface, shrunk from the task of vindicating their predecessor, or, conscious of his guilt, spun out the time of the trial by various interruptions, without coming to any conclusion.[1]

The simplicity of Celestin and the subtlety of Boniface made both unhappy. Superstition made Celestin a self-tormentor; while his silliness, united indeed with superstition, rendered him the easy victim of Boniface. The understanding and infidelity of Boniface were just sufficient to pull destruction on his own head. The ambition of Boniface was as fatal to its possessor, as the submission of Celestin. Boniface, on his disappointment, died, gnawing his fingers, and knocking his head against the wall like one in desperation. He entered the papacy, it has been said, like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.

John the Twenty-third seems, if possible, to have exceeded all his predecessors in enormity. This pontiff moved in an extensive field of action, and discovered, during his whole career, the deepest depravity. The atrocity of his life was ascertained and published by the general council of Constance, after a tedious trial and the examination of many witnesses. Thirty-seven were examined on only one part of the imputations. Many of these were bishops and doctors in law and theology, and all were men of probity and intelligence. His holiness, therefore, was convicted on the best authority, and indeed confessed his own criminality.

The allegations against his infallibility were of two kinds. One respected faith and the other morality. His infallibility, in the former, was convicted of schism, heresy, deism, infidelity, heathenism, and profanity. He fostered schism, by refusing to resign the popedom for the sake of unity. He rejected all the

veritez, et plusieurs mensonges. La doctrine de la Trinité est fausse, l'enfantement d'une vierge est impossible, l'incarnation du fils de Dieu ridicule aussi bien que la transubstantiation. Je ne crois plus en elle qu'en une anesse, ni a son Fils, qu'au poulain d'une anesse. Bruy. 3. 346. Du Puy, 529. Alex. 22. 319, 327. Bons. 1. 278.

Papæ Bonifacio multa imposuerunt enormia, puta, hæresim, simoniam, et homicidia, Trivet. An. 1303. Dachery, 228.

Rex Francorum ossa Bonifacii petiit ad comburendum, tanquam hæretici. Trivet. Ann, 1306. Dachery, 3, 231. Eberhard, Anno. 1303. Canisius, 4. 228.

[1] Daniel, 4. 456. Du Pin, 2. 494.

Audiens Rex Franciæ Philippus a pluribus fide dignis personis, Papam Bonifacium detestandis infectum criminibus diversisque hæresibus irretitum. Nangis, Ann. 1303. Dachery, 3. 56.

Nogaretus abjecta crimina ediem innovavit, eaque legitime probare se offerens. Nangis, Ann. 1309. Dachery, 3, 62. Daniel. 4. 456.

truths of the gospel and all the doctrines of Christianity. He denied the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the responsibility of man. The human spirit, according to this head of the church, is, like that of the brute creation, extinguished at death. Agreeable to his belief or rather unbelief, he disregarded all the institutions of revealed religion. These principles, he held with the utmost pertinacity. According to the language of the Constantian assembly, his infallibility, actuated by the devil, pertinaciously said, asserted, dogmatized, and maintained before sundry bishops and other men of integrity, that man, like the irrational animals, became at death extinct both in soul and body.[1]

The other imputations respected morality. The list of allegations contained seventy particulars. But twenty were suppressed for the honour of the apostolic see. John, says Labbé, 'was convicted of forty crimes.'[2] The Constantian fathers, found his holiness guilty of simony, piracy, exaction, barbarity, robbery, massacre, murder, lying, perjury, fornication, adultery, incest, constupration, and sodomy; and characterized his supremacy as the oppressor of the poor, the persecutor of the just, the pillar of iniquity, the column of simony, the slave of sensuality, the alien of virtue, the dregs of apostacy, the inventor of malevolence, the mirror of infamy, and, to finish the climax, an incarnated devil. The accusation, says Niem, 'contained all mortal sins and an infinity of abominations.'

His simony, according to the council, appeared in the way in which he obtained the cardinalship, the popedom, and sold indulgences. He gained the cardinal and pontifical dignity by bribery and violence. He extorted vast sums by the traffic of indulgences in several cities, such as Utrecht, Mechlin, and Antwerp. He practised piracy with a high hand, during the war between Ladislas and Lewis, for the kingdom of Naples. His exactions, on many occasions, were attended with massacre and inhumanity. His treatment of the citizens of Bologna und Rome will supply a specimen of his cruelty and extortions. He exercised legatine authority for some time in Bologna, and nearly depopulated the city by barbarity, injustice, tyranny, rapine, dilapidation, and murder. He oppressed Rome and dissipated the patrimony of Peter. He augmented former imposts and invented new ones, and then abandoned the capital to be pillaged and sacked by the enemy. His desertion exposed the women to the brutality of the soldiery, and the men to spoliation, imprisonment, assassination, and galley-slavery. He

[1] Labb. 16. 178. Bruys, 4. 41. Du Pin, 3. 13. Crabb. 2. 1050. Bin. 7. 1086
[2] Criminibus quadraginta convictus. Labb. 15. 1378. et 16. 154.

poisoned Alexander his predecessor, and Daniel who was his physician. His conduct, through life, evinced incorrigibility, pertinacity, obduracy, lying, treachery, falsehood, perjury, and a diabolical spirit.[1]

His youth was spent in defilement and impudicity. He passed his nights in debauchery and his days in sleep. He violated married women and deflowered holy nuns. Three hundred of these devoted virgins were the unwilling victims of his licentiousness. He was guilty of incest with three maiden sisters and with his brother's wife. He gratified his unnatural lust on a mother and her son; while the father with difficulty escaped. He perpetrated the sin of sodom on many youths, of which one, contracting in consequence a mortal malady, died, the martyr of pollution and iniquity.[2]

Such was the pontiff who, according to the Florentine council, was 'the vicar-general of God, the head of the church, and the father and teacher of all Christians.' His holiness, it would appear, was indeed the father of a great many, though perhaps his offspring were not all Christians. The council of Constance indeed deposed John from the papacy. But pope Martin afterward raised him to the cardinalship, and treated him with the same honour and respect as the rest of the sacred college. His remains, after death, were honourably interred in John's church. John, with all his miscreancy, was elevated to a dignity second only to the pontifical supremacy. Jerome and Huss, notwithstanding their sanctity, were, by an unerring council, tried without justice and burned without mercy.

Sixtus the Fourth, who was elected in 1471, walked in the footsteps of his predecessors, Gregory, Boniface, and John. This pontiff has, with reason, been accused of murder and debauchery. He conspired for the assassination of Julian and Laurentius, two of the Medicean family. He engaged Pazzi, who was chief of the faction, which, in Florence, was hostile to the Medici, in the stratagem. Pazzi was supported in the diabolical attempt by Riario, Montesecco, Salvian, and Poggio. The conspirators, who were many, attacked Julian and Laurentius during mass on Sunday. Julian was killed. Laurentius fled wounded to the vestry, where he was saved from the fury of the assassins. The Medicean faction, in the mean time,

[1] Labb. 16. 154, 158, 184. Bruy. 4. 3. Lenfant, 1. 281.

[2] Multos Juvenes destruxit in posterioribus, quorum unus in fluxu sanguinis decessit. Violavit tres virgines sorores, et cognovit matrem, et filium, et pater vix evasit. Hard. 4. 228. Lenfan. 1. 290. Il etoit clairement prouvé, qu'il avoit joui de la Mere et du Fils, et que le Pere avoit eu de la peine à échapper à ses criminels desirs. Bruy. 4. 49. Labb. 16. 163. Bin. 7. 1035.

mustered and assailed the conspirators, on whom they took an ample and summary vengeance.[1]

Sixtus patronized debauchery as well as murder. His holiness, for this worthy purpose, established brothels extraordinary in Rome. His infallibility, in consequence, became head, not only of the church, but also of the stews. He presided with ability and applause in two important departments, and was the vicar-general of God and of Venus. These seminaries of pollution, it seems, brought a great accession to the ecclesiastical revenue. The goddesses, who were worshipped in these temples, paid a weekly tax from the wages of iniquity to the viceroy of heaven. The sacred treasury, by this means, received from this apostolic tribute an annual augmentation of 20,000 ducats. His supremacy himself, was, it seems, a regular and steady customer in his new commercial establishments. He nightly worshipped, with great zeal and devotion, in these pontifical fanes which he had erected to the Cytherean goddess.[2] Part of the tribute, therefore, from these schools of the Grecian divinity, his holiness, as was right, expended on the premises.

Alexander the Sixth, in the common opinion, surpassed all his predecessors in atrocity. This monster, whom humanity disowns, seems to have excelled all his rivals in the arena of villainy, and outstripped every competitor on the stadium of miscreancy. Sannazarius compared Alexander to Nero, Caligula, and Heliogabalus: and Pope, in his celebrated Essay on Man, likened Borgia, which was the family name, to Cataline. This pontiff, according to cotemporary historians, was actuated, to measureless excess, with vanity, ambition, cruelty, covetousness, rapacity, and sensuality, and void of all faith, honour, sincerity, truth, fidelity, decency, religion, shame, modesty, and compunction. 'His debauchery, perfidy, ambition, malice, inhumanity, and irreligion,' says Daniel, 'made him the execration of all Europe.' Rome, under his administration and by his example, became the sink of filthiness, the head-quarters of atrocity, and the hot-bed of prostitution, murder, and robbery.[3]

Hypocrisy formed one trait in his early character. His youth, indeed, evinced to men of discernment symptoms of baseness and degeneracy. But he possessed, in a high degree,

[1] Bayle, 2598. Bruy. 4. 241. Morerl, 8. 304.

[2] Agrippa, c. LXIV. Bruy. 4. 260. Bayle, 3. 2602.

[3] Sannazarius illum cum Caligulis confert, cum Neronibus et Heliogabalis. Sann. II. Montfaucon, Monum. 4. 85.

Les debordemens publics, les perfidies, l'ambition demesurée, l'avarice insatiable, la cruauté, l'irreligion en avoient fait l'objet de l'execration de toute l'Europe. Daniel, 7. 84.

Mulieribus maxime addictus. Nec noctu tutum per urbem itur, nec interdiu extra urbem. Roma jam carnificia facta erat. Alex. 23. 113.

the art of concealment from common observation. His dissimulation appeared, in a particular manner, on his appointment to the cardinalship. He walked with downcast eyes, affected devotion and humility, and preached repentance and sanctity. He imposed, by these arts, on the populace, who compared him to Job, Moses, and Solomon.

But depravity lurked under this specious display; and broke out, in secret, in sensuality, and incest. He formed an illicit connexion with a widow who resided at Rome, and with her two daughters. His passions, irregular and brutal, could find gratification only in enormity. His licentiousness, after the widow's death, drove him to the incestuous enjoyment of her daughter, the notorious and infamous Vannoza. She became his mistress after her mother's decease. His holiness, in the pursuit of variety and the perpetration of atrocity, afterward formed a criminal connexion with his own daughter, the witty, the learned, the gay, and the abandoned Lucretia. She was mistress to her own father and brother. Pontanus, in consequence, represented Lucretia as Alexander's daughter, wife, and daughter-in-law.[1] Peter's palace, in this manner, became a scene of debauchery and abomination.

Simony and assassination were as prominent in Alexander's character as incest and debauchery. He purchased the papacy, and afterward, for remuneration and to glut his rapacity, he sold its offices and preferments. He first bought, it has been said, and then sold, the keys, the altar, and the Saviour. He murdered the majority of the cardinals who raised him to the popedom, and seized their estates. He had a family of spurious sons and daughters, and for the aggrandizement of these children of illegitimacy, he exposed to sale all things sacred and profane, and violated and outraged all the laws of God and man.[2]

His death was the consequence of an attempt to poison the rich cardinals for the sake of their possessions. Alexander and Borgia, father and son, actuated with this design, invited the Sacred College to a sumptuous banquet, near the fountain in the delightful garden of Belvidere. Poisoned wine was prepared for the unsuspecting guests. But the poisoned cup was, by mistake, handed to the father and son, who drunk without knowing their danger. Borgia's constitution, for a time, overcame the virulence of the poison. But Alexander soon died by the stratagem he had prepared for the murder of his friends.[3]

[1] Alexandri filia, nupta, nurus. Pontanus in Bruy. 4. 280.
[2] Moreri, 1. 270. [3] Labb. 19. 523. Mont. Monum. 4. 84.

Julius the Second succeeded Alexander in the papacy and in iniquity. His holiness was guilty of simony, chicanery, perjury, thievery, empoisonment, assassination, drunkenness, impudicity, and sodomy. He bribed the cardinals to raise him to the popedom; and employed, on the occasion, all kinds of falsehood and trickery. He swore to convoke a general council, and violated his oath.[1]

His infallibility's drunkenness was proverbial. He was 'mighty to drink wine.' He practised incontinency as well as inebriation, and the effects of this crime shattered his constitution. One of his historians represents his holiness as all corroded with the disease which, in the judgment of God, often attends this kind of filthiness. The atrocity for which Sodom was consumed with fire from heaven is also reckoned among his deeds of pollution and excess.[2]

His ingratitude and enmity to the French nation formed one dark feature in his character. The French king protected him against Alexander who sought his ruin. The French nation was his asylum in the time of danger and in the day of distress. This friendship he afterwards repaid with detestation, because Lewis patronized the convocation of a general council. Julius offered rewards to any person who would kill a Frenchman. One of these rewards was of an extraordinary, or rather among the popes of an ordinary kind. He granted a pardon of all sins to any person who would murder only an individual of the French nation. The vicegerent of heaven conferred the forgiveness of all sin, as a compensation for perpetrating the shocking crime of assassination.[3]

Leo the Tenth, in 1513, succeeded Julius in the popedom and in enormity. This pontiff has been accused of atheism, and of calling the Gospel, in the presence of cardinal Bembo, a fable. Mirandula, who mentions a pope that denied God, is, by some, supposed to have referred to Leo. His holiness, says Jovius, was reckoned guilty of sodomy with his chamberlains. These reports, however, are uncertain. But Leo, beyond all question, was addicted to pleasure, luxury, idleness, ambition, unchastity, and sensuality beyond all bounds of decency; and spent whole days in the company of musicians and buffoons.[4]

Seventeen of the Roman pontiffs were perjurers. These were Felix, Formosus, John, Gregory, Pascal, Clement, John,

[1] Alex. 23. §18. Bruy. 4. 371. Cerasus, 662.
[2] Tout rongé de vérole. Bruy. 4. 371. Zuing. 149. Duobus nobilissimi generis adolescentibus stuprum intulerit. Wolf. 2. 21.
[3] Hotman, 116.
[4] Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubiculariis adamare. Jov. 192. Bruy. 4. 417. Guicciar. XIV.

Boniface, Innocent, Gregory, Benedict, John, Eugenius, Paul, Innocent, Julius, and Paul. Felix and the rest of the Roman clergy swore to acknowledge no other pontiff during the life of Liberius, whom the emperor had banished. The clergy, notwithstanding, immediately after, while Liberius survived, elected Felix to that dignity, which, without hesitation, he accepted.[1] A perjured Roman bishop then presided among the perjured Roman clergy.

Formosus was deposed and excommunicated by Pope John, who made him swear never again to enter his bishopric or the Roman city. Pope Martin, in the way of his profession, and with great facility, dissolved the oath and restored Formosus to his dignity. The obligation having, in this manner, undergone a chymical analysis in the pontifical laboratory, Formosus returned with a good conscience and with great propriety to his episcopal seat, and, in the end, to the Roman See.[2] John the Twelfth, in 957, swore fealty to Otho on the body of Peter. This solemn obligation, his holiness afterward violated and revolted to Adalbert the Emperor's enemy.[3] Gregory the Seventh took an oath, inconsistent with the acceptance of the Pontifical dignity with which he was afterward vested. The council of Worms, in consequence, in 1076, declared his holiness guilty of perjury. Gregory, besides, made Rodolph of Germany break the oath of fidelity which he had taken to the Emperor Henry.[4]

Pascal the Second, in 1111, granted to Henry an oath, the right of investiture, and promised never to excommunicate the Emperor. Pascal, afterward in a synod of the Lateran, excommunicated Henry. His holiness excused his conduct and pacified his conscience by an extraordinary specimen of casuistry. I forswore, said his infallibility, the excommunication of his majesty by myself, but not by a council. Bravo! Pope Pascal. Clement the Fifth, in 1307, engaged on oath to Philip the Fair, to condemn the memory and burn the bones of Boniface the Eighth. This obligation, his holiness violated. John the Twenty-second, in 1316, swore to Cardinal Napoleon, to mount neither horse nor mule till he had established the holy See at Rome. His holiness, however, established his apostolic court, not at Rome, but at Avignon. He satisfied his conscience by sailing instead of riding, and substituted a

[1] Clerici juraverunt quod nullum alium susceperunt. Plurimi perjuraverunt. Crabb. 1. 347. Du Pin, 1. 190. Prosper, 292.

[2] Alex. 15. 88. Bruy. 1. 187. Luitp. VI. 6.

[3] Il oublia bientot le serment de fidelité. Bruy. 2. 242. Joannes Pontifex, immemor juramenti præstiti, Adelberto se conjunxit. Labb. 11. 872.

[4] Du Pin, 2. 214. Labb. 12. 616. Giannon, X. 5

ship for a land conveyance. John's casuistry was nearly as good as Pascal's.[1]

Boniface, Innocent, Gregory, Benedict, and John engaged on oath to resign the Papacy; but, on being required to fulfil the obligation, these viceroys of heaven refused. The oaths, on the occasion, were of the most solemn kind. Innocent swore on the holy Evangelists; and Gregory, in the name of God, Lady Mary, the Apostles, and all the celestial court. Benedict swore on the gospels and the wood of the cross. The oaths were attended with dreadful imprecations. The attempt of these vice-gods to evade the accomplishment of their engagements, presents a scene of equivocation and chicanery, which is unequalled perhaps in the annals of the world. Benedict, said the Parisian University, endeavoured to escape by a forced interpretation, contrary to the intention of the obligation. Gregory and Benedict, says Giannone, swore and then shuffled about the performance, and, according to Alexander, resolved to retain their dignity contrary to the sanctity of a solemn oath. Gregory and Benedict, however, on this occasion, discovered some candor. Gregory, said the council of Pisa, contrary to his obligation, declared publicly and frequently, that the way of cession was unjust and diabolical, and, in this, he agreed with Benedict. Gregory, Benedict, and John were, in the councils of Pisa and Constance, condemned for perjury.[2]

Eugenius the Fourth, in 1439, was condemned in the council of Basil for perjury. Paul the Second, as well as Innocent the Eighth, bound himself by oath, to certain regulations, and afterwards disregarded his engagement. Julius the Second took an oath on the gospels, binding himself to call a general council; but afterward deterred the fulfilment of the treaty. The breach of his obligation occasioned the convocation of the second council of Pisa. Paul the Fourth, in 1556, before the seventh month of his Papacy, created seven cardinals, though he had sworn in the conclave before his election, to add only four to the sacred college for two years after his accession. Seventeen popes, it appears, at the least, were foresworn.[3] The

[1] Bruy. 2. 580. et 3. 360, 390. Du Pin, 2. 281.

[2] Dixit Gregorius publice et frequenter, quod via cessionis erat mala, injusta, et diabolica, contra juramenta, congruens in his cum Benedicto. Labb. 15. 1202. Du Pin, 3. 16. Juramentis per Joannem Papam super hoc factis deviativum. Labb. 16. 142. Contra eorum juramenta et vota. Labb. 15. 1131. Giannon, XXIV. 6. Bruy. 3. 600. Platina, 246. In dignitate retinenda, contra juramenti solemnis religionem. Alex. 24. 441.

Continuata perjuriorum serie, non magis postrema quam priora ejus promissa servavit. Labb. 15. 1331.

[3] Synodo, juramentum violatum occasionem dedit. Alexander, 33. 118. Jules oublia bientot ses sermens. Mariana, 5. 718. Boss. 3. 81. Carranza, 602. Paolo, 2. 27 Bruy. 4. 223, 619. Choisi, 8. 275.

church, therefore, had seventeen perjured heads, and God, seventeen perjured vicars-general.

These heretical and abandoned pontiffs, according to many eminent partizans of Romanism, were not true heads of the church or vicars of Jesus. This was the opinion of Jacobatius, Leo, Mirandula, Baronius, Du Pin, Giannone and Geoffry. Jacobatius declares 'the election of a heretic for a pope to be null.'[1] Pope Leo the Great, writing to Julian, excludes all who deny the faith from the pale of the church. These, says the Roman hierarch, as 'they reject the doctrines of the gospel, are no members of the ecclesiastical body.' The partizan of heresy, therefore, unfit, according to Leo, for being a member, is much more incapable of being the head. Mirandula mentions one Roman pontiff who, in the excess of infidelity, disbelieved the immortality of the soul; and another, who, excelling in absurdity, denied the existence of God. These, the noble author maintains, 'could be no popes.' The ruffians who were raised to the Papacy by Theodora and Marozia, Baronius declares, 'were no popes, but monsters;' and the church, on these occasions, was, according to the Cardinal, 'without any earthly head.' Boniface the Seventh, who, says Baronius, 'was a thief, a miscreant, and a murderer, is to be ranked, not among the popes, but among the notorious robbers of the age.' Du Pin and Giannone, the popish Sorbonnist and Civilian, quote and approve the sentence of Baronius the Roman Cardinal. The pope, says Geoffry, 'if he depart from the faith, is no pastor.'[2] The spiritual reign of these sovereign ruffians must have created several interruptions in the popedom, and destroyed many necessary links in the boasted chain of the pontifical succession. The concatenated series of the Roman hierarchs, therefore, with the unbroken continuity of the sacerdotal authority, is, in the admission even of Romish doctors, a celebrated nonentity.

[1] Papa hæreticus, tanquam separatus ab ecclesia, non est papa, et electio de eo facta erit nulla. Jacob. III. p. 107.

[2] Bell. II. 30. Canus, IV. 2. Bin. 3. 7. Miran. th. 4. Turrecrema, IV. 98. Spon. 900. I. et 985. II. Du Pin, 2. 156. Giannon, VII. 6.

Baronius écrit, qu'alors Rome etoit sans Pape. On ne voyoit alors plus des Papes, mais des monstres. Giannon, VII. 5.

Si exorbitaverit a fide, jam non est pastor. Geof. Ep. 194. Apol. 385.

CHAPTER III.

COUNCILS.

THREE SYSTEMS—ITALIAN SYSTEM RECKONS THE GENERAL COUNCILS AT EIGHTEEN—TEMPORARY REJECTION OF THE SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, SEVENTH, AND TWELFTH GENERAL COUNCILS—CISALPINE OR FRENCH SCHOOL REJECTS THE COUNCILS OF LYONS, FLORENCE, LATERAN, AND TRENT—ADOPTS THOSE OF PISA, CONSTANCE, BASIL, AND THE SECOND OF PISA—SYSTEM OF A THIRD PARTY—UNIVERSALITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS—ITS CONDITIONS—LEGALITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS—ITS CONDITIONS—CONVOCATION, PRESIDENCY, AND CONFIRMATION—MEMBERS—UNANIMITY—FREEDOM.

THE general councils in ecclesiastical history are as uncertain as the Roman pontiffs. The succession of the popes and the enumeration of the synods are attended with similar difficulty, and have occasioned similar diversity of opinion. Gibert admits 'the uncertainty of the western œcumenical councils.' Moreri grants 'the disagreement of authors in their enumeration. One reckons more and another less; whilst some account these universal and approved, which others regard as provincial, national, or condemned.'[1] A full detail of popish variety indeed would, on this topic, fill folios. This, however, is unnecessary. A statement of each individual's peculiar notions, on this, or indeed on any other subject, would be tedious and useless. The opinions entertained on this question, not merely by a few persons, but by an influential party, are worthy of observation; and these only, in the following pages, shall be detailed.

Three jarring and numerous factions have, on the subject of general councils, divided and agitated the Romish communion. One party reckons the general councils at eighteen. A second faction counts the same number, but adopts different councils. These reject the councils of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent; and adopt, in their stead, those of Pisa, Constance, Basil, and the second of Pisa. A third division omits the

[1] Numerus Conciliorum Generalium, in Occidente habitorum, est incertus. Gibert, 1. 76. Tous les auteurs ne conviennent pas du nombre des conciles généraux; les uns en comptent plus, les autres moins. Les uns en reconnoissent de généraux approuvés, que les autres regardent ou comme non généraux, ou comme non approuvés. Moreri, 3. 539.

whole or a part of the councils which intervened between the eighth and sixteenth of these general conventions The whole of these are omitted by Clement, Abrahamus, and Pole, and a part by Sixtus, Carranza, Silvius, and the council of Constance.

One party in the popish communion reckons the general councils at eighteen. Of these, five met respectively at Ephesus, Chalcedon, Vienna, Florence, and Trent; two convened at Nicæa, two at Lyons, four at Constantinople, and five at the Lateran. The patrons of this enumeration are, in general, the Italian faction, headed by the pope, and maintaining his temporal as well as his spiritual authority. Baronius and Bellarmine in particular, have patronized this scheme with learning and ability, but with a total disregard of all honour and honesty.

Bellarmine, besides the eighteen which are approved, reckons eight general councils which are reprobated, and six which are partly admitted and partly rejected. One, which is the Pisan—strange to tell—is neither adopted nor proscribed. Bellarmine's distinctions and decisions indeed are badly calculated to establish the authority of councils. His hair-breadth distinctions and arbitrary decisions, on the contrary, tend only to overthrow all confidence in his determinations and in universal councils.[1]

All the eighteen, however, were not accounted valid or unerring on their first publication. Six, marked now with the seal of approbation and infallibility, were, for a long series of time, in whole or in part, rejected by a part or by the whole of Christendom. These are the second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and twelfth general councils. The canons of the second, according to Alexander and Thomassin, were not received by the Latins till the Lateran council in 1215, a period of 834 years after their promulgation. Its faith indeed, in opposition to Macedonianism, corresponded with that of the westerns, and was, in consequence, admitted by Damasus, Gelasius, and Gregory. Its creed, however, was recognized only on the authority of divine revelation and ancient faith. Leo rejected its canons. Simplicius and Felix, enumerating the councils which they acknowledged, mention only those of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Gregory the Great declared that the Roman church possessed neither the acts nor canons of the Byzantine assembly, though his infallibility, in glorious inconsistency, elsewhere affirmed that he esteemed the four œcumenical councils of Nicæa, Ephesus, Constantinople, and Chalcedon as the four gospels.[2]

[1] Bellar. I. 5—7.
[2] Alex. 7. 235. 9. 155. Thom. 2. 15. Pithou, 29. Crabb. I. 991. Godeau. 4 498. Moreri, 3, 592.

The Ephesian synod was anathematized, and, for several years, rejected by the orientals. Its universality, during its celebration, consisted in a few Asians and Egyptians. These being assembled, the sainted Cyril, who presided, and who, actuated by prejudice and temerity, precipitated the first session, condemned Nestorius, before the arrival of the westerns or orientals, and contrary to all justice or even decency. Sixty-eight bishops, and Count Candidian, who represented the emperor, protested against Cyril's conduct, and absented themselves from his cabal. The remainder, reduced to 160, constituted a hopeful universality, a dashing general council, and a blessed representation of the church. Candidian, who wielded the civil and military authority, reasoned when he should have punished the sainted ruffian and his lawless myrmidons. Cyril's faction, however, contemptible as it was, in the course of one day, tried, and deposed Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople.[1]

John, patriarch of Antioch, celebrated for his wisdom and piety, arrived five days after the condemnation of Nestorius, accompanied by twenty-six suffragans. His arrival was followed by one of the most distinguished cursing-matches of antiquity. The sacred bishops, on occasions of this kind, had immediate recourse to cursing, which uniformly gave ease to their conscience and vent to their zeal. The holy men, for comfort, displayed their devotion in a litany of execrations. Their ardent piety and benevolence, struggling for utterance, burst in ebullitions of anathemas. Cyril and Nestorius, prior to the meeting of the council, had, in the spirit of their MASTER, exchanged mutual imprecations. The saint, in an Alexandrian synod, in 430, had launched twelve anathemas at the heretic; and the heretic, inclined to make some return, thanked the saint in kind, and with a corresponding number of these inverted blessings. John and Cyril, now at Ephesus, engaged in similar warfare. John and his partizans, amounting to fifty, posted at the Ephesian inn, and informed by Candidian of the transactions of the adverse party, congratulated Cyril, Memnon, and their accomplices with deposition and excommunication. Nestorius, says Godeau, 'instead of recognizing the hand of God in the thunderbolts of the council, continued, with redoubled fury to rebel against the divine majesty.' This honour Cyril and his faction, entrenched in Mary's church, repaid with cordiality and devotion.[2] The spiritual artillery continued, for some time, to

[1] Socrat. VII. 34. Evag. I. 3. 4. Liberatus, c. IV. Spon. 430. V. Crabb 1 534. Godeau. 3. 292, 302, 308.
[2] Labb. 3. 946, 971. Crabb. 1. 534, Godeau, 3. 301. Libera. c. VI.

fulminate mutual anathemas; and these reciprocal benedictions were the only tokens of esteem which the sacred synods, in their mutual salutations, condescended to interchange.

The Greeks called the second Ephesian council a gang of felons, and the designation would, with equal propriety, have characterized the former assembly, which, if possible, excelled its successor in all the arts of villany. The character of Cyril and the council have been portrayed, in strong colours, by the orientals, Candidian, Isidorus, and Gennadius. The orientals called Cyril's decision tyranny and heretical perfidy. Candidian represented the Ephesian transactions as contrary to all order and regularity. Isidorus accused Cyril of rashness, and the Ephesians of seeking revenge instead of promoting truth or piety. Gennadius declared Cyril guilty of blasphemy; while Dionysius, who wrote in 527, and whose collection had the greatest authority in the west, entirely omits the Ephesian council.[1]

The contest was, at last, determined by the emperor. The faith, which, with animosity but without decision, had been debated by the ecclesiastical body, was, at length, adjusted by the civil authority. The unity of the mediator's person was, properly speaking, established, not by the church but by the state. The appeal was, not to the Pope, but to the emperor; and the synodal decision was reviewed, not by Celestin but by Theodosius. The sovereign and his courtiers, after a protracted and varying negociation, reinstated Cyril and banished Nestorius. The orientals, however, persevered for several years in opposition. But the oriental diocese, in the end, was reduced to submission, and the church to unity; not indeed by ecclesiastical authority, but by imperial power.[2]

The Latins proscribed the twenty-eighth canon of the Chalcedonian council, which conferred the same honour on the Byzantine patriarch as on the Roman pontiff. Leo and after him Simplicius opposed it with all their might, but without any success, and confirmed only the faith of the council. Its authority, in consequence, has been rejected by the Latins: though Pelagius, Gregory, Pascal, and Boniface acknowledged the first four councils.[3]

The second Byzantine or fifth general council, under Justinian, was, for some time, rejected by Pope Vigilius, by the Africans,

[1] Crabb. 1. 592. Bray. 1. 214. Du Pin, 1. 645. Ibid. 1. 310. Du Pin, 1. 407 424. Facun. II. 4. Giann. III. 6.

[2] Evag. I. 5. Libera. c. VI. Labo. 3. 574. Godeau, 3. 310.

[3] Nullum unquam potuerunt nostrum obtinere consensum. Leo, Ep. 53. Liberate. c. XIII. Sine consensu Papæ et legatorum ejus. Canisius, 4, 69. Carranza, 267. Pithou 14.

and by many in Illyria, Italy, Liguria, Tuscany, Istria, France, Spain, and Ireland. The emperor convened this congress against the three chapters, a momentous subject, composed by Theodoret, Ibas, and Theodorus. Vigilius, with sixteen bishops and three deacons from Italy, Africa, and the east, was in Constantinople during the several sessions of the council, and though invited, refused to attend. But the synod, notwithstanding, proceeded in its task. His infallibility, supported by his partizans, opposed the emperor and council, but in vain, with all his pontifical power and authority. He formed his bishops and deacons into a separate synod, issued a constitution defending, though in qualified terms, the three chapters and their authors, and interdicting by the authority of the holy, apostolic see, all further discussion on the subject. The council, in reply, pronounced anathemas against the persons and defenders of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus. His holiness, therefore, being a partizan of these authors, who were condemned by the council, was anathematized for abetting heresy. Vigilius refused to sanction the decision of the synod, and Justinian, without any ceremony, banished his holiness. The pontiff's expatriation brightened his understanding, and enabled him to see the subject in a new point of view. His infallibility, through the happy effect of exile in illuminating his intellect, felt it his duty to approve what he had formerly condemned.[1] Heresy, by the magic touch of imperial power, was, by a speedy transformation, converted into catholicism, and error, by the same process, transubstantiated into orthodoxy.

The Italians, Tuscans, Ligurians, Istrians, French, Spanish, Illyrians, and Africans, who had the effrontery to gainsay the will of the emperor, were, like the vicar-general of God, converted by the sword of Justinian. Reparatus the Carthaginian bishop was dismissed, and Primasius, by imperial authority, was substituted, and the Africans, in general, submitted. The Italian clergy who opposed, were banished. The French yielded to the storm. But the Ligurians, and Istrians, who were under the dominion of the Lombards, and, in consequence, feared no persecution from the emperor, avowed a bolder and more protracted opposition. The schism, from its commencement till the end, lasted near a century.[2]

The seventh general council, which assembled at Nicæa, in favour of image-worship, was disclaimed for more than a century. Irene's son Constantine, in the east, on obtaining a shadow of power, proceeded, says Platina, to repeal the synodal

[1] Alex. 12. 31, Maimb. 42. Crabb, 2. 91.
[2] Godeau, 4 159, 446. Bury. 1. 343.

and imperial laws which countenanced emblematic worship. Leo, Michael, and Theophilus followed Constantine's example, with determined resolution and signal effect. Two councils, one in 814 and the other in 821, decided against the Nicene assembly. The Nicene acts remained in a state of proscription among the Greeks, till the final establishment of idolatry by the Empress Theodora.[1]

The Nicene decisions were disclaimed by the western emperor and the Latin church. The Caroline books, with the Parisian and Frankfortian councils, showed the minds of the Latins in unequivocal terms. The council of Frankfort exhibited a representation of the western clergy from England, Italy, France, and Germany; and amounted in all to three hundred. According to Alexander, 'the French did not, in former times, reckon the second Nicene among the general councils.' The Frankfortians, say Aventin, Hincmar, and Regina, rescinded the decisions of the false Grecian Synod in favour of image-worship. Ivo and Aimon also proscribed this convention. Nicholas and Adrian, who lived, the one seventy-five and the other eighty years after the Nicene assembly, reckon only six general councils.[2] The Nicene congress, therefore, was excluded by these pontiffs. The cabal of Nicæa, for it deserves no better name, was, in this manner, accounted, for a series of years, a mere Grecian synod and of no general authority. But its merits, it seems, grew with its age, and, in process of time, the patrons of Romanism and idolatry began to invest the contemptible junto with the attributes of universality, holiness, and infallibility.

The canons of the twelfth general council, which met at the Lateran palace in 1215, lay, for 322 years, neglected and unknown. This celebrated ecclesiastical congress has, in latter days, occasioned a wonderful diversity of opinion. The councils of Oxford, Constance, and Trent maintained its universality and authority. Bellarmine supported its ecumenicity, accounted its rejection a heresy, and called Barclay, who reflected on its third canon, a pagan and a publican. Perron, Possevin, and Alexander entertained a high opinion of it. But this flattering picture is reversed by Paris, Nauclerus, Platina, Godefrid, Antony, Severin, Du Pin, and Barclay. The

Platin. 107. Crabb. 2. 457. Bin. 6. 232. Theod. Ep. XV.

[2] Nicaena Secunda Synodus olim a Gallis inter œcumenicos non fuit. Alex. 25. 630. In Frankfordiensi concilio scita Græcorum de adorandis imaginibus rescissa sunt. Aven. 337. Pseudo-synodus Græcorum destructa est. Hincm. c. XX. Mabillon, 2. 495. Pithou, 18. Omnium sanctorum atque venerandorum sex conciliorum autoritate. Labb. 9. 1309. Nihil audemus prædicare, quod possit Nicaeno concilio, et quinque cæterorum conciliorum regulis obviare. Adrian, II in Du Pin, 395.

council, according to these historians and critics, did nothing; and ended in laughter and mockery. Its canons, in all their worth or worthlessness, rested, for more than three centuries, in a state of dormancy, unknown to pontiff, cardinal, bishop, critic, or historian; and Christendom certainly would have been at no loss, had they slept till eternity. The canons, such as they are, were not, as might have been expected, printed at last from a manuscript in the Vatican or from the Pope's own library; but extracted, in the year 1537 by Cochlæus, a Lutheran, from a German library, and transmitted to Colonia for insertion in Crabb's collection of the councils, though they are not mentioned in Merlin's edition of 1535.[1] The document, in this manner, lay concealed for ages; and Christendom was defrauded of its precious instruction till after the reformation, when its dazzling truths, through the research of a Protestant theologian, burst, in all their splendour and infallibility, on an admiring and enlightened world. The inquisition, in particular, must have felt a great want of its third canon, which teaches the most approved and efficient means of persecution and extirpation of heresy; though, to do the inquisitors justice, they could rack the suspected in the secret cell, and burn the heretical at a public act of faith, in a Christian spirit and with an edifying effect, without the direction of the infallible Lateran council.

Such is the scheme of the Italian faction and their partizans on general councils, and such the diversity of opinion on this subject. A second party rejects the councils of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent. These, in general, are the French school, who disclaim pontifical infallibility and deposition of kings.

The French reject the council of Lyons, which is the thirteenth in the plan of the Italian school. The patrons of pontifical despotism and regal deposition extol this assembly to the sky. Their opponents, on the contrary, load it with ridicule and contempt. Paris, Albert, Trithemius, Platina, and Palmerius deny its universality; and the same idea was entertained by Launoy, Du Pin, and Widrington. Nicolin, Silvius, Sixtus, and Carranza, in their collections, have omitted it as unworthy of general or public attention. Onuphrius, says Du Pin, 'seems to have been the first who invested this assembly with universality."[2]

[1] Alex. 21. 500; 595. Platina, in Inn. III. Du Pin, 572. Walsh, 65, Paris, 262. Doyle, 503.

[2] Launoy, ad Raym. Platin. in Inn. IV. Giannon, XVII. 3. Du Pin. 551 Caron, 82.

The French also reject the Florentine council, which they call a conventicle, neither general nor lawful. Such have been the representations of Alexander, Du Pin, and Moreri.[1] The French and Italians differed on this subject in the council of Trent. The Italians asserted its universality; while the French refused this title to an assembly, which, they said, was celebrated by a few Italians and four Grecians. The Florentians raised the pontiff above a council, and, in consequence, offended the Gallicans, who place the supremacy in an universal and lawful synod. The assembly of Florence, besides, was contemporary with that of Basil, which, in the French account, was general; and two general councils, it is plain, could not coexist in Christendom.

The fifth council of the Lateran, in 1512, under Julius and Leo, is, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the French nation. Its authority was opposed by the French king, clergy, and parliament. The French, according to Gibert and Moreri, never accounted the Lateran assembly general. Lewis the Twelfth, indeed, who had patronized the synod of Pisa in opposition to that of the Lateran, submitted, in 1513, to the latter convention, which, in accordance with his majesty's will, annulled the pragmatic sanction and substituted the concordat. But the French people continued determined and steady. The parliament, indeed, were compelled to register the concordat; but with reiterated protestations that they acted by the express command of the monarch, and neither authorised nor approved its publication. The Parisian university, in particular, distinguished for its learning and independence, opposed Lewis, Leo, the council, and the concordat. This faculty took sufficient liberty with the pontiff and his convention, accused him of acting for the destruction of Catholicism, the divine laws, and the sacred canons; and boldly appealed from the papal and synodal enactments to a wiser pope, and to a free and lawful council. The appeal, in 1517, was printed and posted in the cross ways and in the most public places of the city. The French king, also, in 1612, abandoned the council of the Lateran, which the French, in the most decided manner, continued to disclaim.[2]

The Council of Trent was not only rejected in France, but also in Spain, Flanders, Naples, part of Ireland, and really though not formally in Germany. Its doctrinal decisions,

[1] Florentinum nec legitimum, nec generale, agnoscitur. Alex. 25, 415. Florentinum, nec oecumenicum nec generale, rejicitur. Du Pin, 421. On n'y met point au rang des conciles generaux, le cinquième concile de Latran ni celui de Florence Moreri, 3. 539. Daniel, 6. 158. Paolo, VII.

[2] Gibert, 1. 106. Moreri, 3. 558. Du Pin, 430. Bruy 4. 400.

indeed, embodied the prior faith of these kingdoms, and, therefore, was not opposed. The theology, however, inculcated at Trent, was recognized, not on the authority of that assembly, but on the authority of antiquity and former reception. The council was utterly exploded by the French, on account of its canons of discipline and reformation. The French, says Petavius and Moreri, respected the faith of this assembly, but disclaimed its discipline. The cardinal of Lorraine, who attended at Trent, was, on his return, reprehended by the king, clergy, and the parliament, for consenting to many things prejudicial to the French nation. The discord and intrigues of the Trentine theologians became the subject of jest, satire, ridicule, and merriment. The prelatical convention of Trent, it was said, in proverbial but profane wit, excelled the apostolic council of Jerusalem. The ancient assembly required the aid of the Holy Ghost; while the modern synod was independent of such assistance, and could determine by human wisdom and arbitrary dictation.[1]

Its publication was opposed by many persons and arguments. The Parisian parliament notified twenty-three of its reforming and disciplinarian canons, which became the topic of public animadversion; and which, it was alleged, were repugnant to the regal authority, the common law, and the public good. The canons, it was maintained, which countenanced the excommunication and deposition of kings, the ecclesiastical punishment of laymen by fine and imprisonment, and the superiority of the pope above a general council, tended to extend the spiritual authority of the church, and to diminish the civil power of the state. Many attempts were made to effect its reception in the French dominions, but in vain. The Roman hierarchs directed all their energy to this end; and engaged, on one occasion, the interest of the emperor of Germany, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy. The Parisian faculty, also, in those days of its degeneracy, used their influence in favour of the Roman court. The united influence of the pope, the emperor, the king, the duke, and the Sorbonne, in 1614, procured the consent of the French nobility and clergy, but the project was frustrated by the firmness of the Commons. The French nation, in consequence, to the present day, disclaim the authority of the general, infallible, holy, Roman council of Trent.[2]

The council of Trent underwent similar treatment in the kingdom of Spain. Philip, indeed, the king of the Spanish

[1] Canones in Gallia de dogmate venerantur, de disciplina vero respuuntur. Petavius, 2. 249. Le concile de Trente n'y est point recu pour la discipline Moreri, 3. 539. Paolo, 2. 685. Gibert, 1. 148.

[2] Paolo, 2. 698. Thuan. CV. 21. Dan. 9. 321.

nation, displayed, on the occasion, a splendid specimen of policy. The Spanish monarch wished to gratify the Roman pontiff, and, at the same time, reject the Trentine council. The sovereign, therefore, made a show of publishing it, and nevertheless found means of security against its obnoxious canons of discipline and of reformation. These he was determined to repel, but with wary circumspection. He convened the Spanish clergy in 1564, in the synods of Salamanca, Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, and Valentia; and sent deputies to preside in these conventions. All, in consequence, was carried, in these synods, according to the dictation of the king's council. The result was, that in Spain, the land of Catholicism, whose sovereigns were the most obsequious servants of the Roman pontiff, the universal, holy, Roman synod was acknowledged only so far as was consistent with the prerogatives of the king, the privileges of the people, and the laws of the nation.[1]

Similar decisions were enacted in the Netherlands. Margaret, duchess of Parma, was, at this time, governess of these provinces. She consulted the magistracy, clergy, and royal council, who represented the Trentine canons of reformation as unfriendly to the privileges and usages of the Belgian dominions. These counsellors also feared popular commotions, if the council were published without any restriction. Its publication, therefore, was accompanied with a declaration, that its reception would be allowed to effect no innovation in the laws and customs of the provinces. The duke of Alba, the Neapolitan viceroy in 1594, published the council in the Neapolitan dominions of Spain, with similar provisions against all innovation.[2]

The Trentine discipline is also excluded from part of Ireland. Its faith, says Doyle, in his parliamentary evidence, is admitted through the whole island, but not its discipline. Its canons on matrimony, for example, have obtained only a partial reception. The provincial bishops assembled for the purpose of deliberating whether the Trentine discipline would be useful. Those who concluded in favour of its utility published a declaration to that effect in each chapel; and the annunciation gave it validity in the bounds of their jurisdiction. Those who decided against its utility, omitted its publication; and the Trentine canons, were excluded from the limits of their ecclesiastical authority.[3] The holy council, in this manner, was subjected to a partial exclusion even from the Island of Saints. The Emerald Isle itself enjoys only in part the sacred canons, which the Irish prelacy, in some provinces, accounted and declared useless.

[1] Giannon, XXXIII. 3. Paolo, 2. 685. Slevin, 226.
[2] Van Espen, c. II. Giannon, xxxiii. 3. Paolo, 2. 686. Gibert, 1. 146.
[3] Doyle, 385

The friends of the reformation in Germany detested the faith of Trent, and the friends of Romanism disliked its discipline. The Emperor, indeed, allowed it a formal reception in his dominions. But the admission, clogged as it was with many restrictions, was rather nominal than real. Its recognition was by no means uniform; and those who acknowledged its authority interpreted its canons as they pleased.[1]

The French, in this manner, dismissing the councils of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent, adopt those of Pisa, Constance, Basil, and the second of Pisa. The French, says Moreri, 'recognize, as general, the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil.'[2] The Pisan assembly in 1409 has occasioned a variety of opinions. Some have denied its universality. Its name is not found among the eighteen approved by the Italians; and its authority has been rejected by Cajetan, Antoninus, Sanderus, and Raynald. Antoninus endeavours to throw contempt on this assembly by calling it an unlawful conventicle. The statement of Petavius, respecting this congress is amusing. The Pisan assembly, says this author, was, as it were, a general council.[3] Bellarmine characterizes it as neither approved nor condemned.[4] This champion of Romanism and his partizans cannot decide, whether this equivocal convention should be stamped with the seal of infallibility or marked with the signature of reprobation. Its decisions are consigned, according to this celebrated polemic and his minions, to float on the ocean of uncertainty, and to be treated with esteem or contempt at the suggestion of caprice or partiality. The unfortunate synod, which no person, in Bellarmine's system, is either to own or disown, is left, like a peaceful and insulated state, without any alliance, either offensive or defensive, among belligerent powers, to defend its own frontiers or to maintain an armed neutrality. Bellarmine, however, had reasons for his moderation or indecision. The Pisans deposed Gregory and Benedict for heresy and schism, and elected Alexander, who has been recognized as the rightful pontiff and a necessary link in the unbroken chain of the pontifical succession. Bellarmine, had he approved the Pisan assembly, would, contrary to his principles, have admitted the supremacy of a general council and its authority to degrade a Roman pontiff. Had the cardinal disapproved, he would have acknowledged the invalidity of Alexander's election, and dismissed God's vicar-general

[1] Paolo, 2. 697.

[2] En France, on reconnoit pour generaux, les Conciles de Constance, de Pise, et de Bâle. Moreri, 3, 539.

[3] Pisanum, tanquam Generale convocatum cardinalibus. Pectavius, 2. 249. Cajetan c. XI. Antonius, c. V. Sanderus, VIII.

[4] Generale nec approbatum, nec reprobatum, videtur esse Concilium Pisanum. Bell. I. 8.

from the series of the pontifical succession. The Jesuit, therefore, like an honest man, had recourse to an expedient and left the Pisans to their liberty.

The French, however, dissenting from Bellarminism, claim the Pisan assembly as their ally: and acknowledge its universality and authority, which have been advocated by Du Pin, Moreri, Alexander, and other historians. These authors record its convocation from all Christendom, and confirmation by pope Alexander.[1]

The universality of the Constantian council is maintained in the French school. A variety of conflicting opinions, indeed, has been entertained on the ecumenicity of this assembly. Bosius and Cotton would allow it neither a total or partial generality. Cardinal Cantarin excluded it from his compendium of councils, and pope Sixtus from his paintings and inscriptions in the Vatican. The Florentian and Lateran conventions reprobated its definition of the superiority of a council above a pope. Its authority is disregarded in Spain, Portugal, and the nations under their control. The Italians in the council of Trent, represented it as in part approved and in part condemned; and the Italian system on this subject has been adopted by Bellarmine, Canus, Cajetan, and Duval. Baptista, in the Trentine assembly, extolled the Constantian, says Paolo, above all other councils. The French, in the same synod, declared it general in all its sessions from beginning to end; and this declaration has been repeated by Lorrain, Launoy, Alexander, Moreri, Carranza, and Du Pin. The Constantian council, says Alexander, 'represented the universal church, and among the French is accounted general in all its parts.' Pope Martin confirmed it, and, by his sanction, sealed it with infallibility.[2]

The French school also recognized the Basilian council as general. The Basilians have met with much opposition and much support, with many enemies and many friends. Popes and councils, supported by many critics and theologians, such as Bellarmine, Turrecrema, Cajetan, Sanderus, Raynald, Bzovius, and Duval, declaimed with fury against its authority, and execrated its decisions. Eugenius the Fourth assailed it with red hot anathemas, and cursed its assembled fathers, in colonel Bath's elegant style, with 'great dignity of expression and emphasis of judgment.' The sacred synod, though execrated, were loth to be in debt, and made a suitable return. The holy fathers declared his infallibility guilty of contumacy,

[1] Du Pin, 403. Moreri, 3. 539. Alex. 24, 551.

[2] Apud Gelles, Constantiense Concilium, in omnibus suis partibus, oecumenicum habetur. Alex 25. 415. Du Pin, 421. Bell. 1. 7. Paolo, VI. et VII.

pertinacity, rebellion, incorrigibility, disobedience, simony, schism, heresy, desertion from the faith, violation of the canons, scandalization of the church, and unworthy of any title, rank, honour, or dignity. Leo the Tenth called this assembly, in contempt, a conventicle. Its name, says Paolo, was detested at Trent, as schismatical and destitute of universality and authority.[1]

The council, nevertheless, execrated as it was by popes and councils, and exploded by divines, was confirmed by Nicholas the Fifth, and received through the extensive territory and numerous churches of France and Germany. The sanction of Nicholas, it seems, notwithstanding the course of cursing it endured from Eugenius, vested it with infallibility. The French contemplate it with peculiar esteem, and regard its rival of Florence as a conventicle. The Sorbonnists, such as Richerius, Du Pin, Launoy, and Alexander, have, with argument and eloquence, maintained its œcumenicity, and their approval has been repeated by Moreri and even Carranza.[2]

The French also acknowledge the second of Pisa, in opposition to the fifth of the Lateran. Julius the Second delighted in war, practised cruelty on the cardinals, excommunicated Lewis the French king, and absolved his subjects from the oath of fidelity. A few of the cardinals, in consequence, separated from the pontiff; and, patronized by Maximilian, the German emperor, and Lewis, the French monarch, summoned a council, in 1511, at Pisa. Julius, in opposition, opened a council, in 1512, at the Lateran. These two conventions, as might be expected, did not treat each other with excess of politeness. Julius characterized the Pisans as a scandal, a pestilence, a convention of the devil, a congregation of wretches, an assembly of malignants, whose head was Satan the father of falsehood and schism; and found the sacred synod guilty of obstinacy, rebellion, conspiracy, audacity, treason, temerity, abomination, sacrilege, senselessness, fraudulence, dissimulation, contumacy, sedition, schism, and heresy. His infallibility having, with such graphic precision, drawn their character, proceeded, without any ceremony, to pronounce their sentence of excommunication. Unsatisfied with his sentence against the refractory convention, the vicar-general of God interdicted Pisa, Milan, and Lyons, where the synod was allowed to meet.[3]

The Pisans, overflowing with gratitude, and ready at compliment and benediction, retaliated in fine style. The holy

[1] Alex. 25. 427. Orab. 3. 966. Moreri, 2. 100. Bell. III. 16. Paolo, VI. and VII. L'Eglise Gallicane on tenu oe concile pour oecumenique. Milletot, 572.
[2] Du Pin, 405. Alex. 25. 408. Bruys, 4. 400. Daniel, 6. 153. Carranza, 579.
[3] Labb. 19. 570. 572—577. Coss. 5. 356, 357. 360.

fathers declared the vicar-general of Jesus guilty of contumacy, schism, incorrigibility, obduracy, perjury, and indeed all villany. The sacred synod, to these compliments, added a benediction couched in very flattering language. This consisted in suspending the viceroy of heaven from the administration of the popedom, and prohibiting all obedience of the clergy and laity of Christendom. This sentence, in all its rigour, was actually enforced through the French nation. Lewis commanded his subjects, both clergy and laity, to withdraw all submission. But the martial Julius, in the mean time, who had excommunicated Lewis, died, and the sensual Leo succeeded. Lewis, therefore, in 1513, withdrew his support from the Pisans, and submitted to the authority of Leo and the Laterans. Maximilian also discountenanced the Pisan convention, which, in consequence, disbanded. But this variation of the French sovereign was not lasting. The French monarchs afterwards returned to the council of Pisa. Its acts, in 1612, were published from the library of his most Christian majesty, and its authority, in opposition to that of the Lateran, which had always been obnoxious to the French parliament and clergy, was again acknowledged.[1]

Such on the subject of councils, is the variation between the French and Italian schools. The French reject four councils, those of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent, which the Italians admit; and admit four, those of Pisa, Constance, Basil, and the second of Pisa, which the others reject.

A third party in the Romish Church reject the whole or a part of the councils, which, in the Italian system, occur from the eighth at Constantinople to the sixteenth at Florence. All these were retrenched by Abrahamus, Clement, and Pole. The edition of the Florentian synod, published by Abrahamus, reckons it the eighth general council. The editor, therefore, expunges the Byzantine council and the seven following. The extermination of the eighth, says Launoy, was in accordance with several Greeks and Latins.[2] The edition of Abrahamus was approved by Clement the Seventh, who stamped it with the seal of his infallibility. Baronius, nevertheless, followed by Binius and Labbé, has found the editor guilty of audacity, ignorance, temerity, and falsehood.[3] Pole, in the synod of Lambeth, in

[1] Inveterate nella simonia et ne' costumi infami et perduto. Guicciardin, i. 275. Endurcy en simonie et en erreurs infames et damnables, il ne pouvoit etre capable de gouverner la Papauté. It etoit notoirement incorrigible an scandale universe de toute la Chrestienite vignier. 3. 867. Mariana, 5. 767. Morori, 3. 558. et 5 72. Alex. 25. 27. Bruys, 4. 461.

[2] Fuisse Græcos et Latinos, qui octavam synodum e numero generalium synodorum expunxerint. Launoy, 4. 224. et 5. 233.

[3] Magna interpretis temeritate, et audacia, sicut et imperitia factum est. Bin. 7 1038. Labb. 10. 996. Wilkin, 4. 122. 126.

1556, adopted the same enumeration, and denominated the Florentian assembly the eighth general council.[1] This was transacted in an English synod, and, therefore, was the general opinion of the English clergy in the reign of Queen Mary. Pole, notwithstanding, in noble inconsistency, recognized the ecumenicity of the fourth and fifth of the Lateran, and the second of Lyons. This system proscribed the eight general councils which met at Constantinople, Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna. Cardinal Cantarin's account differs little from that of Abrahamus, Clement, and Pole. The cardinal, in 1562, in his summary of councils, addressed to Paul the third, reckons the Byzantine the eighth, and the Florentian the ninth general council. He therefore omits two of Lyons, four of the Lateran, and those of Vienna, Pisa, Constance, and Basil; and excludes ten which have been owned by the French and Italian schools.

Sixtus, Carranza, Silvius, and the Constantian synod omit part of the councils, which intervened between the eighth and sixteenth. Sixtus the fifth, in 1588, erected paintings and inscriptions of the general councils in the Vatican. These omit the first and second of the Lateran, which, destitute of canons, have no paintings or inscriptions in the Vatican.[2] These two, therefore, are discarded by a celebrated pontiff at the headquarters of Romanism. Carranza and Silvius omit the first, second, and third of the Lateran as void of authority, or unworthy of attention. Bellarmine admits the mutilation of their acts and the imperfection of their history. The ecclesiastical annals, according to Gibert, have recorded only the definitions of the council of Vienna, the constitutions of the first and second of Lyons, and the canons of the four former of the Lateran. The Constantian assembly, reckoning in all only eleven, mentions but three, which assembled at the Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna, between the Byzantine and Florentian conventions. The Constantians, therefore, exclude the five which met at the Lateran, Lyons, and Pisa. The pontiff elect, according to the Constantian assembly in its thirty-ninth session, was, in the presence of the electors, required to profess his faith in these eleven general councils, and especially in the eight which assembled at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.[3] Had the Constantians, who omitted five, exterminated the whole of these councils from the annals of time, the holy fathers

[1] In Octava Generali Synodo Florentiæ sub Eugenio. Labb. 20. 1018. 1021.

[2] On n'a point les canons de ces deux conciles, et ils n'ont point de tableau, ni d'inscription dans le Vatican. Moreri 3, 539.

[3] Gibert, 1. 98. Crabb. 2. i. 55. Alex. 21. 505. Sancta octo universalia concilia immutilata servare. Labb. 16. 703, 1046.

would have conferred a distinguished favour on the world, and merited the lasting thanks of mankind.

The critics and historians of Romanism, varying in this manner in the enumeration of the general councils, vary also about their universality. Some condition or peculiarity should distinguish a general from a diocesan, a provincial, or a national synod. This characteristic distinction, however, has never been ascertained. The attempt, indeed, has been made by Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Jacobatius, Holden, Lupus, Arsdekin, Fabulottus, Panormitan, Bosius, and Martinon. But their requisitions differ from each other and from the facts of the councils. The theory of each is at variance with the rest or inapplicable to the councils, the universality of which is admitted.

One party, would leave the decision to the pope. These reckon it the prerogative of the Roman pontiff to determine on the universality and sufficiency of a general council. This condition has been advocated by Panormitan, Martinon, and Jacobatius.[1] But its application to the acknowledged general councils would cause the partial or total, the temporary or permanent explosion of six, which have been admitted into the Italian or French system. The popes, for a long lapse of time, rejected all the canons of the second at Constantinople, and have never recognized the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. Vigilius, for some time, withstood the fifth œcumenical synod, and his acquiescence was, at last, extorted by banishment. The council of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, applauded by the French school, deposed Gregory, Benedict, John, and Eugenius.

A second class, to constitute a synodal universality, require the attendance of the pope, patriarchs, and metropolitans, together with subsequent general reception.[2] This requisition has been advocated by Bosius and Paolo, and is in discordancy with the system of Martinon and Jacobatius, as well as that of Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Canus, Gibert, Lupus, Fabulottus. Its application would exclude many of the œcumenical synods. The Roman hierarch attended the second and fifth neither in person nor by proxy. The patriarchs were present in neither the third, fourth, nor seventh, nor in any of the ten western councils. The Ephesian and Chalcedonian synods

[1] Pontificis est declarare, an congregatio generalis sufficienter. Martinon, Disput. V. § 7. Maimb. c. VII. Anton. c. V. XXXI. Posset numerus episcoporum, cum quibus tenendum est concilium relinqui arbitrio Papæ. Jacobatius, II.

Concilium generale necessario non potest, quando Papa tali concilio præest. Panormitan, 2. 53.

[2] Dico adesse oportere Sedem Apostolicam, omnes ecclesiæ orthodoxos Patriarchas. Bosius, V. 8. Paol. Rig. Sov. c. IV.

condemned Nestorianism and Eutychianism without the patriarchs of Antioch or Alexandria. The pretended vicars of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem in the second of Nicæa, were impostors. During the ten general councils which assembled in the west, the eastern patriarchs were accounted guilty of heresy, or at least of schism. Subsequent reception would extend universality to several diocesan, provincial, and national councils, such as those of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Laodicea, and Gangra.[1]

A third faction prescribe, as the condition of universality, the convocation of all, the rejection of none, and the actual attendance of some from all the great nations of Christendom. The presence of the patriarchs, in person or by delegations, may be useful; but, as they are now heretical, or at least schismatical, is not necessary. This system has been patronized by Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Canus, Gibert, Lupus, Arsdekin, Jacobatius, and has obtained general adoption.[2] These requisitions, nevertheless, varying from those of other critics, vary also from the constitution of all the acknowledged councils. Bellarmine's prescription, exploding all the preceding, would, in its practical application, exterminate, with one sweeping reprobation, all the Grecian, Latin, and French œcumenical synods.

The eight Grecian conventions, from the Nicene to the Byzantine, met, as Alexander, Moreri, and Du Pin have observed in the east, and the ten Latin, from the Lateran to the Trentine, in the west. The eastern councils were, with very few exceptions, celebrated by the Greeks, and the western by the Latins. In the chief part of the general councils, celebrated in the east, there were present, says Alexender, only two or three westerns. The second, third, and fifth of the eastern synods, which met at Constantinople and Ephesus, were wholly unattended with any westerns. The first council of Constantinople, say Thomassin and Alexander, was entirely Grecian, and became general only by future reception; and its reception was confined to its faith, exclusive of its discipline. Vigilius, with some Latins, was in Constantinople at the celebration of the fifth, and refused notwithstanding to attend. The Ephesian council had effected the condemnation of Nestorianism, which was its chief or only business, before the arrival of the Latins, and was, in consequence, restricted to the Asians and Egyptians.[3]

[1] Lupus. 306. Bell. I. 17. Carranza, 4. Theod. Stud. Ep. 1.

[2] Satis est, ut sit omnibus provinciis intimatum, omnibusque liber sit ad illud accessus. Fabulottus. c. V. Majore parte Christianarum provinciarum, aliqui adveniant. Carranza, 4. Bell, 1. 17. Arsdekin, 1. 160.

[3] In plerisque conciliis œcumenicis in Oriente celebratis, duos aut tres duntaxat

Two or three, indeed, delegated by the Roman hierarch, were present in the first, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth general councils. Vitus, Vicentius, and Hosius appeared in the council of Nicæa; while Petrus and Vicedomus sat, with legatine authority, in the second of that city. Three represented the pontiff, and three the westerns, in the fourth and sixth at Chalcedon and Constantinople. The eighth constituted a blessed representation of the universal church. The first session consisted of sixteen or seventeen bishops, who, of course, were, in their synodal capacity, clothed with infallibility. The second received an augmentation of ten, who begged pardon for having supported Photius, and were admitted. The third session consisted of twenty-three, and the fourth of twenty-one bishops. The fifth was fewer in number. The sixth, seventh, and eighth amounted to the wonderful multitude of thirty-seven. The ninth rose to sixty, and the tenth numbered one hundred, who subscribed the synodal decision.[1] Such were the eight Grecian synods, which are, therefore, fairly dismissed by the application of Bellarmine's condition of universality.

Bellarmine's terms would dismiss the ten western as well as the eight eastern councils. The former, as Moreri and Du Pin have shown, were limited to the Latins, to the exclusion of the Greeks. The first of Lyons consisted of about one hundred and forty bishops from France and England, without any from Spain, Portugal, Germany, or Italy. The French, in the council of Trent, mocked at the Florentian convention, which, they said, was celebrated by only a few Italians and four Grecians. The fifth of the Lateran consisted of about eighty, and nearly all from Italy. The far famed assembly of Trent, when it conferred canonicity on the Apocrypha and authenticity on the Vulgate, consisted only of five cardinals and forty-eight bishops, without one from Germany. These, few in number, were below mediocrity in theological and literary attainments. Some were lawyers, and perhaps learned in their profession; but mere sciolists in divinity. The majority were courtiers, and gentlemen of titular dignity, and from small cities.[2] These could not be said to represent one in a thousand in Christendom. During the lapse of eight months, the council, reckoning even the presidents and princes, did not exceed sixty-four.

The councils of the French school, like those of the Italian, cannot bear the test of Bellarmine's requisitions. These, like

episcopos occidentalis ecclesiæ adfuisse. Alexan. 25. 632. Moreri, 3. 539. Du Pin, 2. 388. Pithou, 29. In secundo et tertio concilio generali, nullus fuit episcopus occidentalis. Fabul. c. V. Thomassin, 1. 6. Crabb, 2. 91. Maimbourg, 68 Godeau, 4. 498. [1] Bin. 1. 321. Du Pin, cen. V. et cen. IX. c. IX.

[2] Par les seuls évêques d'occident. Moreri, 3, 539. Du Pin, 2. 388, 430 Paolo, II. VII. Giann. XVII. 3. Launoy, 1. 376.

the others, were composed of Europeans. The Pisans, though they amounted to more than two hundred, were collected chiefly from Italy, France, Germany, and England. The Constantians and Basilians, though more numerous, were westerns and Latins. The second of Pisa was principally collected from the French dominions, and could, therefore, have no just claim to universality or a convocation from all Christendom.[1]

Theologians and critics, disagreeing in this manner about the universality of general councils, differ also respecting their legality. A synod, to be general or valid, must be lawful; and the conditions of the latter as well as of the former, have occasioned a striking variety of opinion. The partizans of popery differ concerning a general council's convocation, presidency, confirmation, members, freedom, and unanimity.

The Italians, patronized by many theologians and pontiffs, make the pope's convocation, presidency, and confirmation, necessary terms of synodal legality. These account no council lawful without these requisitions. All others, say the Transalpines, are conventicles. The sovereign pontiff, according to Jacobatius, Carranza, and Antonius, can call a general council, which depends on him for its authority. His sanction only can confer validity. A synod, says pope Nicholas, without pontifical authority, is invalid. The assembling of a general council, says Pelagius the second, is the sole prerogative of the Roman See. Nicholas and Pelagius, in these statements, have been followed by Jacobatius and Antonius.[2]

This system, taught in the Italian school and maintained with positivity and arrogance, has been assailed by the French critics, who spurn the papal claim, and have, beyond all question, evinced its groundlessness in point of fact in the eight eastern councils. According to Du Pin and Moreri, 'the eight former councils were convoked by the emperors.' Gibert states that 'all the oriental general councils were assembled by the imperial authority:' and this statement has been repeated by Mezeray, Alexander, Maimbourg, Paoli, Almain, Gerson, Alliaco, and Launoy.[3]

[1] Du Pin, 403. Moreri, 7. 244. Crabb. 3. 549.

[2] Congregare concilium est proprium Romani Pontifici. Jacob. III. Ad solum Romanum Pontificem, generale concilium convocare pertinet. Carranza, 3. Non potest concilium rite congregari nisi authoritate Romani Pontificis. Anton. c. V. Synodus absque authoritate Romani Pontificis, non valet. Nicholas, I. Carranza, 511. Generales synodis non posse convocari, nisi authoritate Apostolicæ sedis. Pelagius, II. Carranza, 329.

[3] Octo priora concilia ab Imperatoribus convocata esse constat. Du Pin. 337. Les premiers ont été autrefois, jusqu' au huitième general, toujours convoqué par les Empereurs. Moreri, 3. 539. Omnia concilia generalia Orientalia ab Imperatoribus coacta fuerunt. Gibert, 1. 76, 77.

Launoy has shown the imperial convocation of the oriental councils by an array of evidence, sufficient, one would conclude, to convince scepticism and silence all opposition. The convocation of the Nicene council by Constantine, is, according to this author, attested by Eusebius, Epiphanius, Ruffinus, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, Gelasius, Justinian, Isidorus, Gregory, Mansuetus, Zonaras, Reparatus, Robertus, Vicentius, Nicephorus, Antoninus, Sabellicus, Platina, Pighius, Prateolus, Genebrard, and Sigonius. Theodosius called the Byzantine synod, as appears from Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Gelasius, Vigilius, Justinian, Isidorus, Simeon, Zonaras, Robertus, Nicephorus, Sigonius, and Petavius. The assembling of the Ephesian council by Theodosius and Valentinian, is attested by Theodosius, Basil, Cyril, Theodoret, John, Socrates, Justinian, Valentinian, Sigibert, Nicephorus, and the council itself. Marcian, according to Valentinian, Leo, Theodoret, Prosper, Liberatus, Evagrius, Justinian, Vigilius, Mansuetus, Sigibert, Nicephorus, Gobelin, Mariana, and the synod itself, convened the council of Chalcedon: and Justinian summoned the Constantinopolitan assembly, say Justinian, Evagrius, Mansuetus, Nicephorus, Mariana, and Petavius. The emperor Constantine the Fourth convoked the sixth general synod, according to Agatha, Beda, Paulus, Frecolf, Hincmar, Ado, Anastasius, Regino, Lambert, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Gobelin, Hartmann, Nauclerus, Petavius, the Roman breviary, and the acts of the council. The empress Irene, in conjunction with Constantine, assembled the second Nicene convention, as is related by Tarasius, Adrian, Anastasius, Paulus, Platina, Hartmann, Bergomas, and the acts of the council. The emperor Basil's convocation of the eighth œcumenical assembly is testified by Adrian, Ignatius, Cedrenus, and Zonaras. The council of Pisa was convened by cardinals.[1]

The presidency of the Roman pontiff in a general council is, according to Du Pin, 'a matter, not of necessity but of convenience. He did not preside in the three first general councils.' Cusan ascribes 'the presidency, not to the pontiffs but to the emperors.' The sovereigns, says Paolo, 'who called these

Nous ne trouvons point de concile œcumenique jusqu' au neu vième siècle, qui n'ait été assemblé par leur autorité. Mezeray, 5. 466. Maimbourg, 42.

Nicæna Synodus convocata est a Constantino. Alex. 7. 122. et 8. 82.—Hoc concilium œcumenicum fuit a Theodosio seniore convocatum, inconsulto Damaso, Romano Pontifice. Alexander, 9. 79.—Synodus œcumenica Ephesina convocata est à Theodosio. Alex. 2. 218.—Marcianus Synodum IV. convocavit. Alexand. 2. 305.—Constantinus Synodum Sextam convocavit. Alexand. 13. 287. Septima Synodus a Constantino et Irene Augustis convocata est. Alexand. 14. 523.

[1] Launoy ad Ludov. 4. 22. et ad Voell. 4. 108. et ad Bray. 4. 191. et ad Malat. 4. 207, 223. Daniel, 5. 444.

synods, presided in person or by representation, and proposed the matter, prescribed the form, and regulated the discussions of such conventions.' The sovereign pontiff, according to Mariana, Gibert, Maimbourg, and Godeau, did not appear either in person or by proxy, in the second, fifth, or Pisan assembly. Timotheus and Eutychius, says Alexander, presided in the Byzantine conventions under the emperors Theodosius and Justinian. Photius attributes the presidency of the seventh general council to Tarasius.[1]

The first councils, says Du Pin, 'were not confirmed by the popes.' The pontiffs, on the contrary, opposed the canons of the second and fourth, which conferred rank and jurisdiction on the Byzantine patriarch. Vigilius withstood the fifth with all his pontifical authority. Petavius's representation of this hierarch's versatility is a curiosity. His infallibility, says this historian, 'proscribed, and then confirmed the fifth universal council. He afterward again disclaimed, and finally declared its legitimacy.'[2]

The general conventions, from that of the Lateran to that of Trent, were held in the west, and enjoyed the distinguished honour of pontifical convocation, presidency, and ratification. This period embraced the ten Latin universal councils. The Roman empire was then divided into many smaller states, whose sovereigns, actuated with petty ambition and engaged in mutual opposition and rivalry, could not agree about ecclesiastical conventions. The pope, in this emergency, assumed the prerogative of convocation and presidency. He convened the clergy and arrogated the power, which had been exercised by the emperor, and which, in the hands of the hierarch, became an engine of pontifical aggrandisement and despotism.[3]

A variety of opinions have been entertained, with respect to the persons who should form a general council. A few would admit laymen; while many would exclude all but the clergy. Some would restrict decisive suffrage to the prelacy, and others would extend it to the priesthood. The former was the usage of antiquity. The latter obtained in some of the councils in

[1] Tribus primis conciliis generalibus non præfuit. Du Pin, 337. Cusan, III. 16. Il n'ait pas presidé au premier Concile de Constantinople, Il es tres-certain qu'il ne convoqua pas le cinquèime, et n'y presida point. Maimb. 42. Huic concilio præfuit Timotheus. Alexand. 7. 234. Concilio Quinto Oecumenico præfuit Eutychius. Alexand. 12. 574, Paolo, 1. 213, Mariana, 1. 521. Gibert, 1. 66, 38. Godeau, 4. 274. Photius, 57.

[2] Prima Concilia a Pontificibus confirmata minime sunt. Du Pin, 337. Gibert, 1. 102. Sedes Apostolica nunc usque contradicit, quod a synodo firmatum est. Liberatus, c. XIII. Illam primum respuit Vigilius, deinde assensione firmavit, postea repudiavit iterum. Denique legitimum esse professus est. Petavius, 2. 137.

[3] Gibert, 1. 70. Paolo, 1. 215 Moreri, 3. 539.

more modern days. Panormitan would restrict membership in a general council to the pope and prelacy, to the exclusion of the laity.[1]

Varying in this way about the number of councils, the Romish doctors vary also respecting the manner of synodal decision. Some would decide by a majority; while others would require unanimity as a condition of legitimacy. One faction, patronized by Bellarmine, account a majority, if sanctioned by pontifical ratification, sufficient for conferring validity. A second party, countenanced by Du Pin, Canus, Salmeron, Cusan, and Panormitan, would demand unanimity, for bestowing legitimation on a council and validity on its decisions.[2]

The requisition of unanimity would, in fact, explode the majority of all the eighteen general councils. A few indeed have been unanimous, but many divided. The Nicene, Byzantine, Ephesian, and Chalcedonian synods contained factions that favoured Arianism, Macedonianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, and Monothelitism. Mighty controversy, say both Eusebius and Socrates, arose at Nicæa, and was maintained with pertinacity. But these sons of heresy were, in general, exterminated by deposition, banishment, murder, or some other way of legal ratiocination and evangelical discipline.[3] The patrons of idolatry in the second assembly of Nicæa, anticipated all opposition to their intended enactments by rejecting all who would not execrate the patrons of Iconoclasm.

The ten western councils were under the control of the Roman pontiff. His power, combined with ignorance and the inquisition, succeeded in a great measure, in silencing opposition and commanding unanimity. But occasional symptoms of rebellion against the vicar-general of God appeared, notwithstanding general submission, even in western christendom. No assembly, civil or ecçlesiastical, ever showed less unity than the council of Trent. Theologian opposed theologian, and bishop withstood bishop, in persevering impertinence and contention. The dominican fought with the franciscan in an endless and provoking war of rancour and nonsense. The French and Spanish encountered the Italians, with inferior numbers, indeed, but with far superior reason and eloquence. All this appears in the details of Paolo, Du Pin, and even Pallavicino. The Trentine contest and decision on original sin may be given

[1] Crotty, 83. Alex. 10. 341. Lenfan. 1. 107. Anton. c. V. Du Pin, 3. 9 Synodus generalis constituitur a papa et episcopis, et sic nihil dicit de laicis Panorm. 142.

[2] Il faut qu'elle passe du consentement unanime. Du Pin, Doct. ch. 1. 3.

Nego, cum de fide agitur, sequi plurimorum judicium oportere. Canus, VI. 5 Apol. 1. 103—105.

[3] Eusebius, III. 13. Socrates, 1. 8.

as a specimen of Trentine contention and senseless animosity. The bishops, learned in general in the law, but unskilled in divinity, were utterly confounded by the distinctions, scholasticism, and puzzling diversity of opinion which prevailed among the theologians. The composition of the canons was overwhelmed with inextricable difficulty. The persons employed in this task could not comprize every opinion, or avoid the hazard of creating a schism.[1] The discord of the Trentine fathers became, in the French nation, the subject of witticism and mockery.

The contentions of the French synod of Melun, preparatory to that of Trent, afforded a striking prelude and specimen of the noisy and numerous altercations which were afterwards displayed in the latter assembly. The French king convened the Parisian doctors at Melun, for the purpose of arranging the dogmas of faith, which, on the assembling of the general council, were to be proposed for discussion. The Parisians, however, could agree on nothing. These, adhering to a church which boasts of exclusive unity, squabbled and contended on the topics of the sacraments, the Concordat, the Pragmatic sanction, and the Constantian and Basilian councils, without meaning or end. Each, however, without being disconcerted by their discord, would have his own opinion made an article of faith. The king, in consequence, had to dissolve the council without coming to any conclusion.[2] A scene of equal dissension is not to be found in all the annals of protestantism.

Freedom of discussion and suffrage is, according to unanimous consent, a necessary condition of synodal legitimacy. Authors, the most adverse in other things, agree in the requisition of liberty. This, in an ecclesiastical assembly, was the demand of the ancients, such as Hilary, Athanasius, Basil, Facundus, as well as of the moderns, such as Richerius, Canus, and Duval. No council, says Facundus, was ever known, under compulsion, to subscribe any thing but falsehood.[3] Freedom of speech was one of the conditions of a general ecclesiastical assembly required by the council of Basil. This freedom, it has been admitted, is destroyed, not only by deposition and banishment,

[1] Les évêques embarassez par une si grande variété d'opinions, ne savoient quel jugement porter. Il y avoit une si grande variété de sentimens des théologiens, ils ne croyoient pas qu'il fût possible, ni de definir la chose ni de condamner quelqu' une de ces opinions, sans courir le risque de causer quelque schisme. Paolo, 1. 281. Les disputes se reveillerent avec tant de force, que les légats eurent beaucoup de peine a les appaiser. Paolo, 2. 282. Du Pin, 3. 426.

[2] Ils étoient aussi partagez sur l'article des sacrémens. Chacun vouloit faire passer son opinion pour un dogme de foi. Ils ne purent convenir d'autre chose. Paolo, 1. 177, 178.

[3] Nunquam coactum concilium, nisi falsitati, subscripsit. Facundus, XII. 3. Gibert, 1. 74. Amb. in Luc. 6.

but also by threats, bribery, gifts, favour, faction, simony, party, money, and influence. The favour of the emperor was, by Ambrosius, considered subversive of synodal liberty. Thraldom or servility may arise from any thing that may bias the mind or influence the vote.

The application of this requisition would explode all the general councils that ever met in Christendom. All these were swayed by hope, fear, reward, or punishment, or influenced, more or less, by faction or favour, menace or money. The eighteen councils were controlled by the Roman emperor or the Roman pontiff. The eight œcumenical councils celebrated in the east were influenced by imperial power. The emperors, in person or by representation, presided as judges in the Grecian conventions, and moulded them into any form they pleased.[1] None of these ecclesiastical meetings was ever known to resist the will of its sovereign, but adhered, with undeviating uniformity, to the duty of unlimited and unqualified submission. Constantine's management of the Nicene assembly, the most respectable of all that have been called general, is recorded by Eusebius and Socrates. He gained some, say these historians, by reason and some by supplication. Some he praised and some he blamed; and, by these means, succeeded, with a few exceptions, in effecting an unanimity.[2] Such are the effects of imperial arguments. A few, however, preferred their conscience or their system to royal favour, and were banished or deposed for error and contumacy. Arius, Eusebius, and Theognis, having for some time felt the blessed effects of these logical and scriptural arguments, subscribed and were restored. Maris, Theognis, and Eusebius, says Philostorgius, declared in self-condemnation, that, influenced by terror, they had signed heterodoxy.

The easterns and westerns were as accommodating to the Arian Constantius as to the Trinitarian Constantine. Constantius, forsaking the Trinitarian system, adopted Arianism; and the Greeks and Latins, whether united or separated, complied with the imperial humour, and signed, like dutiful subjects, the Arian and Semi-Arian confessions of Sirmium, Seleucia, Milan, and Ariminum. The oriental and occidental prelacy, united at Sirmium in one of the most numerous councils that ever met, subscribed, in compliance with their sovereign, in Arian creed, which, as Du Pin has shown, was signed by his infallibility Pope Liberius. The Greeks, consisting of

[1] Ces sortes d'assemblées furent dirigées par les Princes. Paolo, 1. 213.

[2] Πολλης αμφιλογιας συνιστωμενης. Eusebius, de vita Constantini, III. 13. Τους μεν συμπεισθεν, τους δε και δυσωπουν το λογῳ: τους δε εν λεγοντας επαινων. Socrat. 1. 8. Philostorgius, 1. 10.

Arians and Semi-Arians, assembled at Seleucia, framed, after a long and bitter altercation, an Arian and Semi-Arian confession. These two the holy bishops referred, not to Liberius but to Constantius, not to the pontiff but to the emperor, for his approbation and sanction. The emperor, rejecting both, produced one of an Arian stamp, which had been composed at Nicea and subscribed at Ariminum; and this, the sacred synod with the most obliging condescension unanimously adopted. The Latins, at Milan and Ariminum, followed the footsteps of the Greeks. The world, says Jerome on this occasion, groaned and wondered at its Arianism; and all in compliance with its sovereign.[1]

The annals of image worship, as well as the history of Arianism, show the control which the Roman emperors exercised over the consciences and the faith of their subjects, clergy and laity. The emperor Constantine, the enemy of idolatry and the patron of iconoclasm, called a numerous synod at Constantinople; and the bishops, adopting the faith of their prince, anathematized all those who adored the works of the pencil or chisel. But the empress Irene, the votary of images and superstition, assembled the second Nicene council, which is the seventh general, and the holy fathers, proselyted by imperial arguments, cursed, in long and loud execrations, all the sons and daughters of iconoclasm. The western emperor, in hostility to image worship, called, at Frankfort, a council of three hundred bishops, who represented the whole western church, and who overthrew the Nicene enactment in favour of idolatry.[2]

The imperial power in the oriental synods prevailed against the pontifical authority. The emperor's influence was paramount to the pontiff's. The pope, in several councils, summoned all his energy and influence in opposition to the emperor, but without success. Papal imbecility, compared with imperial power, appeared in the second, third, fourth, and fifth general councils. The second and fourth councils elevated the Byzantine patriarch to a pitch of honour and jurisdiction, offensive, in a high degree, to the Roman pontiff. The second conferred on the Constantinopolitan chief an honorary primacy, next to the Roman hierarch; and the fourth, in its twenty-eighth canon, granted equality of honour, and added the jurisdiction of Asia, Pontus, and Thracia. These honours, bestowed on a rival, the pope, as might be expected, resisted with all his might and authority. Lucentius, the pope's vicar at Chalcedon on this

[1] Bin. 1. 479.—Du Pin, in Lib.—Hil. in Syn.—Jerom. in Chron.
[2] Theoph. 285. Zonaras, 2. 85. Bruy. 1. 554. Crabb. 2. 599. Bruy, 1. 594. Carranza, 490. Mabillon, 2. 289.

occasion, complained, in open court, of faction and compulsion. The bishops, said he, in the sixteenth session, 'are circumvented and forced to subscribe canons, to which they have not consented.' But pontifical exertion was vain, when opposed to imperial power. Lucentius protested.[1] But the obnoxious canon, nevertheless, was inserted in the code of the church, and obtained validity through Christendom.

The Ephesian synod affords another proof of the prevalence of the emperor and the weakness of the pontiff. This assembly, indeed, shows the happy effects both of pecuniary and imperial dialectics. The council of Ephesus, according to Ibas, was corrupted by the gold of Cyril. The saint, says the bishop, 'gained the ears of all by the poison which blinds the eyes of the wise.'[2] John and Cyril, indeed, headed two rival and jarring cabals. Each issued its creed, and appealed, not to the Roman pontiff but to the Roman emperor, for the orthodoxy of its faith. His infallibility, on the occasion, was not even consulted. Theodosius, at first, seemed favourable to the Nestorian faction. He afterward veered round to Cyril's party; and the change; it appears, was owing to the efficacy of pecuniary logic. Cyril, says Acacius, bribed Scholasticus a courtier, who influenced the mind of Theodosius. The emperor, not the pontiff, confirmed the synodal decision and stamped the faith of Cyril with the seal of orthodoxy.[3]

Justinian, in like manner, in the fifth general council, prevailed against Vigilius. This assembly, indeed, enjoyed no freedom, and showed no deference to the pontiff. Liberatus, Lupus, and Eustathius have adduced weighty imputations against its validity. According to Liberatus, the council, whose subject of discussion was the silly productions of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, was convened by the machinations of Theodorus of Cæsarea, and was swayed by his influence with Justinian and Theodora, the emperor and empress. The episcopal courtier was an enthusiastic admirer of Origen, and a concealed partizan of Monophysitism. The fanciful theologian was his darling author, and the heretical theology was his devoted system. He was, in consequence, an enemy to Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who had written against Origen, and to the council of Chalcedon, which had approved his works, contained in the celebrated three chapters, the mighty topic of imperial animadversion and synodal reprehension. The Cæsarean dig-

[1] Qua circumventione cum sanctis episcopis gestum sit, ut non conscriptis canonibus subscribere sint coacti. Crabb. 1. 938. Lucentius fut reduit a faire une protestation contre ce qui s'etoit fait en cela. Godea. 3. 500, 503.

[2] Aures omnium veneno obcæcanti oculos sapientium obtinuit. Labb. 6. 131.

[3] Godeau, 3. 310. Labb. 3. 574. Liberatus, c. VI. Evag. 1 5. Lupus, c. XLI.

nitary, however, notwithstanding his heterodoxy, found means of ingratiating himself with the emperor and empress. He insinuated himself into the royal favour and ruled the royal councils. This influence he used for the discredit of the Chalcedonian synod and the condemnation of the Mopsuestian critic. He persuaded Justinian to issue an edict against the writings of Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, which had been sanctioned at Chalcedon. These writers, Pontius, an African bishop, in a letter to Vigilius, represents as the authors whom the holy synod of Chalcedon had received.[1] The emperor, also, actuated by his counsellor's suggestions, called an ecumenical council for the confirmation of his edict, and the condemnation of the obnoxious publications. This assembly, according to Liberatus a contemporary historian, acknowledged the charms of the imperial gold, and submission to the imperial will. The emperor, says the Carthaginian deacon, 'prevailed on the occasion, by bribery and banishment. He enriched those who promoted his designs, and banished all who resisted.'[2]

The allegations of Liberatus have been repeated by Lupus and Eustathius. According to Lupus, 'Justinian became a Dioclesian, and the Grecian prelacy became the tools of his imperial despotism.'[3] 'All things,' says Eustathius, 'were effected by violence.' Certain it is, however these things be determined, that the Roman pontiff opposed the Roman emperor and the universal council in all its sessions.

But the sovereign and the fathers proceeded in the synodal decisions, without hesitation or delay. Vigilius refused to sign the sentence of the council. But his majesty compelled his infallibility, unwilling as he was, to confirm decisions which his holiness hated, and to sanction enactments, against which, in the most solemn manner, he had protested. A convention, assembled in this manner by stratagem, disputing about nothing, corrupted by the emperor, repealing the decision of a former general council, and acting in unrelenting hostility to the vicar-general of God, constituted the fifth general, unerring, holy Roman council.

The eight eastern councils, in this manner, were subject to the control of the Roman emperor; and the western, in the same way, were swayed by the authority of the Roman pontiff. The pope became as arbitrary and despotic among the Latins,

[1] Les auteurs, que le saint concile de Chalcedoine avoit reçûs. Godeau, 4. 230.

[2] Consentientes episcopi in Trium damnationem Capitulorum muneribus ditabantur, vel non consentientes, depositi; in exilium missi sunt. Liberatus, c. XXIV. Crabb. 2. 121.

[3] In hac synodo, Justinianus Dioclesianum indicerat: ejus affectibus serviebant omnes Græcorum episcopi. Lupus, 1. 737. Bruy. 1. 330.

as the emperor had been among the Greeks. This servility of the Westerns has been delineated with the pencil of truth, by Gibert, Giannone, Du Pin, and Richerius.[1] According to Gibert, 'the pontiffs, in these conventions, did as they pleased.' The Roman hierarchs, says Du Pin, 'established, in the twelfth century, their sovereignty in the Roman city, and their independence on the Roman emperor; and even assumed the right of conferring the imperial crown. Their power over the state and the magistracy, was attended with additional authority and jurisdiction over the church and clergy. Councils were convened by their summons, and the synodal constitutions were their productions. The popes were the authors of the ecclesiastical canons, to which the prelacy only gave their assent. The assembly merely sanctioned the will of the hierarch.' The councils, in the twelfth century, were, according to Giannone, 'called by the pontiff, who, in these meetings, made such regulations as were conducive to his own grandeur, while the assembled bishops only consented.'

Richerius writes in the same strain as Du Pin, Gibert, and Giannone. Synodal liberty, according to this author, 'departed with the elevation of Gregory the Seventh to the papacy. This patron of ecclesiastical despotism, contrary to the custom of more than a thousand years, compelled the clergy of Christendom to swear fidelity to the Roman See: and this stretch of papal power, in a short time, introduced spiritual slavery. The pontiffs, according to the same historian, continued, from the accession of Gregory till the council of Constance, embracing a period of 340 years, to assume the authority of framing canons and definitions at the Vatican, and then summoned servile synods to sanction their arbitrary and oppressive dictations.'

A similar statement, in reference to the oath of fidelity to the pope, is given by Gibert and Pithou in their editions of the canon-law. In Gibert's statements 'bishops should swear fidelity to the pope,' and in Pithou's 'all who, in the present day, receive any dignity from the pope, take an oath of fidelity to his holiness.'[2] Pius the Fourth, in the Confession of Faith which, in 1564, he annexed to the Council of Trent, exacts an oath of the same kind. According to this bull, issued by the pope and received by the prelacy, all the beneficed clergy in the Romish communion, 'promise and swear obedience to the

[1] Pontificem in iis fecisse quidquid libuit. Gibert, 1. 100. Du Pin, Cen. XII. c. XX. Giannon, XIV. 3. Rich. c. 38.

[2] Episcopi Papæ debent jusjurandum. Gibert, 3. 206. Hodie omnes accipientes dignitatem a Papa sibi jurat. Pithou, 107.

Romano Pontifici veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. Labb. 20. 222. Barclay, 11. c. 2.

Roman pontiff.' This obligation, it is plain, is inconsistent with freedom or independence.

This servility and compulsion appeared in all the ten Latin councils, and in none more than in the council of Trent. The Trentines were under the control of the Roman court. His holiness filled the council with hungry and pensioned Italians, who voted as he pleased. The Italians, in this assembly, amounted to one hundred and eighty-seven; while those of other nations mustered only eighty. The French, Spanish, and Germans, indeed, endeavored to maintain the freedom of the assembly; but were overwhelmed by numbers. The French and Spanish, however, both confessed the thraldom of the synod. The cardinal of Lorraine complained of papal influence. Lausac, the French ambassador, declared that the Roman court was master in the council and opposed the reformation. Claudius, a French Trentine theologian, said, in a letter to Espensæus, 'you would die with grief, if you should see the villany which is here perpetrated for the purpose of evading a reformation.'[1] The Spanish declared that the council contained more than forty, who received monthly pensions from the Roman court. Richerius as well as Paolo admits the utter absence of all liberty in the Council of Trent

[1] Prae dolore, mortaus es, si ea vidisses quae ad eludendam reformationem, infanda patrantur. Claud. Ep. ad Espen. Paolo. II. V. VI. A la tenue d'un vote libre, celui de Trente ne l'étant pas. Paol. 1. 216. et 2. 416.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPREMACY.

FOUR VARIATIONS—POPE'S PRESIDENCY—HIS SOVEREIGNTY OR DESPOTISM—HIS SUPPOSED EQUALITY WITH GOD—HIS ALLEGED SUPERIORITY TO GOD—SCRIPTURAL PROOF—TRADITIONAL EVIDENCE—ORIGINAL STATE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH—CAUSES OF ITS PRIMACY—EMINENCE OF THE CITY—FALSE DECRETALS—MISSIONS—OPPOSITION FROM ASIA, AFRICA, FRANCE, SPAIN, ENGLAND, AND IRELAND—UNIVERSAL BISHOP—USURPATIONS OF NICHOLAS, JOHN, GREGORY, INNOCENT, AND BONIFACE.

THE Supremacy is, by the patrons of Romanism, uniformly ascribed to the pope. This title the partisans of popery use to represent the Roman hierarch's superiority in the church. But the authority attached to this dignity, remains to the present day undecided. Opinions on this topic have floated at freedom, unfixed by any acknowledged standard, and uncontrolled by any recognized decision. The Romish doctors, in consequence, have, on the pontificial supremacy, roved at random through all the gradations and forms of diversified and conflicting systems.

These systems are many, and, as might be expected, are distinguished in many instances by trifling and evanescent shades of discrimination. A full enumeration would be endless, and, at the same time, is useless. The chief variations on this topic may be reduced to four. One confers a mere presidency; and the second an unlimited sovereignty on the Roman pontiff. The third makes the pope equal—and the fourth superior, to God.

One variety restricts the Roman pontiff to a mere presidency, similar to the moderator's in the Scottish assembly, or the prolocutor's in the English convocation. The first among his equals, he is not the church's master, but its minister. Such are the statements of Du Pin, Rigaltius, Filaster, Gibert, and Paolo.[1]

[1] Petrum inter Apostolos primum locum obtinuisse. Du Pin, 313. Primum esse Romanum Pontificem. Du Pin, 333.

Non imperium, non dominatum, non potentatum, sed primum Locum. Du Pin, 314. Le Pape lui-meme n'est que le premier entre les pretres. Lenfant, 1. 107.

The pontiff, says Du Pin, 'like Peter among the apostles, obtains the first place. The pontiff has no power over the church, but the church, on the contrary, over the pontiff.' The Roman hierarch, says Rigaltius, quoted by Du Pin, 'possesses not jurisdiction, dominion or sovereignty, but the first place.' Cardinal Filaster, in the council of Constance, and without any opposition, reckoned 'the pope only the first among the priests. The pope, says Gibert, 'is only the first of the bishops.' The Roman hierarch, according to Paolo, 'is chief, not in authority, but in order, as the president of an assembly.' This presidency, therefore, Du Pin, observes, is only a primacy of order and unity; which indeed, is necessary for the efficiency and co-operation of every society.

This primacy authorizes a general superintendence, allows the possessor to watch over the faith and morality of the whole community, and to enforce the observance of the ecclesiastical canons. The power, however, is executive, not legislative; and extends, not to the enactment, but merely to the enforcement of laws. The Pontiff's doctrinal definitions and moral instructions, are, on account of his dignity, entitled to attention, but depend on their general reception for their validity. The pontifical primacy, or, as some say, monarchy, is, according to this system, limited by prelatical aristocracy. The episcopacy, in other words, restricts the popedom. The Roman pontiff is inferior to a general council, by which he may, for heresy or immorality, be tried and deposed, and which does not necessarily require his summons, presidency, or confirmation; though these may, on some occasions, be a matter of convenience. The patrons of this system deprecate the papal claims to infallibility; and view with detestation, all the Roman hierarch's pretensions to the deposition of kings, the transferring of kingdoms, and the absolution of subjects from the oath of fidelity.[1]

The French have patronized this system on the subject of the papal primacy. The Gallican church maintains this plan of moderation and freedom, and disclaims the ultraism and servility of the Italian school. The same views have been entertained by the university of Paris, followed by those of Angiers, Orleans, Bononia, Louvain, Herford, Cracow, and Colonia. The Sorbonne, in several instances, pronounced the contrary

Aliud non sit Papa quam episcoporum primus. Gibert, 3. 336.

Inter æquales episcopos, primam gradum obtineat, primus inter pares. De Prim. 206.

Le Pape est ministre de l'église; il n'en est pas le maître. Apol. 2. 82.

[1] Ils le croyent soumis aux conciles Generaux. Moreri, 1. 40. Du Pin, 335. Aradekin, 1. 113. Hotman, 321.

opinion a heresy.[1] The same scheme has been supported by many distinguished theologians, such as Gerson, Cusan, Tostatus, Aliaco, Vittoria, Richerius, Soto, Dionysius, Launoy, Driedo, Pluen, Filaster, Vigorius, Marca, and Du Pin; and these, again, have been followed by the Roman pontiffs, Pius, Julius, Siricius, Zozimus, Celestine, Sixtus, Gregory, Eugenius, Innocent, and Adrian.[2]

A similar subordination of the papal power was patronized by the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil. The Pisans declared the superiority of a general council over the Roman pontiff; degraded Benedict and Gregory and elected Alexander.[3] The Constantians, treading in the footsteps of the Pisans, defined, in the fourth session, the subjection of a pope to a council, and denounced condign punishment on all persons, of every state and dignity, even the papal, who should disobey the synodal enactments.[4] The Basilians, in their second session, renewed the decision of Constance with its penalty against all transgressors. The council of Basil, besides, in its thirty-third session, declared the superiority of a general council to a Roman hierarch, and its incapability of being dissolved, prorogued, or transferred against its consent, to be truths of the Catholic faith. Pertinacity in the denial of these truths, the holy unerring Fathers pronounced a heresy. The inferiority of a pope to an universal synod, and his incompetency to order its dissolution, adjournment, or translation are, according to an infallible council, doctrines of Catholicism, and respect not discipline but the faith.[5]

A second variety allows the pope an unlimited sovereignty. The abettors of this system, overstepping the bounds of moderation, would exalt the primacy into a despotism. The popedom, according to these speculators, is a monarchy, unlimited by democracy or aristocracy, by the laity or the clergy. The Roman pontiff's power is civil as well as ecclesiastical, extending both to the church and the state; and legislative as well as executive, comprehending in its measureless range both the making and enforcing of laws. He is clothed with uncontrolled authority over the church, the clergy, councils, and kings. He

[1] Qui docent contrarium, hæreticos esse censet. Du Pin, 421. L'eglise Gallicane ont approuvé le decret de la superiorité des conciles sur les Papes. Milletot, 572.

[2] Launoy, 1. 295, 314. Du Pin, 442. Fabulettus, c. 2.

[3] Concilium generale universam repræsentans ecclesiam esse superius Papæ. Du Pin, 404.

[4] Cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obire tenetur. Labb. 16. 73. Summum pontificem subesse conciliis generalibus. Gibert, 2. 7. Cossart, 4. 113.

[5] Est veritas fidei Catholicæ. Veritatibus duabus prædictis pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus. Labb. 17. 236, 390. Il merite d'etre censé heretique. Bruy, 4. 126. Du Pin, 3. 38. Hotman, 321, 322.

has a right, both in a legislative and executive capacity, to govern the universal church, and to ordain, judge, suspend, and depose bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs through Christendom. These receive their authority from the pope, as he receives his from God. He possesses a superiority over general councils, which, for legitimation and validity, require pontifical convocation, presidency, and ratification. He is the supreme judge of controversy, and, in this capacity, receives appeals from the whole church. He is vested with temporal as well as spiritual authority; and may depose sovereigns, transfer kingdoms, and absolve subjects from the oath of fealty. His chief prerogative is infallibility. The Roman pontiff, unlike other frail mortals, is, at least in his official sentences, which he pronounces from the chair, exempted from all possibility of error or mistake.[1]

Such is the monstrous system of the Italian school on the papal supremacy. The Transalpine faction, who are dependant and servile minions of the Roman court, clothe the pontiff with all this superhuman power and authority. This party has been supported in these views by Jesuits, canonists, theologians, popes, and councils. The votaries of Jesuitism, dispersed through the world, have advocated the unlimited authority of the popedom, with their accustomed erudition and sophistry. The canonists, such as Gratian and Pithou, have, in general, been friends to the plentitude of pontifical jurisdiction and despotism. These have been supported by an host of theologians and schoolmen, such as Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Turrecrema, Sanderus, Perron, Pighius, Carranza, Fabulottus, Lainez, Jacobatius, Arsdekin, Antonius, Canus, Cajetan, Aquinas, Turrianno, Lupus, Campeggio, and Bonaventura.

The Roman hierarchs, as might be expected, have, in general, maintained the papal power. Celestine, Gelasius, Leo, Nicholas, Gregory, Urban, Pascal, Boniface, Clement, and Paul supported their overgrown tyranny with peculiar resolution and energy. Gregory the Seventh subjected, not only the church but the state, and monopolized both civil and ecclesiastical power. Boniface the Eighth taught the necessity of submission to the pontiff for the attainment of salvation. Paul the Fourth seems to have been a model of pontifical ambition, arrogance, haughtiness, and tyranny. His infallibility contemned

[1] Du Pin, 333. Bell. IV. 1, 15, et . 6. Gibert, 3. 36, 487. Cajetan, c. I. Extrav. 52, 101. Labb. 18. 1428. Fabul. c. II.

Sub ratione regminis monarchici. Dens, 2. 147. In Papa residet suprema potestas. Faber, 2. 384.

Ecclesiam Christus instituerit instar regni, in qua unus, cæteris imperit. Labb. 20. 670.

Papa est Dominus temporalis totius orbis. Barclay, 17

the authority of councils and kings. The papal power he maintained, was unbounded and above all synods; and this, he called an article of faith; and the contrary, he denominated a heresy.[1] His holiness declared himself the successor of one who had deposed emperors and kings, and superior to princes, whom he would not acknowledge as his companions, but use as his footstool. This vain glory, these empty boasts, his infallibility enforced with the stamp of his foot and the thunder of his apostolic voice.

The Italian system, on the supremacy, was patronized also by the councils of Florence, Lateran, and Trent. Eugenius, in the Florentine Convention and with its approbation, declared, in the thirteenth session, the superiority of the pope to a council, whose enactments he was authorized by his apostolic prerogative to change or repeal. The pontifical dissolution or translation of a council, he declared, is no heresy, notwithstanding the contrary sentence of the Basilian assembly, whose acts, he affirmed, were unjust and foolish, and contrary to the laws of God and man. The Florentines vested his infallibility with the vicegerency of God, and authority to teach all Christians, and the supremacy over the whole world.[2]

The fifth council of the Lateran clothed Leo with equal power. This convention decreed the superiority of the Roman pontiff over all councils, and his full power and right of synodal convocation, translation, and dissolution. This assembly also renewed the bull of Boniface, which declared the subjection of all Christians to the Roman pontiff necessary for salvation.[3]

The council of Trent, on this subject, was not so explicit as those of Florence and the Lateran. The French and Spanish, in this synod, withstood the Italians, and prevented the free expression of Ultramontane servility. The council, however, in its fourteenth session, ascribed to the pope 'the supreme power in the universal church.'[4] The pontiff, said Cardillus to the Trentine fathers, without any disclaimer, 'holds, as a mortal God, the place of Christ on earth, and cannot be judged by

[1] C'étoit un article de foi, et que de dire le contraire étoit une hérésie. Paolo, 2. 27. Labb. 19. 968.

[2] Constat synodum pontifici esse inferiorem. Labb. 18. 1320. Papa est super potestatem ecclesiae universalis et concilii generalis. Cajetan, 1. 10.

Dissolutionem sive translationem concilii hæresim non pertinere. Labb. 18. 1321. Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et verum Christi vicarium, existere. Labb. 18. 526. 1152. Gibert, 1. 93.

[3] Solum Romanum Pontificem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, tam conciliorum dicendorum, transferendorum, dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere. Labb. 19. 967. Bruys, 4. 806. Du Pin 430.

[4] Pro suprema potestate sibi in ecclesia universa tradita. Labb. 20. 96. Gibert, 1. 181. Dens, 8. 232.

Is Christi vicem gerit in terris, tanquam mortalis Deus: neque a concilio generali Pontifex judicari potest. Cardil. in Labb. 20. 671, 1177.

a general council.' This avowal is inconsistent with Cisalpine liberality and independence.

The French, therefore, in this manner, oppose the Italians on the topic of papal supremacy. These two schools are, on this question, at open war. Theologian withstands theologian. Gerson, Alliaco, Richerius, Launoy, Almain, Paolo, Marca, Du Pin, Carron, and Walsh, encounter Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Turiano, Turrecrema, Arsdekin, Cajetan, Aquinas, and Bonaventura. The universities of Paris, Angiers, Orleans, Toulouse, Bononia, Louvain, Cracow, Cologne, and Herford may be pitted against the schoolmen, the Jesuits, and the Roman court. Pope charges pope, in dreadful affray. Damasus, Felix, Siricius, Celestine, and Pius lead their phalanx against the squadrons of Leo, Gregory, Urban, Nicholas, Pascal Paul, and Sixtus. General councils stand in array against general councils. The Pisans, Constantians, and Basilians wage ware against the Florentines, Laterans, and Trentines; and hurl mutual anathemas from their spiritual artillery.

A third variety would raise the pope to an equality with God. The Italian school, one would expect, confers a power on the Roman hierarch calculated to satisfy the highest ambition. But the Transalpine system does not terminate the progression. A third description of flatterers have proceeded to greater extravagancy, and vested his holiness with ampler prerogatives. These, in the exorbitance of papal adulation, have insulted reason, outraged common sense, and ascended, in their impious progress, through all the gradations of blasphemy. Pretended Christians have ascribed that Divinity to the Roman pontiff, which the Pagans attributed to the Roman emperors. Domitian, addressing his subjects in his proclamation, signed himself their 'Lord God.' Caligula arrogated the name of 'the Greatest and Best God;' while Sapor, the Persian monarch, affected, with more modesty, to be only 'the Brother of the Sun and Moon.'[1] This blasphemy has been imitated by the minions of his Roman infallibility. The pope, says the gloss of the canon law, 'is not a man.' This awkward compliment is intended to place his holiness above humanity. According to Turrecrema and Barclay, 'some DOCTORLINGS wish, in their adulation, to equal the pontiff to God.' These, says Gerson, quoted by Carron and Giannone, 'esteem the pope a God, who has all power in heaven and earth.' The sainted Bernard affirms that, 'none, except God, is like the pope, either in heaven or on earth.'[2]

[1] Suetonius, 322, 555.

[2] Papa non est homo. Sext. Decret. L. I. Tit. VI. c. 18.
Doctorculi volunt adulando eos quasi æquiparare Deo. Barclay, 219. Turrecrema.

The name and the works of God have been appropriated to the pope, by theologians, canonists, popes, and councils. Gratian, Pithou, Durand, Jacobatius, Musso, Gibert, Gregory, Nicholas, Innocent, the canon law, and the Lateran council have complimented his holiness with the name of deity, or bestowed on him the vicegerency of heaven. Pithou, Gibert, Durand, Jacobatius, Musso, and Gratian, on the authority of the canon law, style the pontiff the Almighty's vicegerent, 'who occupies the place, not of a mere man, but of the true God.' According to Gregory the Second, 'The whole Western Nations reckoned Peter a terrestrial God,' and the Roman pontiff, of course, succeeds to the title and the estate. This blasphemy, Gratian copied into the canon law. 'The emperor Constantine,' says Nicholas the First, 'conferred the appellation of God on the pope, who, therefore, being God, cannot be judged by man.' According to Innocent the Third, 'the pope holds the place of the true God.' The canon law, in the gloss, denominates the Roman hierarch, 'our Lord God.' The canonists, in general, reckon the pope the one God, who hath all power, human and divine, in heaven and in earth. Marcellus in the Lateran council and with its full approbation, called Julius, 'God on earth.'[1] This was the act of a general council, and, therefore, in the popish account, is the decision of infallibility.

The works as well as the name of God have been ascribed to the pope, by Innocent, Jacobatius, Durand, Decius, Lainez, the canon law, and the Lateran council. 'The pope and the Lord,' in the statement of Innocent, Jacobatius and Decius, 'form the same tribunal, so that, sin excepted, the pope can do nearly all that God can do.' Jacobatius, in his modesty, uses the qualifying expression nearly, which Decius, with more effrontery, rejects as unnecessary. The pontiff, say Jacobatius and Durand, 'possesses a plentitude of power, and none dare say to him, any more than to God, Lord, what dost thou? He can change the nature of things, and make nothing out of something and something out of nothing.' These are not the mere

Q. II. Estiment Papam unicum Deum esse qui habet potestatem omnem in cœlo et in terrâ. Carron, 34. Giannon, X. 12. Præter Deum, non est similis ei nec in cœlo, nec in terrâ. Bernard, 1725. 2. Thess. II. 4.

[1] Papa vicem non puri hominis, sed veri Dei, gerens in terra. Jacob. VII. Barclay, 222. Pithou, 29. Decret. I. Tit. VII. c. III. Papa locum Dei tenet in terris. Gibert, 2. 9. Durand. 1. 51. Omnia Occidentis regna, velut Deum terrestrem habent. Labb. 8. 666. Bruy. 2. 100. Constantino Deum appellatum, cum nec posse Deum ab hominibus judicari manifestum est. Labb. 9. 1572. Dominus Deus noster Papa. Extrav. Tit. XIV. c. IV. Walsh. p. IX. Deus in terris. Labb. 19. 731. Bin. 9. 54.

Canonistæ dicunt, Papam esse unum Deum, qui habet potestatem omnem in cœlo et in terra. Potestatem omnem et Divinam et humanam Papæ tribuunt Barclay, 2, 4, 200.

imaginations of Jacobatius, Durand, and Decius; but are found, in all their absurdity, in the canon law, which attributes to the pope, the irresponsibility of the Creator, the divine power of performing the works of God, and making something out of nothing. The pope, according to Lainez at the council of Trent, 'has the power of dispensing with all laws, and the same authority as the Lord.' This, exclaimed Hugo, 'is a scandal and impiety which equals a mortal to the immortal, and a man to God.' An archbishop, in the last Lateran synod, called Julius 'prince of the world:' and another orator styled Leo, 'the possessor of all power in heaven and in earth, who presided over all the kingdoms of the globe.' This blasphemy, the holy, unerring, Roman council heard without any disapprobation, and the pontiff with unmingled complacency. The man of sin then 'sat in the temple of God, and showed himself that he was God.' 'Some popes,' says Coquille, 'have allowed themselves to be called omnipotent.'[1]

A fourth variety, on this subject, makes the Pope superior to God. Equality with the Almighty, it might have been expected would have satiated the ambition of the pontiff and satisfied the sycophancy of his minions. But this was not the giddiest step in the scale of blasphemy. The superiority of the pope over the Creator, has been boldly and unblushingly maintained by pontiffs, theologians, canonists, and councils.

According to Cardinal Zabarella, 'the pontiffs, in their arrogance, assumed the accomplishment of all they pleased, even unlawful things, and thus raised their power above the law of God.' The canon law declares that, 'the Pope, in the plenitude of his power, is above right, can change the substantial nature of things, and transform unlawful into lawful.'[2] Bellarmine's statement is of a similar kind. The Cardinal affirms that, 'the Pope can transubstantiate sin into duty, and duty into sin.' He can, says the canon law, 'dispense with right.' Stephen, archbishop of Petraca, in his senseless parasitism and blasphemy, declared, in the council of the Lateran, that

[1] Papa et Christus faciunt idem consistorium, ita quod, excepto peccato, potest Papa fere omnia facere, quæ potest Deus. Jacob. III. Papæ nullus audeat discere, Domine, cur ita facis? Extrav. Tit. IV. c. II. Sicut Deo dici non potest, cur ita facis? Ita nec in iis, quæ sunt juris positivi, Papæ potest dici cur hoc facis? Jacob. III. De aliquo facit nihil, mutando etiam rei naturam. De nihilo, aliquid facit. Durand, 1. 50. Extrav. De Tran. c. 1. q. 6. Coram te, hoc est, coram totius orbis principe. Labb. 19. 700. Tibi data est, omnis potestas, in cœlo et in terra. Super omnia regna mundi sedens. Labb. 19. 920, 927. Du Pin. 3. 602. 2. Thess. II. 4. Aucuns ont enduré d'etre appellez omnipotens. Coquille, 408.

[2] Pontifices multa sibi arrogaverunt, et omnia se posse existimant, et quidquid liberit, etiam illicita; sicque supra Dei præceptum potestatem illam extendisse. Zabarel. de Schism. Thuan. 6. 397. Habet plenitudinem potestantis, et supra jus est. Gibert, 2, 103. Immutat substantialem rei naturam puta faciendo de illegitimo, legitimum. Durand, 1. 50.

Leo possessed 'power above all powers, both in heaven and in earth.'[1] The son of perdition then 'exalted himself above all that is called God.' This brazen blasphemy passed in a general council, and is, therefore, in all its revolting absurdity, stamped with the seal of Roman infallibility.

But the chief prerogative of the Roman hierarch seems to be his power of creating the Creator.[2] Pascal and Urban plumed themselves on this attribute, which, according to their own account, raised them above all subjection to earthly sovereigns. This, however, is a communicable perfection, and, in consequence, is become common to all the sacerdotal confraternity. His holiness keeps a transfer office at the Vatican, in which he can make over this prerogative to all his deputies through Christendom. These, in consequence, can make and eat, create and swallow, whole thousands of pastry-gods every day. But these deities, in the opinion of their makers, are perhaps not new gods, but merely new editions of the old one.

Those who would restrict his infallibility to a presidency, and those who would exalt his dignity to a sovereignty, contending with one another, have also to contend with such as maintain his equality or superiority to God. The two latter descriptions, indeed, seem to be divided by a thin partition. Having elevated a sinful mortal to an equality with Jehovah, the remaining task of conferring a superiority was easy. But both vary from the French and Italian schools, as well as from reason and common sense.

Such are a few of the opinions, which speculators have entertained of the pope's jurisdiction and authority. These opinions have not been confined to empty speculation; but have, as far as possible, been realized in action on the wide theatre of Christendom, and before the public gaze of an astonished world. The Roman hierarchy has, in reality, passed through all the gradations of humility, pride, power, despotism, and blasphemy.

The friends of Romanism differ as much in the proof of the supremacy as in its extent and signification. The pontiffs and their minions, about the begining of the fifth century, fabricated an extraordinary story about Pope Peter's Roman episcopacy and ecclesiastical supremacy; and his transmission of all this honour and jurisdiction to his pontifical successors. The tale, if arranged with judgment and written with elegance, would

[1] Si Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes, malas. Bellarmin, IV. 5. Possumus supra jus dispensare. Decret. Greg. III. 8. IV. Extrav. Comm. 208. Potestas supra omnes potestates tam cœli, quam terræ. Labb. 19. 924.

[2] Deum cuncta creantem creent. Hoveden, 268. Labb. 12. 960. Elévés a cet honneur supreme de créer le Createur. Bruy. 2. 535.

make an entertaining religious novel; but as destitute of evidence as Roderic Random, Tristram Shandy, or the Seven Champions of Christendom. The fiction too has been composed by bungling and tasteless authors. The plot is far inferior to that of Don Quixote or Tom Jones. The characters, emblazoned with ridiculous and legendary miracles, the offspring of credulity and tradition, bear no resemblance to probability; whilst the language, in which it has been uniformly couched, is unpolished and repulsive.

The machinery is such as might be expected in a romance of the dark ages. Simon a magician is introduced, accompanied with Helen a goddess, who had been taken from the Tyrian brothels, and who had been transformed from a courtezan into a divinity. This man had, by the arts of necromancy, obtained an infamous notoriety: and the apostle, it would appear, was conducted to Rome for the purpose of withstanding the enchanter. The new pope was opposed to the old conjurer. Simon, before the emperor Nero and the whole city, flew into the air. But Peter kneeling invoked Jesus; and the devil, in consequence, who had aided the magician's flight, struck with terror at the sacred name, let his emissary fall and break his leg.[1] One stone, in the Roman capital, retains, to the present day, the print of Peter's knee where he prayed, and another, the blood of Simon where he fell!

The hero of this theological romance is the alleged pope Peter. His supremacy is the basis of the whole superstructure. This ecclesiastical sovereign is the main-spring which puts into motion the entire machinery; and the busy actors in the scene, accordingly, have endeavoured, as well as they can, to support the illusion with some kind of evidence. The proof, such as it is, these doctors extort from the phraseology of the Messiah transmitted by the sacred historian Matthew.[2]

Our Lord, say these theologians, built, according to the statement of Matthew, his church on Peter, whom, by this charter, he constituted his plenipotentiary on earth. His authority devolves in succession on all the Roman pontiffs, and, of course, on Liberius, Zosimus, Honorius, Vigilius, John, Boniface, and Alexander, who have been immortalized by heresy or villany.

Matthew's relation is conveyed in metaphorical language, and has given rise to a variety of interpretations. Different expositors, even among Romish critics, explain the ROCK, mentioned by the inspired historian, in various senses. The diversity of these opinions is freely admitted by Launoy, Du Pin, Calmet, and Maldonat. All these confess the variety of opinions on this

[1] Cyril, 88. Catech. VI. [2] Matth. xvi. 18.

passage of Revelation.[1] Launoy, followed by Du Pin, Calmet, and Maimbourg, distinguish the interpretations on this part of sacred writ into four classes, according as they make the foundation to be Peter; the Apostles; Peter's confession; or Jesus himself. Each class boasts the authority of popes, saints, and other commentators.

One class refers the rock or foundation, mentioned by the inspired historian, to Peter. These support their opinion by seventeen fathers or theologians who entertained this interpretation; among whom were Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrosius, Jerome, Augustine, Cyril, Basil, Epiphanius, Gregory, and Theophylact. These, in modern times, were followed by Baronius, Calmet, Binius, Maldonat, and Alexander. Pope Leo the First patronized the same opinion. Fontidinius and Cardillus, in the council of Trent, advocated this explanation, without any contradiction; and, therefore, it appears, expressed the mind of that assembly.[2]

A second class interpret the rock or foundation to signify the APOSTLES. This exposition has been embraced by theologians, saints, and councils. It was adopted by Origen, Theodoret, Tarasius, Etherius, Theophylact, and Pascasius. The same was admitted by Du Pin, Calmet, Alexander, Cusan, Launoy, and Maldonat, as well as by the saints Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrosius, Chrysostom, and Augustine.[3]

This signification of the word was also sanctioned by the general councils of Constance and Basil. Gerson delivered a statement to this purpose in the general council of Constance, in a speech made by its authority, and published by its command. The same was taught in the general council of Basil, by its president Julian, in his celebrated speech delivered before the unerring assembly in the name of the Catholic Church, for the purpose of proselyting the Bohemians. Panormitan, in this synod, followed Julian in the same strain, stating that 'Jesus gave no greater power to Peter, than to the

[1] Ab interpretibus et sanctis patribus varie exponitur. Du Pin, 304. Les diversitez dans les peres sur les sens de ce passage. Calmet, 16. 364. Maimbourg, c. v. De Prim. 1, 5.

[2] Launoy, ad Voel. Du Pin, Diss. IV. Maldon. in Matt. xiv. De Launoi 17 patres seu ecclesiasticos auctores laudat huic interpretationi consentientes. De Primatu, 10.

Princeps Apostolorum Petro, cujus humeris hanc molem ecclesiæ Christus imposuit. Fontid. in Labb. 20. 658.

Cujus fundamentum Petrus est. Super hunc Petrum, tanquam supra firmam petram, Christus ædificavit ecclesiam suam. Cardill. in Labb. 20. 668, 671.

[3] Launoy. 2. 11. Du Pin, Diss. IV. Maldon. in Matt. xvi. Apostoli omnes, æquo jure, fuerint ecclesiæ fundamenta. Alex. 1. 283.

Nihil dictum est ad Petrum, quod etiam aliis dictum non sit. Cusan, II. 3.

Tous les Apotres en sont les fondemens. Calmet, 18. 363. Eph. ii. 20. Rev xxi 14.

other apostles.' Neither pope nor council, on any of these occasions, remonstrated or shewed any opposition. The infallible fathers acquiesced in silent consent, and, in this way, according to Launoy, Dens, and other popish doctors, conveyed their approbation.[1]

A third class interpret the rock or foundation to signify Peter's faith or confession. This signification, according to Launoy, Du Pin, Bellarmine, Maimbourg, Calmet, and Maldonat, has been maintained by theologians, saints, popes, and councils. Launoy and Du Pin reckon forty-four fathers and popish authors who held this opinion: and the roll might be enlarged to any extent. Amongst these were Eusebius, Beda, Theodoret, Damascen, Theophylact, Odo, Ragusa, Alphonsus, Pole, Jonas, Eckius, and Erasmus. A long train of saints might be added, such as Hilary, Ambrosius, Gregory, Chrysostom, Cyril, Augustine, and Aquinas. The popes are Leo, Felix, Hormisdas, Gregory, Nicholas, John, Stephen, Innocent, Urban, Alexander, and the two Hadrians. These facts have been admitted even by Bellarmine and Maimbourg, as well as by Calmet and Maldonat. Anno 825, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, ascribed this explanation to nearly all ecclesiastical writers: and none, said the celebrated Eckius so late as 1525, deny this interpretation. Erasmus not only accounted Peter's faith or profession the foundation, 'but wondered that any person would wrest the passage to signify the Roman pontiff.'[2]

[1] In apostolorum et prophetarum doctrinis fundata est. Gerson in Labb. 16. 1315.

In Apocalypsi dicitur, murum civitatis descendentis de Cœlo, quæ est ecclesia, habere fundamenta duodecem apostolorum et Agni. Orat. Præsed. in Labb. 17. 696.

Nec in hoc, majorem potestatem dedit Petro quam cæteris apostolis simul. Panorm. in Cassant, 4. 1405.

Cum a synodo admittatur, pro synodi doctrina haberi merito potest et debet. Launoy, 2. 30.

Sufficit consensus tacitus. Facere, in hoc casu, est consentire. Dens, 2. 129.

[2] Launoy, 2. 18. Du Pin, 305. Calmet et Maldon. in Matt. xvi. 18. Maimbourg, c. 6.

Idem alterius istius interpretationis patronos 44 patres aut scriptores ecclesiasticos laudat. Du Pin, 2.

Bellarminus, ut expositionem tertiam, hanc veterum patrum testimoniis posse, fateatur. Launoy, 2, 51.

Il y en a d'autres, qui les ont entendues de cette célèbre confession. Maimbourg, c. 6.

Hanc confessionem, portæ inferni non tenebunt. Leo I. Serm. II. Super ista confessione ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Felix. III. Ep. ad Zenon. Labb. 5. 166.

Apostoli fidem secuti sunt. Horm. in Comm. In petra ecclesiæ, hoc est, in confessione Beati Petri. Greg. I. in Labb. 6. 872.

Super solidam fidem apostolorum principis. Nich. I. ad Mich. super solidam confessionis petram, suam Dominus fabricavit ecclesiam. John viii. ad Petrum.

Ecclesia fundata super firmam petram apostoli, videlicet Petri confessionem. Steph. vi. Ep. 2. Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam: petram utique firmitatem fidei. Inno. II. ad Epis. Supra petram fidei fundavit. Urban III. ad Arch.

Promeruit confiteri fidem, super quam fundatur ecclesia. Hadrian I. ad Con.

Peter's faith or confession is the foundation, also, according to the general councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Constance, Basil, and the Lateran. Pope Hadrian, in a letter to the empress Irene, read and received with acclamation in the second general councils of Nicea, gave this interpretation. The same pontiff's letter to Tarasius, containing a similar statement, was read in this synod, and admitted with equal approbation. A similar reception attended the letters of Germanus, concurring with Hadrian, in this unerring assembly. All the bishops approved. The eighth general council of Constantinople accepted pope Nicholas' Epistle to Photius, which avowed the same opinion. The Constantian theologians, in their censure of Wickliffism, read and sanctioned in the council of Constance, likewise explained the expression to denote 'the rock of faith.' The council of Basil, through Julian and Ragusa, its advocates against the Bohemian heresy, was equally express in maintaining this exposition, which had been avowed at Nicea, Constantinople, and Constance. The foundation or rock, in these famed orations, 'is faith, on which the Creator built the church, and which sustains the superstructure.' The council of the Lateran concurred with that of Basil. Peter, said Archbishop Stephanus, addressing Pope Leo in the tenth session of the fifth general council of the Lateran, 'confessed the Catholic Apostolic faith, ordained by the eternal father and the eternal son for the foundation of the church.' The holy pontiff and the holy fathers, in silent approbation, admitted the unquestioned truth, which, sanctioned by the five general councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Constance, Basil, and the Lateran, was, therefore, on five several occasions. emblazoned with the insignia of infallibility.[1]

In confessionis petra. Hadrian IV. ad Fred. Labb. 8. 747. Cyril. 2. 593. Hilary, 77.

Ad annum DCCCXXV. Jonas expositionem tertiam traditoribus ecclesiæ pœne omnibus tribuit. Launoy, 2. 51.

Ad annum MDXXV. Eckius eam a nemine negari pugnat. Launoy, 2, 51.

Miror esse, qui locum hunc detorqueant ad Romanum Pontificem. Erasm. 6. 88, 92.

[1] Promeruit confiteri fidem, supra quam fundatur ecclesia. Fides nostra est petra super quam Christus ædificavit suam ecclesiam. Germ. ad Thom. Labb. 8. 747, 770, 951, 1193, 1303. Du Pin, 2, 34, 35.

Christus supra soliditatem fidei suam sanctam dignatus est stabilire ecclesiam. Nich. Photio. Labb. 10. 539.

Illam ipse solus Christus fundavit, et super petram fidei mox nascentis erexit. Theol. Constan. in Labb. 16, 868, 870. Canisius, 4. 765.

Fides est fundamentum in domo mea. Hoc autem fidei fundamentum firmiter sustentet ædificium. Super hanc petram, videlicet fidei, ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Labb. 17, 686, 692, 693. Crabb. 3. 294.

Christus rogavit pro fide, quam ipse confessus fuerat, et supra quam ipse Christus fundavit suam ecclesiam. Rag. in Labb. 17. 896.

Fidem Catholicam et apostolicam ab æterno Patre pro æterno Filio ordinatam ad fundamentum ecclesiæ, confessus est. Orat. Steph. in Labb. 19. 921.

A fourth class make Christ himself the rock or foundation. This explanation also has been patronized by theologians, saints, popes, and councils. Launoy enumerates sixteen fathers or popish doctors of this descripton; and the list might be vastly increased. Among the fathers and doctors are Origen, Eusebius, Theodoret, Beda, Paulinus, Dungal, Etherius, Raban, Tarasius, Anselm, Theophylact, Lombard, Ragusa, Lyra, Pole, and Vatablus. The saints are Cyprian, Cyril, Jerome, Augustine, and Aquinas, as well as many more that might be mentioned. The popes are Celestine, Innocent, Pius, Alexander, Hadrian, Nicholas, and Leo: and to these might be added many other Roman pontiffs.[1]

The rock or foundation, say also the general councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Basil, and Trent, was the Lord. This was expressed in Pope Hadrian's letter to Tarasius, which was read and received in the second Nicean council: and m the speech of Epiphanius to the same assembly. The same was declared in a letter of Pope Nicholas to Michael, which was read without any declamation in the eighth general council that met at Constantinople. The Basilian council concurred with those of Nicea and Constantinople. This assembly, through Julian and Ragusa, its advocates for Catholicism against the Bohemian heresy, also sanctioned this interpretation. The general council of Trent followed in the same path. Fragus in this synod, declared without any disclamation, that 'the church was builded on the living stone, the firm and divine rock.'[2] This interpretation, therefore, giving the honour to the Messiah, was, in four general councils, marked with the seal of synodal infallibility.

Augustine's language on this question is, in several places, very strong and emphatical. He makes a distinction between

[1] Laun. ad vcoll. Du Pin, 305. Theophylact, 2. 186. Lyra, 5. 52. Canisius, 2. 298.

De Launoi sexdecim numerat patres seu ecclesiasticos auctores sic hunc textum exponentes. De Prim 2.

Christus qui est petra. Cyprian. Ep. 63. Αυτος ων ὁ θεμελιος. Cyril, 2. 612. Fundamentum unus est Domines. Jerom. c. 7. Petra Christus est Jerom. 3. 1430. Aug. Ret. I. 21. Christus est ecclesiæ fundamentum. Aquin. 2. 6. Ant. 6.

De seipsa veritate dicente, super hanc petram. Celest. III. ad Lin. Labb. 13. 702. Petra erat Christus. Inn. Serm. II. Super firmam petram, quæ erat Christus. Pius. II. de Gest. Launoy, 2. 45 Labb. 8. 770, et 10. 529. De Prim. 14. In fundamento quod est Christus. Leo 9. ad Mich. Labb. 11. 1323.

[2] Christus fundamentum est. Had. I. ad Taras. Labb. 8. 770. 1268. A firmitate petræ, quæ Christus est. Nicolai Epistola ad Michaelem Imp. in Labb. 10. 529.

Christus Jesus hujus ædificii basis et fundamentum fieri dignatus est. Fundata est hæc sacrosancta mea domus super petram Christi vivam. Julian in Labb. 17. 692, 693. Crabb. 3. 293, 294. Petra significabat Christum. Joannes de Ragus. in Labb. 17. 821. Canisius, 4. 469.

Super vivum saxum firmamque et Divinam petram constructa. Orat. Frag Labb. 20 332.

the word, which in the English version, is translated Peter, and that which is rendered Rock. The two terms, indeed, both in the original and in the vulgate, in the Greek and in the Latin, are different in form and signification. Augustine, accordingly, as Erasmus has remarked, applies the word rock, not to Peter, but to Christ. Jesus, observes the saint, 'said not, thou art the rock, but thou art Peter. The rock was Christ, whom Peter confessed.'[1] Maldonat characterizes this distinction by the epithet, silly and ridiculous. But the distinction, whether silly or solid, is the work, not of a Protestant commentator, but of a Roman saint.

The interpretation of the third class was adopted by Luther. The Saxon reformer, therefore, notwithstanding his heresy, was supported in his opinion by saints, popes, and general councils. Calvin embraced the interpretation of the fourth class. His opinion, therefore, like Luther's, was patronized by the highest authority in the Romish communion. Luther and Calvin therefore, if they were mistaken, erred, even in popish estimation, in good company; and their explanations flow in the same channel with the stream of antiquity.

These four expositions, seemingly at variance, may all, say Launoy and Du Pin, be shown to agree. The two former are the same in sense, and so are the two latter. The meaning of both the foregoing, signifying the apostles, is, in no respect inconsistent with the acceptation of both the ensuing, when assumed to denote the Lord. Account the apostles the subordinate, and the Lord the supreme foundation, and the whole train of doctors, saints, pontiffs, and councils, however they may appear to differ, will, in reality, immediately be reconciled.

The first and second interpretations, say Launoy and Du Pin, are the same in sense. The two, differing in appearance rather than in reality, may easily be reconciled. The commentators, who represent Simon as the foundation, do not exclude his apostolic companions. None of the ancients characterized Peter as the only foundation. Those who ascribe to him this honour, never in a single instance, attribute it exclusive to him alone, but refer it, in common, to the whole apostolic college. Both explanations, accordingly, were patronized by Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine. Cyprian, at an early period, declared that 'our Lord conferred equal power on all the apostles, who, in this respect, were certainly the same as Peter;' and the

[1] Non enim dictum est illi, tu es petra, sed tu es Petrus. Petra autem erat Christus quem confessus Simon. Aug. Ret. I. 21. Non supra petram quod tu es, sed supra petram quam confessus es. August. Serm. 270.

Augustinus hæc verba super hanc petram ipsi accommodat Christo, non Petro Erasm. 6. 88.

saint has been followed in more modern times by Panormitan, Alexander, Launoy, Du Pin, Maldonat, Cusan, and Calmet. The cardinals also, who convoked the council of Pisa, and a long train of other popish doctors, have taken the same view of the subject.[1]

This seems to be the scriptural statement. The church, says Paul, is 'built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' The twelve foundations of the new Jerusalem, accordingly had, says John, 'the names of the twelve apostles.' This, in the metaphorical and prophetic language of Revelation, is an emblem of the extraordinary commission which these missionaries executed as the primary heralds of the gospel. All the sacred college, therefore, are represented as the foundation of the new Jerusalem, which, in their master's name, and as his spiritual kingdom, was, by their united exertions, to be reared. The apostles, says Du Pin, were called the foundation, on account of their promulgation of the gospel and their government of the church.

The third and fourth interpretations, as well as the first and second, are the same in sense. The two, though they differ in expression, agree, like the other two, in signification. The Lord and Peter's faith or confession are identical: for the object of Peter's faith was the Lord, whom the apostle confessed. Such is the deduction of reason, and such the conclusion of candid professors of Popery, of Launoy, Du Pin, and many others of the same description.[2] Many saints, popes, and councils, as the preceding statements show, acknowledged both foundations, plainly manifesting their conviction of their identity.

These observations, in clear terms, show the identity of the two former, as well as of the two latter interpretations. But the identical meaning of both the preceding, signifying the apostles, and of both the following, denoting the Lord, are in no respect inconsistent or contradictory. The one is ministerial and subordinate, and the other sovereign and supreme. This is a distinction, not merely of protestant origin, but warranted by popish authority. Dens, the treasury of Romanism, the darling of the popish prelacy in Ireland, adopts, on this question, a similar distinction. The celebrated Gerson, in a speech

[1] Expositiones primæ et secundæ Patris sibi ipsis conciliantur facile. Launoy, 2. 46.

Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat. Cyprian, 107.

Apostoli omnes, æquo jure, fuerunt ecclesiæ fundamenta. Alex. 1. 283.

Hæc non secus apostolis cæteris ac Petro data sunt. Du Pin, 308. Maldon. in Matt. xvi. 18.

Tous les Apôtres en sont les fondemens. Calmet. 18. 363. Labb. 15. 1159

[2] Tertia et quarta expositio reipsa conveniunt. Launoy, 2. 53.

Ab ista expositione, non multum abluunt, ii qui Petrum interpretantur Christum, quem Petrus erat confessus. Du Pin, 305. De Prim. 2.

delivered in the council of Constance, and armed with all its unerring authority, discriminated, on this topic, in the same manner. Many doctors, saints, popes, and councils, as appears from the preceding statements, have admitted both foundations, but certainly, in accordance with the foregoing discrimination, in a different sense, accounting the one subordinate, and the other supreme. Pope Leo the Ninth represents the church as built on the rock, which is Emmanuel, as well as on Peter or Cephas. Fossus, Archbishop of Reginum, in the council of Trent, and countenanced with at least its tacit consent, referred the rock or foundation to Christ, to faith, and to Peter, The pontiff and the prelate, on this occasion, must have intended to distinguish between the apostolic and mediatorial foundations. All these authors, therefore, as Launoy remarks, may, in this manner, be reconciled with themselves, as well as with reason and revelation.[1]

The donation of the KEYS, mentioned by Matthew, and adduced in proof of the supremacy by Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, and their party, affords another topic of diversified opinion among the friends of Romanism. This argument, if it deserve the name, forms one of the most pitiful sophisms that ever disgraced the pages of controversy. The keys, conveying the power of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining sin, were, according to the ancients and many moderns, given to all the apostles and to all Christians who belong to the ecclesiastical community. This has been shown, beyond all question, by the warmest friends of the Papacy, such as Du Pin, Calmet, Maldonat, and Alexander. The proof of the donation of the keys to the whole apostolic college and to the whole Christian commonwealth, has been collected by Du Pin and Maldonat. The Sorbonist and the Jesuit declare the unanimity of the ancients on this opinion.[2] Du Pin, for the exposition, instances the saints Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrosius, Augustin, Leo, Fulgentius, and the fathers Tertullian, Optatus, Gaudentius, Theophylact, Eucharius, Beda, Raban, Hincmar, and Odo.

[1] Solus Christus est quidem fundamentum essentiale et primarium. Petrus est fundamentum secundarium in Christo fundatum. Dens, 2. 149.

Ad unum caput primarium Christum, et vicarium summum Pontificem. Gerson in Labb. 16. 1315.

Ecclesia super petram, id est Christum, et super Petrum vel Cepham ædificata. Leo ad Mich. Labb. 11. 1323.

Ad Christum et ad fidem, quam Petrus confessus est, refertur, ut nisi ad Petrum ipsum referri etiam intelligas, diminutè credes et prope nihil. Foss. in Labb. 20. 529

Si auctores illi omnes inter se componantur, ut antea, componi facile possunt. Launoy, 2. 51.

[2] Antiqui, unanimi consensu, tradunt, claves istas, in persona Petri, toti ecclesiæ datas. Du Pin, 308. Omnes veteres auctores docent, dicentes, claves omnibus datas fuisse. Maldonat, 340.

Maldonat specifies, for the same interpretation, the names of Chrysostom, Ambrosius, Origen, and Theophylact. Calmet, for this opinion, enumerates Cyprian, Augustin, Origen, and Theophylact; while Alexander mentions Origen, Hilary, Ambrosius, and Augustin.[1] The system, therefore, which is now deprecated by the Italian school of Romanism, was patronized by the whole sainthood, from Cyprian to Fulgentius and Chrysostom.

The ancients, indeed, with the utmost harmony and without one murmur of dissent, ascribe the reception of the keys to the universal church. A single sentence to the contrary could not be extorted from all the ponderous volumes and all the diversified monuments of Christian antiquity. Many learned moderns in the Romish communion have entertained the same sentiments, such as Lyra, Du Pin, Calmet, Maldonat, Pithou, Alexander, Moreri, Faber, Pole, and even the Rhemists.[2] The same opinion has been advocated by Gerson, Cusan, and Launoy. The gift of the keys, therefore, being common, could confer on an individual no peculiar jurisdiction or authority.

Bellarmine and his numerous partizans have endeavoured to torture a third argument from the admonition. "Feed my sheep." This, say these theologians, is an evidence of Simon's universal pastorship. But this reason, if possible, surpasses the former, in superlative silliness and impertinence. Similar admonitions, in the book of inspiration, are addressed to all the pastors, ordinary and extraordinary, of the Christian commonwealth. Jesus, Paul, and Peter concur in enjoining this duty.[3] Simon indeed was a distinguished herald of the gospel; and

[1] Caeteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi honoris et potestatis. Tertul. in Scorp. Cuncti claves Regni Cœlorum accipiant. Jerom. adv. Jov.—Quod Petro dicitur, caeteris Apostolis dicitur, tibi dabo claves. Ambros. in Ps. xviii.—Ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt. August. de Agon. c. xxx.—Cunctis ecclesiæ rectoribus forma præponitur. Leo, Serm. III. Deus, in persona beati Petri, ecclesiæ ligandi ac solvendi tribuit potestatem. Fulgentius de Fide. c. III. Apostoli cœlorum claves sortiti sunt. Hilary, 688.

[2] Potestas data Petro, intelligitur dari aliis. Lyra, 5. 52. Falluntur, qui soli Petro datas claves ess autumant. Du Pin, 306.—On ne peut pas dire, que Saint Pierre ait recu les clefs du ciel a l'exclusion des autres Apostres. Calmet, 18, 368. Non nego caeteros Apostolos suas etiam claves habuisse. Maldonat, 340. Petrus, quando claves accepit, ecclesiam sanctam significavit. Pithou, Caus. 24. Qu. I. Caeteris Apostolis datæ sunt claves. Alexander, 1. 331.

Les passages, si l'on consulte l'explication qu'en donnent les peres, s' addressent a tous les apôtres et a toute l' eglise. Moreri, 7. 40.

Auctoritas hæc non est concessa personæ soli Petri, sed ipsi ecclesiæ. Faber 2. 385.

Hæc, quæ Petro dicuntur, ad cæteros pastores omnes pertineant. Polus, in Labb. 20, 961.

On a toujours fait profession en France de croire que les clefs ont eté donnees a l' eglise. Apol. 2. 82.

[3] Matt. ii. 8, 19. Mark xvi. 15. Luke xxiv. 47. John xxi. 16. Acts xx. 28 1. Peter v. 2. Du Pin, Diss. IV

successful, to an extraordinary extent, in proclaiming salvation to the Jews. Paul, however, was inferior to none in the evangelical transcendency of exertion and success. This statement is corroborated by the authority of Ambrosius, Chrysostom, Augustin, and Basil, who are quoted for this purpose by Du Pin.[1]

The evangelists, therefore, make no mention of the supremacy, and the other sacred penmen are guilty of the same omission. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the works of Luke, Paul, James, Peter, Jude, or John. Luke mentions the election of Matthias and the deacons, the mission to Samaria, and the council of Jerusalem.[2] Pope Peter, however, in none of these, claimed or exercised any superiority. The apostolic pontiff, on no occasion, issued a single bull or launched a solitary anathema.

Paul, in his fourteen epistolary productions, supplies no proof of the supremacy; but the contrary. He declares, in unqualified language, his own equality, and disclaims the imputation of inferiority. He reproved Cephas in strong terms, for temporizing dissimulation in his treatment of the Christian converts from Judaism and Gentilism. He addressed a long letter to the Roman Christians. He transmitted salutations from many inferior names, but neglected the Roman pontiff who reigned in the Roman capitol. The Christian missionary, with all his erudition, seems not to have known his holiness, who, it would appear, had no name in the apostolic vocabulary. He mentions the civil governor; but neglects the sacerdotal viceroy. He is mindful of the emperor; but unmindful of the pope.[3] This was very uncourteous. The pupil of Gamaliel might have imbibed some Rabbinical learning, and the citizen of Tarsus might have acquired some Grecian literature. But he must have been wofully defective in politeness. Paul, however did not, after all, speak evil of this dignity. His apostleship only forgot to say any thing of his spiritual majesty, who then wielded through Christendom, all the vicegerency of ecclesiastical omnipotence.

Pope Peter has obliged the world with two ecclesiastical publications. The sovereign pontiff, in these official annunciations, might have been expected to mention his vice-regal authority, if it were only for the purpose of enforcing his commands. But the viceroy of heaven preserves, on this topic, a vexatious and provoking silence. He discovers not one solitary or cheering

[1] Suscepit Petrus, sed et nobiscum eas suscepit. Amb. de Dign. II. 2.
Ἐμοῦγε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν. Chrysostom, 7. 749.
Non ipso Petro, sed in corpore suo, ait, pasce oves meas. Augus. de Agon. c. XXX.
Πᾶσι τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμεσι μου διδασκαλοις, τὴν ἰσην παρεχοντος ἐξουσιαν. Basil 2. 579.

[2] Acts i. 26.: vi. 1—6.: xv. 1—22.

[3] 2 Corin. xi. 5. Gal. ii. 11. 2 Corin. xii. 11.

hint of any such dignity. The Galilean fisherman exercises no prerogative of the modern papacy in commanding the Apostles. issuing bulls, enacting laws, judging controversy, deciding appeals, summoning councils, transferring kingdoms, wielding the civil and spiritual swords, and dissolving the oath of fealty to princes.

James, Jude, and John say nothing that can be pressed into the service of the pontifical supremacy. The silence of these, as well as the other inspired penmen, on an event, which, if true, is of the last importance, must seal its condemnation. The papacy, if a divine institution, would, from its magnitude, be written with sunbeams in Divine Revelation. This, if any thing, required perspicuity and detail. But an insinuation of the kind is not to be found in the whole volume of inspiration. The pope and the popedom, both in name and reality, in sign and signification, in expression and implication, are utterly excluded from all the Book of God, all the pandects of Divine legislation, and all the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. The Deity in His word, utterly neglects the promulgation of the papal polity. The Heavenly Majesty, reversing the example of earthly kings, who notify their viceroys by special commissions, deigns not, in his gospel, to mention his vicar-general. The inspired penmen detail the propagation and settlement of the ecclesiastical kingdom, the qualifications and mission of its governors, and the prevention and remedy of error and schism. But the ecclesiastical sovereign is consigned to silence and oblivion. The vast, misshapen, unwielded, overgrown, menacing mass of superstition and despotism is passed, without mention, in the scriptural records, except in the tremendous denunciations of scriptural prophecy foretelling the future rise and final destruction of "the man of sin, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."

Innocent the Third indeed discovered the popedom in the Book of Genesis. According to his infallibility, the firmament mentioned by the Jewish legislator signifies the church. The greater light, according to the same unerring commentator, denotes the pontifical authority; and the less, represents the royal power.[1] The prince therefore derives and exercises this jurisdiction from the pontiff, as the moon borrows and reflects the light of the sun. This, no doubt, was very sensible in his infallibility, and makes the thing very clear. The Roman hierarchy indeed may be as plainly found in Genesis as in any

[1] Fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, id est, duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas. Gibert, 1. 11. Decret. Greg. I. 38. VI Faucet, 193.

other book of the Bible. The same kind of exposition would enable an ingenious mind to find any thing in any book. The popedom, by the same kind of alchymy, might be found in Ovid, or a system of divinity in Homer or Virgil. But the system, which requires the extorted evidence obtained by straining, wresting, torturing, and mangling scriptural language carries in itself its own condemnation.

Tradition, on Pope Peter's supremacy, is silent as scripture. The ancients, on this subject, vary from the modern friends of Romanism. Du Pin, Bellarmine, and Alexander among many others, have, with extensive erudition and research, investigated this controversy; and the Sorbonist, the Jesuit, and the Dominican, notwithstanding all their learning and labour, have failed in attempting to find the supremacy of his apostolic holiness in the monuments of traditional antiquity.[1] Du Pin, with his usual candour, admits the silence of the most ancient fathers, such as Justin, Irenæus, and Clemens of Alexandria.[2] These, in no instance, condescend to mention the pontifical dignity of the sacerdotal viceroy, who with spiritual sovereignty, first governed Christendom. The Sorbonist begins his quotations in proof of Peter's prerogative with Origen, who flourished about the middle of the third century. But the Greek original, he grants, is lost, and the Latin translation of Ruffinus abounds with interpolations. He mentions Cyprian and Eusebius, whose testimony he rejects for interpolation or inadequacy. His first authority, on which he rests any dependence, is Optatus, who wrote about the year 370. Bellarmine's first authority, if Origen, Cyprian, and Eusebius, whom Du Pin rejects, be omitted, is Basil the cotemporary of Optatus. Alexander begins with Cyril, who was later than either Optatus or Basil. A period of 370 years had run its ample round, and its annals, scrutinized by three learned doctors, could not supply a single document, witnessing the vicegerency of his apostolic holiness. This, to every unprejudiced mind, must be a clear evidence of its non-existence. No person, free from prepossession, can believe that an ecclesiastical monarchy existed so many years in Christendom, and, at the same time, remained unnoticed by so many ecclesiastical authors, and, in consequence, unnotified to posterity by any hint or declaration.

Admitting the authenticity of Origen's attestation, 240 years from the commencement of the Christian era remain, notwithstanding, on this topic an historical blank. No vestige of this spiritual sovereignty can be discovered in Clemens Romanus,

[1] Du Pin, 313. Bell, I. 25. Alexander, 1. 283.

[2] De Petri primatu, nihil apud Justinum, Irenæum, Clementem, Alexandrinum, et alios antiquissimos. Du Pin 313

Hermas, Barnabas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus, or Tertullian. The most extraordinary monarchy, that ever astonished the world, continued, according to the popish statement, during a long series of time, to exist in the view and to regulate the minds of its devoted subjects, and passed, nevertheless, without leaving a single monument of antiquity to perpetuate its memory. The subjects of the papacy seem to have paid little attention to their sovereign. But his apostolic infallibility should not have endured such disrespectful treatment. His holiness or his successors, during this interval, should have roared from the Vatican and aroused Christendom from its lethargy. The viceroy of God should have fulminated his anathemas as in modern times, and taught men the sin and danger of neglecting his universal sovereignty.

Bellarmine's system, void of all evidence prior to Basil, is unsustained by competent authority even after the era of the Grecian saint. The inadequacy of later testimony for the fisherman's supremacy is as striking as its former utter want of it. Bellarmine's quotations from Basil to Bernard evince nothing. These citations, as they are late, are also useless. The ancients, indeed, from towards the end of the fourth century, embellished their works and flattered the Apostle with many sounding names and titles; such as prince, head, foundation, leader, president, governor, master, guardian, captain, and, to crown all, the divine Dionysius called Peter 'the vertical summit of theologians.'[1] These, Bellarmine and Alexander applied to Cephas, and, in consequence, infer his supremacy.

The conclusion, however, is illogical. The argument would prove too much, and therefore proves nothing. The fallacy consists in reckoning peculiar what is common. Similar or even superior eulogiums, for example, have, by some writers, been bestowed on James, John, and Paul. The Clementine recognitions call, 'James the Prince of Bishops,' and Hesychius styles him 'the Head of the Apostles, and the Chief Captain of the New Jerusalem.' John, according to Chrysostom, was 'the Pillar of all the Churches in the world, and had the keys of heaven.'[2] Paul is represented as equal to Peter by Bernard, Ambrosius, and Leo. Bernard styles 'Peter and Paul princes

[1] Divinus Dionysius verticalem theologorum summitatem magnum Petrum nominavit. Barlaam, 374.

Bell. 1. 25. Du Pin, 314. Alex. 1. 283. Leo, Serm. 3. Jerom, 4. 101. Bernard, 220. Optatus, II.

[2] Jacobum episcoporum principem orabat. Clem. Recog. 1. 68. Cotel. 1. 509.

Τον της νεας Ιερουσαλημ αρχιστρατηγον, τωα αποστολων τον εξαρχον. Photius' Codex, 275. p. 1525.

Ὁ στυλος των κατα την οικουμενην εκκλησιων ὁ τας κλεις ἐχων του ουρανου Chrysostom, 8. 2. Hom. I.

of the Apostles.' According to Ambrosius, 'Paul was not inferior to Peter.' Paul and Peter, says Pope Leo, were equal in their election, labour, and end.[1] Paul's superiority to Peter is maintained by Origen, Chrysostom, and Gregory. Origen terms 'Paul the greatest of the Apostles.' According to Chrysostom, 'Paul had no equal.' 'Paul,' says Gregory, 'was the head of the nations, and obtained the principality of the whole church.'[2] These are higher compliments than any which the fathers have given to Peter. Sounding titles, therefore, if they imply the supremacy of Peter, must, in stronger language, imply the supremacy of James, John, and Paul. These turgid expressions characterized the bloated style of later authors. The earlier fathers affected no such tinsel or finery. Clemens, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian speak of Simon as of the other Apostles, with the respect due to his dignity; but with moderation and simplicity.

The supremacy of the Roman bishop, as well as that of the Galilean fisherman, was unknown to antiquity. Some of the fathers indeed have, in the language of exaggeration, bestowed many sounding titles on the Roman patriarch, and pompous eulogiums on the Roman church. Irenæus styles the Roman See, 'the more powerful principality.' Cyprian calls the Roman 'the principal church.' These and many other encomiums of a similar kind have been collected by Bellarmine, Du Pin, and Alexander.[3] All these, however, are unmeaning and unmerited compliments, conveyed in the language of exaggeration and flattery. The ancients, in the same inflated style, have complimented other bishops and other churches in higher strains of hyperbolical and nauseous adulation.

Gregory, Basil, Constantine, and Paulus, in all the fulsome exaggeration and pomposity of diction, bestowed the supremacy on Cyprian, Athanasius, Miletius, Constantine, and Ireneo. Cyprian, says Gregory Nazianzen, 'presided not only over the Carthaginian and African church, on which he reflected splendour; but over all the nations of the West, and nearly over all the East, and North, and South.' Gregory and Basil confer an universal, ecclesiastical legislation and supremacy on Athanasius the Alexandrian patriarch. 'Athanasius,' says Gregory quoted by Alexander, 'prescribed laws to the whole world.' 'The Alexandrian patriarch, says Basil, 'bestowed the

[1] Apostolorum principes sunt Petrus et Paulus. Bernard, 220.—Nec Paulus inferior Petro. Amb. 11. Illos et electio pares et labor similes, et finis fecit æquales. Leo, Serm. 8.

[2] Paulus Apostolorum maximus. Origen, Hom. 3. Κατα Παυλον μεν ουδεις εστι. Chrysostom, 11. 200. Caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum. Gregory, IV. 5.

[3] Iren. III. 3. Cyprian, Ep. 55. Bell. II. 15. Du Pin, 314. Alex. 1. 294.

same care on all, as on the particular church that was entrusted to his inspection by our common Lord.' Basil who, with such kindness, had promoted Athanasius to a general episcopacy, confers, with equal condescension, the same honour on Miletius, patriarch of Antioch. 'Miletius,' according to the Roman saint, 'presided over the whole church.' Constantine appropriated the government of the church and the superintendence of the faith to himself. 'God,' said the emperor, 'hath appointed me to the chief command in the church, and to maintain the purity and integrity of the faith.' This assumption of ecclesiastical authority was addressed to the Roman pontiff without opposition, and afterward read in the sixth general council with universal approbation. The imperial theology, therefore, was stamped with the broad seal of synodal and pontifical infallibility. Paulus, the Byzantine patriarch, when dying, when the parting spirit is supposed to catch a brighter ray from heaven, ascribed the jurisdiction of the whole ecclesiastical community to the empress Irene. 'The grand flock of Jesus,' said the departing patriarch, 'is attached to the imperial dignity,'[1] His dying speech, which committed the superintendency of the Christian commonwealth to a woman, was received with general applause, and has been transmitted to posterity as a specimen of catholicism and piety.

The ecclesiastical supremacy, in the same kind of swollen diction, has been attributed to the Sees of Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, by Gregory, Basil, Chrysostom, Justinian, and the Council of Chalcedon.[2] Gregory ascribed the presidency to Cæsarea. According to the saint of Nazianzum, 'the whole Christian republic looked to the Cæsarean church as the circumscribed circle to the centre.' Basil and Chrysostom bestow the supremacy on Antioch. Basil represents the Antiochean church as calculated, 'like a head, to supply health to the whole body.' Chrysostom's language is

Προκαθεται πασης της εσπεριου, σχεδον δε της ωκουμενης αυτης νοτου τε και βορεου λαβεως. Gregory, Orat, 18.

Leges etiam rursus orbi terrarum præscribit. Greg. in Alexand. 1. 384.

Αλλ' η μερμνα σοι πασων των εκκλεσιων. Basil, 1. 161. Ep. 69. Τω του παντος σωματος της εκκλησιας αυτον προεσταναι. Basil, 3. 160. Ep. 67.

Jussit Deus principaliter nos imperare. Constituti sumus servare fidem sanctam, et immaculatam. Labb. 7. 614, 618.

Le soin de grand troupeau de Jesus Christ est attaché a votre dignite Imperiale, Andilly, 413.

[2] Ως κεντρω κυκλος περιγραφομενος. Gregory, Ep. 22. Ωσπερ κεφαλην ερρωμενην παντι τω σωματι επι χορηγειν την ὑγιειαν. Basil 3. 160. Τουτο πολεως αξιωμα, τουτο προεδρια. Chrysostom, 2. 176. Hom. XVII. Orbis oculum, ad quam extrema terræ undique conveniant, et a qua velut communi fidei emporio incipiunt. Nazianzen, Orat. XXXII. Η εν Κωνσταντινουπολει εκκλησια παντων των αλλων εστι κεφαλη. Justin. Cod. 1. 129. Diœcesis Exarchum adeat, vel Imperialis urbis Constantinopolis thronum, et apud eum litiget. Labb. 4. 1686.

still more emphatical. 'Antioch,' says the Byzantine patriarch, 'is beyond every other city the dearest to the Son of God. This metropolis bestowed the designation which is beyond even the city of Romulus, and which confers the primacy or presidency.' Gregory, Justinian, and the council of Chalcedon conferred the ecclesiastical sovereignty on the Constantinopolitan See. Gregory called this city 'the eye of the world, and the emporium of the common faith.' According to the emperor Justinian, 'the Constantinopolitan church was the head of all others.' Justinian was an emperor, a legislator, a philosopher, and a theologian, and renowned for learning and wisdom. His information and opportunity must have secured him from mistaking and his integrity and veracity from misrepresenting the opinions entertained, in his day, on this topic. The council of Chalcedon, in its ninth canon, granted a general right of receiving and deciding appeals to the Byzantine See. A suffragan, according to the Chalcedonian decision, 'might appeal from the Metropolitan to the Exarch, and from the Exarch, for a final sentence, to the Constantinopolitan patriarch.'

The Chalcedonian canon so annoyed Nicholas the First that he had recourse, in his distress, to an extraordinary or rather to an ordinary remedy. His holiness explained the canon by writing nonsense; and in this ingenious manner and by this simple process, removed the difficulty. Diocese, said Nicholas, is, by a figure of speech, used for dioceses, and the diocesan Exarch, in this canon, signifies the Roman pontiff.[1] His infallibility's explanation is very sensible, and must have been very satisfactory to himself and his friends.

The Roman Church in its early days, unlike the same society in the time of Nicholas, was characterized by humility. All its members, according to the primeval records, could meet in one house. The whole society, on the first day of the week, assembled in the same place, and communicated at one table. 'Cornelius the Roman bishop read all public letters,' says Cyprian, 'to his numerous and holy flock.'[2] On the death of Anterus, 'all the brethern met in the church to elect a successor, and the whole people, with promptitude and unanimity, declared the eligibility of Fabian.'[3]

The pastor's superintendency extended from the highest to the lowest concerns of the fold, from the rich and the free to the inmate of indigence and the subject of slavery. He was entirely

[1] Quantum si perhibuisset Diœceseon. Labb. 9. 1331.

[2] Sciam sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere te semper literas nostras. Cyprian, Ep. 59. p. 139.

[3] Αδελφων απαντων . . . επι της εκκλησιας συγκεκροτημενων, Τον παντα λαον . . . προθυμια παση και μια ψυχη αξιον επιβοησαι. Euseb. VI. 29.

unacquainted with the ambition which actuated the soul of a Leo or a Gregory. The bull of a modern pontiff would, to his unaspiring mind, have been unintelligible. Possessing no civil authority, and exposed to imperial contempt, his jurisdiction was confined to the boundary of his own flock. An humble and holy pastor, in this manner, administered to a humble and holy people.

But the Roman church outlived its humility. The Apostolic See emerged from obscurity, raised its head into notoriety, and displayed all the madness and extravagance of ambition in the pursuit of dominion and power. The Roman hierarchs varied from poverty to emolument, from obscurity to eminence, and passed through all the gradations of presidence, primacy, superintendence, supremacy, and despotism.

The primacy of the Roman bishop, so far from being a divine institution, originated in the superiority of the city in which he presided. The episcopacy was, in rank, assimilated to the magistracy of the Roman empire. The metropolitan, the exarch, and the patriarch corresponded with the president, the vicar, and the prefect. The church, in this manner, was, in its divisions, adjusted to the state. The church, says Optatus, 'was formed in the empire, and not the empire in the church, and, therefore, assumed the same polity.' The conformity of the sacerdotal with the civil goverment has been clearly shown by Du Pin and many others, such as Giannone, Mezeray, and Thomassin.[1]

A bishop, therefore, obtained a rank in the hierarchy in proportion to the city in which he ruled. Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, in the East, South, and West, surpassed all the other cities in the empire. Antioch was the third city in the state, and its bishop ranked in the third place in the church. Alexandria was the second city, and its patriarch obtained the second rank in the prelacy. Rome was the metropolis, and its pontiff accordingly enjoyed the primacy. The Roman church, says Du Pin, gained the precedence, 'because Rome was the chief city.' Giannone also ascribes the rank of the Roman patriarch to the same cause. 'The ecclesiastical,' says he, formed itself on the civil goverment, and the Roman city may boast of being chief in religion, as formerly in the empire and the universe. The innovation was so natural that any other event would have been a kind of miracle."[2]

The dependence of the bishop's dignity on the eminency of

[1] Ad cujus formam ecclesia constituta est. Du Pin, 23. L'eglise est etablie dans l'empire. Giannon, II. 8. Mezeray, 5, 464. Thomassin I. 12. An. Eccl. 56.

[2] Quia Romana urbs erat prima. Du Pin, 335. Parce qu'il avoit son siege dans la Capitale de l'univers. Giannon, III. 6. Une espèce de miracle. Giannon II. 8. An. Eccl 56 142.

the city appeared, in striking colours, in the original obscurity and future greatness of the Byzantine hierarch. This bishop had been suffragan to the metropolitan of Heraclea and exarch of Thracia. But the suffragan, when Constantinople became the imperial city, became a patriarch. The second general council, in its third canon, raised the Constantinopolitan See above those of Antioch and Alexandria, and placed it next to that of Rome, because Constantinople was new Rome and the royal city. The patriarch, in consequence, usurped the jurisdiction of Asia, Pontus, and Thracia. The fourth general council, in its twenty-eighth canon, conferred equal ecclesiastical privileges on the Byzantine and Roman Sees.[1]

The usurpation of the papal hierarch was aided, with singular efficiency, by the publication of the false decretals. This collection, about the year 800, was ushered into the world as the work of the early pontiffs. All the authority assumed by modern popes was, in this forgery, ascribed to their predecessors in the days of primitive Christianity. A Linus and a Clemens were, by this author, represented as claiming the supremacy and wielding the power afterward arrogated by a Boniface or an Innocent.[2] Any pontiff, however arbitrary or ambitious, could, from this store, plead a precedent for any act of usurpation or despotism.

This fabrication, which promoted pontifical domination, displays in a strong light the variations of Romanism. The forgery was countenanced by the sovereign pontiffs, and urged by Nicholas the First against the French prelacy.[3] Its genuineness and authenticity, indeed, from the ninth century till the reformation, were generally admitted; and its authority sustained, during this period of superstition and credulity, the mighty fabric of the pontifical supremacy. An age, enveloped in darkness and monkery, and void of letters and philosophy, was incapable of detecting the imposture, though executed with a vulgar and bungling hand. Turriano and Binius, even in modern times, have maintained its authenticity. The dawn of the reformation, however, exposed the cheat, in all its clumsy and misshapen deformity. 'Its anachronisms and contradictions betrayed the silly and stupid fiction. Its forgery has been admitted by Bellarmine, Baronius, Erasmus, Petavius, Thomassin, Pagius, Giannone, Perron, Fleury, Marca, Du Pin, and

[1] Eo quod sit ipsa nova Roma. Crabb. 1. 411, 930. Labb. 2. 1125. Godeau, 4. 497. Recte judicantes, urbem quæ et imperio et senatu honorata sit, et æqualibus cum antiquissima regina Roma privilegiis fruatur etiam in rebus ecclesiasticis Labb. 4. 1694. Thomassin, 1. 19. Coquelle, 406.

[2] Du Pin, 132. et 2. 486. Giannon, V. 6.

[3] Has statim epistolas. Summi Pontifices avide arripuerunt. Du Pin, 132 Adnitente Nicolao I, et cæteris Romanis Pontificibus. Labb. 1. 79.

Labbeus. Du Pin calls the collection a medley. Labbeus calls it 'a deformity, which can be disguised by no art or colouring.'[1] The forgery remains a lasting monument of the barbarism and superstition of the period of its reception and authority.

The domination of the papacy was, also, promoted by missions to the kingdoms of Paganism. The vast wealth and rich domains of the Roman See, both in Italy and the adjacent islands, enabled the pontiff to support missions on an extensive scale through the European kingdoms, for the purpose of proselytism. These exertions displayed the Roman hierarch's zeal, and their success promoted his aggrandizement. The churches, established in this way, acknowledged a dependence on the see by which they had been planted.

Romanism, from the ninth till the fourteenth century, was extended over Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and the Orkney Islands. A few of the missionaries sent to these nations were actuated by piety, accompanied indeed with weakness and superstition. These visited the abodes of idolatry and polytheism in the midst of danger and privation, to communicate the light of the gospel. But many of these nations were proselyted by missions of a different description. Violence and compulsion were often substituted for persuasion and Christianity. The Pagans of Poland, Prussia, and Livonia were dragooned into popery by military dialectics. The martial apostles, who invaded these nations under the standard of the cross, were attached only to their own interest, and the Roman pontiff's domination and tyranny.[2] The popedom was enlarged by the accession of the northern nations, which, converted by Latin missions, submitted to papal jurisdiction, and swelled the glory of the Romish communion.

The papal yoke, received in this manner by the proselyted nations of the north, was rejected with resolution by the Asiatic, African, and European kingdoms who had professed Christianity. The Asians despised Victor's denunciations on the subject of the paschal solemnity. The Africans contemned Stephen's excommunication, on the topic of heretical baptism. The prelacy of Africa, amounting to 225 bishops, forbade, in 418, on pain of excommunication, all appeals beyond the seas.[3] This canon they renewed in 426; while Faustinus, who repre-

[1] Adeo deformes videntur, ut nulla arte, nulla cerussa, aut purpurisso fucari possint. Labb. 2. 78. Bellarmin, II. 14. Alex. 2. 218.

[2] Alex. 14. 321. Gibbon. c. LV. Giannon, iii. 6. Bruy. 2. 259.

[3] Ad transmarina qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo inter Africam in communionem suscipiatur. Crabb. I. 517. Du Pin, 143. Socrates, V. 22. Euseb. V. 21.

sented the pope in the council, blustered, vapoured, threatened, and stormed, but all in vain. The bishops contemned his fury, issued their canons, and, with steady unanimity, repelled papal aggression.

The usurpations of the popedom were also long withstood by several of the European nations, such as France, Spain, England, and Ireland. These continued, for ages, to repress Roman despotism with vigor and effect. Gaul or France opposed pontifical encroachment, and maintained metropolitical authority with the utmost resolution. The synod of Lyons, in 567, directed all dissentions among the clergy to be terminated in a provincial council. Gregory the Fourth, in the beginning of the ninth century, pretended to excommunicate the French prelacy, who, inclined to retaliation, threatened to excommunicate Gregory. Hincmar, the celebrated French bishop and statesman, wrote, in 865, the famous epistle, in which he exploded the novelty of the Decretals and advocated the canons of Nicea and Sardica. The French, says Du Pin, maintained, in the tenth century, the ancient discipline and interdicted appeals. The Metropolitans preserved their rights inviolated, "till beyond the twelfth century."[1] This, Du Pin shows from the works of Alcuin, the council of Laodicea, and the Epistles of Nicholas, John, Stephen, Gregory, and Urban.

Spain remained free of pontifical domination till the beginning of the ninth century. The Spanish prelacy and nobility, under the protection of the king and independent of foreign control, continued, prior to the Moorish conquest, to conduct the administration of the Spanish church. Provincial councils, says Du Pin, in the end of the sixth century, judged the Spanish prelacy without any appeal. Arnolf, Bishop of Orleans, even at the close of the tenth century, declared, in the council of Rheims, without contradiction, that the Spanish church disclaimed the authority of the Roman pontiff.[2]

Britain continued independent of papal authority, till the end of the sixth century. The English, dissenting from the Romish institutions and communion, disclaimed the papal supremacy. Baronius himself, practised in all the arts of evasion and chicanery, admits, on this occasion, a long and dreadful schism. The British, says Bede, differed from the Roman Christians in the celebration of baptism, the paschal solemnity, "and in many other things." The points of difference, according to the Anglo-Saxon historian, were not few, but many. Augustine gave the same statement as Bede. The

[1] Ad duodecimum usque seculum et amplius. Du Pin, 66. 130, 133. et 2. 191.
[2] In Hispania quoque vigebat, etiam sub Gregorio, vetus illa disciplina, ut causæ Episcoporum synodi Provincialis judicio finiuntur. Du Pin, 131, et 2. 176

English, says the Roman missionary, "acted, in many respects, contrary to the Roman usage."[1]

Bede's report has been corroborated by Goscelin, Ranulph, and Malmsbury. The Britons, says Goscelin, "differed in their ecclesiastical ritual from the common observance of all other churches; while, formed in hostile array, and opposing the request and admonition of Augustine, they pronounced their own usages, superior even to those of pontifical authority."[2]

Ranulph's statement is of a similar description. Augustine, observes this historian, "admonished the British clergy to correct some errors, and promised, if they would concur with him in evangelizing the English, he would patiently tolerate their other mistakes. This offer, however, these refractory spirits wholly contemned."[3]

Malmsbury's language is still stronger than Ranulph's. These islanders, says this annalist, "preferred their own to the Roman traditions, and to some other tenets of catholicism; and presisted in their opinions with pertinacity. The time of observing the paschal festival formed one principal point of controversy between the Roman missionary and the British clergy. The Britons, as well as the Scots, who on this topic, differed from the Roman traditions, obstinately refused to admit the Roman usage. In this, they manifested the utmost inflexibility. When the English afterward, in the synod of Whitby, in 664, determined, in conformity with foreign prescription, to change the day of celebration, the Scottish clergy left England. On this occasion, Colman, bishop of the Northumbrians, seeing, says Bede, "his doctrine slighted and his sect despised, returned to Scotland."[4]

The Britons, in consequence, disclaimed the supremacy of Gregory and the episcopacy of Augustine, whom the pontiff had commissioned as a missionary and archbishop in England. Augustine, on this topic, conferred with Dinoth, accompanied by seven British bishops and several Bangorian monks, at Augustine's oak on the frontiers of the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine, on this occasion, recommended an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. Dinoth, speaking for the English, 'professed himself, his fellows, and the nation, attached to all

[1] In multis quidem nostræ consuetudini contraria geritis. Beda, II. 2. Perplura ecclesiasticæ castitati et paci contraria gerunt. Beda, 203. Spm. 604. VIII.

[2] Non solum repugnant, verum etiam suos usus omnibus præeminentiores Sancti Papæ Elutherii auctoritate pronunciant. Goscelin, c. 24. Wharton, 2. 65.

[3] Monuit eos ut quædam erronea corrigent. Ipsi omnino spernerent. Ranulph. V. Ann. 601.

[4] Suis potius quam Romanis obsecundarent traditionibus et plura quidem ali catholica. Pertinacem controversiam ferebant. Malmsbury, V. P. 349.

Colman, videns spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam, in Scottiam regressus est. Beda. III. 26.

Christians, by the bonds of love and charity. This subjection, he said, the British were ready to pay to the pontiff and to every Christian; but were unacquainted with any other submission, which they owed to the person whom Augustine called the pope.'[1] Dinoth and his companions, though men of learning in their day, seem to have known nothing of the Roman hierarch. The English bishops, at the end of the sixth century, had never heard of God's vicar-general on earth; and what was nearly as bad, cared no more about his infallibility, after his name had been mentioned, than about any other man. Dinoth also informed Augustine, that the British church was governed by the bishop of Cærleon, and, therefore, had no need of the Roman missionary's service or superintendency. The obstinate people refused the archbishop ready provided for them by his Roman holiness. Augustine reasoned and remonstrated, but in vain. His auditors, who, according to Bede, preferred their own traditions to the universal church, were deaf to entreaty and reproof.

Ireland maintained its independency still longer than England. This nation rejected the papal supremacy and indeed all foreign domination, till its conquest by Henry at the end of the twelfth century. The Scottish and Irish communions, Baronius admits, were involved in the same schism. Bede accuses the Irish of fostering hatred to Romanism, and of entertaining a heterodox profession. Laurentius, Justus, and Mellitus in 614, in their epistolary communication to the Irish clergy and laity, indentified the Hibernian with the British church. Dagan, an Irish bishop, refused to eat, sit in company, or remain under the roof with the Roman bishops.[1]

Ireland, for many ages, was a school of learning for the European nations; and she maintained her independency, and repressed the incursions of foreign control during the days of her literary glory. But the Danish army invaded the kingdom, slew her sons, wasted her fields, and demolished her colleges. Darkness, literary and moral, succeeded, and prepared the way for Romanism. The dissensions of the native sovereigns augmented the misery of the distracted nation, and facilitated the progress of popery. King Henry, patronized by Pope Adrian,

[1] Aliam obedientiam quam hanc non scio debitam ei quem vos nominatis Papam Sed obedientiam hanc sumus nos parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano Beda, 716. Bruys, 1. 371. Mabilion, 1. 279, 280.

[2] Romanam consuetudinem odio habuerunt. Beda, 702. Professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognovit. Beda, II. 4. Spon 604 VIII.

Daganus episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in dem hospitio, quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. Beda, 83, 702

Ecclesiæ Romanæ de singulis domibus annuatim unius denarii pensare. Tritus, An. 1155. Dachery, 3. 151.

completed the system of pontifical subjugation. The vicar-general of God transferred the whole island to the monarch of England for many pious ends; and especially for the payment of an annual tax of one penny from each family to the holy Roman see.

The usurpations of the papacy, therefore, were effected by gradual innovation. Several nations, in defiance of pontifical claims and ambition, maintained their freedom for many ages. The progress of Roman encroachments, was, for many years, very slow, though supported by the energy of Leo, Gregory, Nicholas, John, Innocent and Boniface. Leo the Great, indeed, seems to have felt all the activity of genius and ambition: and he attempted in consequence, by many skilful and rapid movements, to enlarge the circle of his power. He pointed his spiritual artillery against the Gallican church; but was repelled with resolution and success. His ecclesiastical tactics, though well concerted, were in the main unsuccessful; and papal usurpation made little progress through any part of Christendom, till the accession of Gregory in the end of the sixth century.

The sainted Gregory was distinguished, not by his learning or integrity, but by his ambition and activity. His works are void of literary taste, and his life was a tissue of superstition, priestcraft, monkery, intolerance, formality, and dissimulation. He maintained a continual correspondence with kings; and as occasion dictated, employed, with temporising versatility, the language of devotion or flattery. His great aim was to repress the Byzantine patriarch, and to exalt the Roman pontiff. During Gregory's reign, the Constantinopolitan patriarch, actuated by a silly vanity and countenanced by the Emperor Mauricius, assumed the title of universal bishop. This appellation, noisy and empty, was unattended by any new accession of power. But the sounding distinction, unmeaning as it was in itself, and suitable, as the emperor seems to have thought it, to the bishop of the imperial city, awoke Gregory's jealousy and hostility. His holiness, accordingly, pronounced the dignity, vain-glorious, proud, profane, impious, execrable, heretical, blasphemous, diabolical, and antichristian: and endeavoured, with unremitting activity, to rouse all the powers of the earth for its extinction. His saintship, had the spirit of prophecy been among the number of his accomplishments, would, in all probability, have spoken with more caution about a title afterward arrogated by his successors. The usurper of this appellation, according to Gregory, was the harbinger and herald of Antichrist. His infallibility, of course, in designating

the pope antichrist, had the honour of anticipating Luther near a thousand years.

Mauricius refused to take the title of universal bishop from the Byzantine patriarch. But the emperor's reign soon terminated in the rebellion of Phocas, a centurion who assassinated the royal family and seized the imperial throne. The usurper, on this occasion, was a monster of inhumanity. Some tyrants have been cruel from policy. But Phocas seems to have been actuated with unalloyed disinterested malignity, unconnected with any end except the gratification of a malevolent and infernal mind. He massacred five of his predecessor's sons before the eyes of the father, whom he reserved to the last that he might be a spectator of his family's destruction. The youngest boy's nurse endeavoured to substitute her own child in the place of the emperor's. Mauricius, however, discovered and prevented the design, and delivered the royal infant to the executioner. This noble action extorted tears from the eyes of all the other spectators, but made no impression on the tyrant. The assassination of the emperor's brother and the chief patricians followed. The empress Constantina and the princesses were next, by the most solemn oaths and promises of safety, allured from their asylum in a church, and fell the helpless victims of relentless fury. Phocas was deformed in body as well as in mind. His aspect inspired terror; and he was void of genius, learning, truth, honour, or humanity, and the slave of drunkenness, impudicity, licentiousness, and cruelty.[1]

This demon of inhumanity, however, became the object of his infallibility's unqualified flattery, for the promotion of projects of ambition and despotism. His holiness hailed the miscreant's accession, in strains suited only to the advent of the Messiah. The hierarch celebrated the piety and benignity of the assassin, and welcomed the successful rebellion of the usurper as the joy of heaven and earth.[2] His saintship, in fond anticipation, grasped the title of universal bishop as the reward of his prostituted adulation and blasphemy. But death arrested his career, and prevented the transfer of the disputed and envied honour. Gregory's ambition and ability, however, succeeded in extending the limits and advancing the authority of the popedom. Claims, hitherto disputed or half-preferred, assumed under his superintendence a more definite form; while nations, too ignorant to compare precedents or examine principles, yielded to his reputation and ability.

Gregory's successors, for nearly one hundred and fifty years, seems to have obtained no material accessions of ecclesiastical

[1] Spon. 602. VI. Godeau, 5. 43. Bruy. 1. 402, 400.
[2] Pontifex Phocam crudelissimum multis laudibus extulit. Du Pin. 279.

power. The infernal Phocas, indeed, according to many historians, wrested the title of universal bishop from the Byzantine patriarch, and entailed it in perpetuity on the Roman pontiff.[1] Some modern publications annex considerable importance to this transaction, and even date the papal supremacy from this epoch. But this, as many reasons show, was no leading fact, much less a marked era in the history of the papacy. The truth of the narration is very questionable. The contemporary historians are silent on this topic. The relation rests on the sole credit of Baronius, who, on account of his modernness as well as his partiality, is no authority. Pelagius and Gregory had disclaimed the title, which, for some centuries, was not retained by the successors of Boniface. The Roman pontiff, says Gratian, 'is not universal,' though some refer its assumption to the ninth century.[2] But the account, even if true, is unimportant. The application, intended merely as complimental and honorary, was not new nor accompanied with any fresh accessions of authority. The title had been given to Pope Leo the Great, by the council of Chalcedon, and to the Byzantine patriarchs by the emperors Leo and Justinian. Leo had called Stephen Universal, and Justinian, at a latter date, had, in the same style, mentioned Mennas, Epiphanias, and Anthemius. The patriarchs of Constantinople, before, as well as after Boniface, were called universal bishops. Phocas, indeed, rescinded the dignity. But the title was afterwards restored by Heraclius the sucessor of Phocas, and retained with the utmost pertinacity.[3]

But Phocas, if he did not bestow the title of universal bishop on the Roman pontiff, conferred something, which, if belief may be attached to Anastasius, Bede, and Paul the Deacon, was equivalent or even superior. The primacy, claimed by the eastern patriarch, this emperor, according to these historians, transferred to the western pontiff.[4] The primacy, however, obtained in this manner, could have no pretensions to be of ecclesiastical or divine origin; but on the contrary, like all the honours of the papacy, was of civil and human authority.

[1] Nomen universalis episcopi decere Romanam tantummodo ecclesiam. Spon. 606, 11.

[2] Nec etiam Romanus Pontifex universalis est appellandus. Gratian, 303 Anon. 180.

[3] Godean, 4, 500. Thom. I. 2. Du Pin. 328. Giannon, III. 6.

[4] Hic obtinuit apud Phocam principem, ut sedes Apostolica beati Petri Apostoli, caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, id est, ecclesia Romana, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat. Anastasius, 24. in Bon. 3.

Hic, rogante Papa Bonifacio, statuit, sedem Romanæ et Apostolicæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat. Beda in Chron. 29. Paul Diacon, 4, 47.

Apud Phocam obtinuit, ut Romæ ecclesia omnium caput ecclesiarum decerneretur. Hermann Ann. 608. Canasius, 3, 231. Fordun. III. 32.

Nicholas and John, in the ninth century, laid the foundation, and Gregory, in the eleventh, raised the superstructure. The latter completed the outline, which the two former had begun. The skeleton, which Nicholas and John had organized, Gregory clothed with flesh, supplied with blood, and inspired with life and activity. Innocent the Third seemed, if possible, to out-rival Gregory in the career of usurpation and tyranny. Unwearied application, extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical law, and vigilant observation of passing events, sustained this pontiff's fearless activity; and he obtained the three great objects of his pursuit, sacerdotal sovereignty, regal monarchy, and dominion over kings. Boniface the Eighth walked in Innocent's steps, and endeavored to surpass his predecessor in the paths of despotism. During the period which elapsed from Innocent till Boniface, the sun of pontifical glory shone in all its meridian splendour. The thirteenth century constituted the noonday of papal domination. Rome, mistress of the world, inspired all the terrors of her ancient name, thundering anathemas, interdicting nations, and usurping authority over councils and kings. Christendom, through all its extended realms of mental and moral darkness, trembled while the pontiff fulminated excommunications. Monarchs quaked on their thrones at the terror of papal deposition, and crouched before his spiritual power like the meanest slaves. The clergy considered his holiness as the fountain of their subordinate authority, and the way to future promotion. The people immersed in gross ignorance and superstition, viewed his supremacy as a terrestrial deity, who wielded the temporal and eternal destinies of man. The wealth of nations flowed into the sacred treasury, and enabled the successor of the Galilean fisherman and head of the Christian commonwealth, to rival the splendour of eastern pomp and grandeur.

CHAPTER V.

INFALLIBILITY.

PONTIFICAL INFALLIBILITY—ITS OBJECT, FORM, AND UNCERTAINTY—SYNODAL INFALLIBILITY—PONTIFICAL AND SYNODAL INFALLIBILITY—ECCLESIASTICAL INFALLIBILITY—ITS ABSURDITY—ITS IMPOSSIBILITY.

THE infallibility of the church, like the supremacy of the pope, presents an inviting theme to the votary of papal superstition. A genuine son of Romanism expatiates on this topic with great pride and volubility. But the boasted unity of pretended Catholicism has on this, as on every other question, diverged into a heterogeneous medley of jarring opinions and contending systems. The ablest advocates of infallibility cannot tell in whom this prerogative is placed. Its seat, in consequence, has, even among its friends, become the subject of tedious as well as useless discussion.

All indeed seem to agree in ascribing infallibility to the church. But this agreement in word is no proof of unity in opinion. Its advocates differ in the interpretation of the term; and apply to the expression no less than four different significations. Four conflicting factions, in consequence, exist on this subject in the Romish communion. One party place infallibility in the church virtual or the Roman pontiff. A second faction seat inerrability in the church representative or a general council. A third class, ascribe this prerogative to a union of the church, virtual and representative, or, in other terms, to a general council headed by the Roman pontiff. A fourth division, rejecting the other systems, persist in attributing exemption from error only to the church, collective or dispersed, embracing the whole body of professors, clergy and laity.

One party place infallibility in the church virtual, or Roman pontiff.[1] This may be called the Italian system. The Italian clergy, placed under the influence of the pope, concur with abject submission in this opinion. These receive the official

[1] Per ecclesiam intelligimus pontificem Romanum. Gretser. c. 10. Papa virtualiter est tota ecclesia. Herv. c. XXIII, Jacobatius, I. p. 63.

definitions of the supreme hierarch on faith and morals as the divine oracles of infallibility.

This system, in all its absurdity, has been patronized by theologians, popes, and councils. Many Romish doctors have entertained this opinion, such as Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Pighius, Turrecrema, Canus, Pole, Duval, Lainez, Aquinas, Cajetan, Pole, Fabulottus, and Palavicino. Several pontiffs, as might be expected, have been found in the same ranks; such as Pascal, Pius, Leo, Pelagius, Boniface, and Gregory.[1] These, and many others who have joined the same standard, form a numerous and influential faction in the bosom of the papacy. Bellarmine, Duval, and Arsdekin, indeed, have represented this as the common sentiment entertained by all popish theologians of distinction.[2]

This system seems also to have been embraced by the councils of Florence, Lateran, and Trent. These conventions conferred on the pontiff an authority, above all councils. The pontifical, therefore, is superior to synodal authority, and according to the Florentine and Lateran decisions, must possess infallibility. The Lateran synod, besides, renewed and approved the bull of Boniface the Eighth, which declared subjection to the Roman pontiff necessary to all for salvation. 'The pope,' said Cardillus in the council of Trent, without contradiction, 'is so supplied with the divine aid and light of the Holy Spirit, that he cannot err to a degree of scandal, in defining faith or enacting general laws.'[3] These councils were general, and accounted a representation of the whole church. The belief of pontifical exemption from error, therefore, was not confined to a mere party, but extended to the whole communion.

The infallibility of the Roman pontiff, maintained in this manner by theologians, popes, and councils, has also been rejected by similar authority. Doctors, pontiffs, synods, and indeed all antiquity, have denied the inerrability of his Roman holiness. The absurdity has been disclaimed by Gerson, Launoy, Almain, Richerius, Alliaco, Victoria, Tostatus, Lyra, Alphonsus, Marca, Du Pin, Bossuet, and many other Romish divines. Many popes also have disowned this prerogative, such as Damasus, Celestin, Pius, Gelasius, Innocent, Eugenius,

[1] Bell. IV 2. Fabul. c. 8. Caron, c. 18. Du Pin, 336. Labb. 18. 1427, Maimbourg, 56.

[2] Hæc doctrina communis est inter omnes notæ theologos. Arsdekin, 1. 118.

[3] Arsdekin, 1, 114, 118. Du Pin, 3. 148. Crabb, 3. 697. Labb. 19. 968.

Romanum pontificem, neque in rebus fidei definiendis neque etiam in condendis legibus generalibus, usquam sic errare posse, ut scandalo sit aliis. Nam in his rebus perpetuo illi adest Spiritus Sancti patrocinium lumenque Divinum, quo ejus mens copiose adomodum illustrata, velut manu ducatur. Cardill. in Labb. 20. 1177.

Adrian, and Paul.[1] The French likewise explode this claim. These superhuman pretensions have been also rejected by the general councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil.

The assertors of pontifical infallibility, outraging common sense and varying from others, have also, on this subject, differed among themselves. Few indeed have had the effrontery to represent even the pope, as unerring in all his decisions. His holiness, according to Bellarmine and Dens, may, in a personal and private capacity, be subject to mistake, and, according to Costerus, be guilty of heresy and infidelity. The Transalpines accordingly, have disagreed among themselves on the object, form, and certainty of infallibility.

The object of infallibility has been one topic of disputation among the partizans of the Italian school. These contend whether this prerogative of his holiness be restricted to faith or extended to fact. The majority seem to confine this attribute of the pontiff to faith, and admit his liability to error in fact. Bellarmine and his partizans seem to limit inerrability to the former, and leave the latter to the contingency of human ignorance and imbecility. One party, however, though a small one, in the Romish communion, would cover even the varying form of discipline with the shield of infallibility.

The Jesuits in general, would extend infallibility both to questions of right and of fact. These patrons of syncophancy and absurdity, in their celebrated thesis of Clermont, acknowledged an unerring judge of controversy in both these respects. This judge, according to Jesuitical adulation, is the pope, who, seeing with the eye of the church and enlightened with divine illumination, is unerring as the Son of God, who imparts the infallibility which he possesses.[2] We tremble while we write such shocking blasphemy. John, Boniface, and Alexander, monsters of iniquity, were, according to this statement, inspired by God and infallible as Emmanuel. Talon, the French advocate general, protesting against this insult, on reason and common sense, stigmatized it as impiety and blasphemy.

This blasphemy, however, was not confined to the cringing, unprincipled Jesuits. Leo, in the Lateran council in the

[1] Certum est quod pontifex possit errare etiam in iis, quæ tangunt fidem. Adrian, E. De min. Art. 3. Maimbourg, 138. Non dubito, quin ego et decessores mei errare aliquando potuerimus. Paul, 4 in Maimb. 139. Du Pin, 364. Caron, c. 18. Launoy, 1, 145. Galli aliique moderni ipsius infallibilitatem impugnant. Dens, i. 5. Papa solus potest errare et esse hæreticus. Panormitan, Q. I. N. 21. P 140.

[2] Papam non minus infallibilem in materia facti vel juris esse quam fuerit Jesus Christus. Caron. 60. Walah. p. 9. Nullum errorem cadere posse in doctrinam, quam Pontifex authoritate summa definit et proponit universæ ecclesiæ, sive illa juris sive facti quæstionem continet. Arsdekin, 1, 124.

Papam, neo dicto neo facto, errare posse credebant. Barclay, 35. c. 4.

eleventh session, recognized the same principle in all its hatefulness and deformity. He declared his ability to 'supply the defects both of right and fact, from his certain knowledge and from the plenitude of his apostolic power.'[1] The declaration was made with the full approbation of the holy Roman synod, which represented the universal church. Its belief, therefore, should, in the papal communion be an article of faith and its rejection a heresy. The Jansenists, on this topic, opposed the Jesuits, and betrayed, by their disputations, the boasted unity of Catholicism.

The Italian school also vary with respect to the form of infallibility. This party indeed confess the pope's liability to error and deception, like other men, in a private or personal capacity, and limit his infallibility to his official decisons, or when he speaks from the chair. But the friends of official infallibility, agreeing in word, have disagreed about the interpretation of the term. One variety, on this topic, represents his holiness, as speaking with official authority when he decides in council. This explanation has been patronized by Viguerius, Bagot, and Monilian. But these, it is plain, betray their own cause, by transferring infallibility from the pope to his council. A second variety limit his judicial sentences to the determinations which he delivers according to Scripture and tradition. This interpretation has been countenanced by Callot and Turrecrema. But these, like the former, miss their aim, and ascribe infallibility, not to the pope, but to Scripture and tradition. The difficulty still remains, to know when his holiness speaks in accordance with these standards. A third variety, supported by Canus and his partizans, reckon these official instructions, such as are uttered after mature and diligent examination.[2] But all the wisdom of Canus, and his friends, and perhaps a subsidy, would be necessary to distinguish between the pontiff's deliberate and hasty determinations.

The fourth and commonest variety, on this topic, is that of Bellarmine, Duval, Raynald, Dens, and Cajetan. His holiness, according to these doctors, utters his oracles from the chair when, in a public capacity, he teaches the whole church concerning faith and morality.[3] But a difficulty still remains to determine when this is the case; and this difficulty has divided the advocates of this folly into several factions. The pontiff,

[1] Tam juris quam facti defectus supplentes, ex certa nostra scientia, et de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine. Labb. 19. 968.

[2] Launoy, ad Metay. Du Pin, 340. Maimb. 55. Launoy, 3. 29, 40.

[3] Censetur loqui ex cathedrâ quando loquitur ex plenitudine potestatis, præscribens universali ecclesiæ aliquid tanquam dogma fide credendum vel in moribus observandum. Dens, 1. 159. Du Pin, 341. Launoy, 3. 24. Maimbourg, 56.

say some, teaches the whole church, when he enacts laws and say others, when he issues rescripts. The pontiff, says Tannerus and Compton, instructs the whole ecclesiastical community, when his bull has, for some time, been affixed to the apostolic chancery. This, which Du Pin calls the height of folly, is indeed the concentrated spirit of sublimated nonsense. Maimbourg requires public and solemn prayer, with the consultation of many councils and universities.

The certainty or uncertainty of pontifical exemption from error has, in the Romish communion, been a subject of disagreement and disputation. While the Ultramontane contends for its truth, and the Cisalpine for its falsehood, a numerous and influential party maintain its utter uncertainty, and represent it as a question, not of faith, but of opinion. The class-book of Maynooth stoutly advocates the probability of both systems.[1] The sage writer's penetrating eye could, at a glance, discern the probability of two contradictory propositions. The author must have been a man of genius. Anglade, Slevin, and Kenny, at the Maynooth examination, declared, on oath, their indecision on this inquiry. The learned doctors could not tell whether their visible head be the organ of truth or the channel of error, even in his official decisions and on points of faith. A communion, which boasts of infallibility, cannot determine whether the sovereign pontiff, the plenipotentiary of heaven, and 'the father and teacher of all Christians,' be, even when speaking from the chair, the oracle of catholicism or of heresy.

A second faction seat inerrability in the church representative or a general council. An ecumenical synod, according to this class, is the sovereign tribunal, which all ranks of men, even the Roman pontiff himself, are bound to obey. An assembly of this kind, guided by the Holy Spirit, is superior to the pope, and supreme judge of controversy. The pontiff, in case of disobedience, is subject to deposition by the same authority.[2]

This is the system of the French or Cisalpine school. The Gallican church has distinguished itself, in every age, by its opposition to pontifical usurpation and tyranny. The pontiff's authority, in consequence, never obtained the same prevalence in France as in several other nations of Christendom, and his infallibility is one of those claims which the French school never acknowledged. His liability to error, even on questions of faith, has accordingly been maintained by the ablest French

[1] Utramque sententiam esse probabilem. Anglade, 180, 181. Slevin, 201, 202 Kenney, 37.

[2] Du Pin, 3, 283. Gibert, 2. 7. Crabb. 2. 1018. Carranza, 565.

divines, such as Launoy, Gerson, Almain, Richerius, Maimbourg, Marca, Bossuet, and Du Pin. These doctors have been supported by many French universities, such as Paris, Angiers, Tolouse, and Orleans, which have been followed by those of Louvain, Herford, Cologne, Cracow, and Vienna. Many pontiffs, also, such as Damasus, Celestine, Felix, Adrian, Gelasius, Leo, Innocent, and Eugenius, admitting their own liability to error, have referred infallibility to a general council.[1]

The general councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, enacted a similiar decision. These proceeded, without any ceremony, to the demolition of pontifical supremacy and inerrability. All this is contained in the superiority of a council to the pope, as established by these synods, as well as by their deposition of Benedict, Gregory, John, and Eugenius. These pontiffs, the fathers of Pisa, Constance, and Basil found guilty of contumacy, incorrigibility, simony, perjury, schism, and heresy, and founded synodal authority on the ruins of papal presumption and despotism. The Basilians, in express terms, declared the pope's fallibility, and, in many instances, his actual heresy. Some of the supreme pontiffs, said these legislators, 'have fallen into heresy and error. The pope may and often does err. History and experience show, that the pope, though the head and chief, has often been guilty of error.'[2] These quotations are plain and expressive of the council's sentiments on the Roman hierarch's pretended exemption from the common weakness of humanity.

The French, in this manner, are opposed to the Italian school. Theologian is opposed to theologian, pope to pope, university to university, and council to council. The council of the Lateran, in a particular manner, contradicts the council of Basil. Leo, in the former assembly and with its entire approbation, declared his certain knowledge both of right and fact. The latter congress, in the plainest language, admitted the pope's fallibility and actual heresy.[3]

A third class ascribe infallibility to a union of the church virtual and representative, or to a general council headed by the Roman pontiff. These, in general, require pontifical convocation, presidency, and confirmation to confer on a council legality and validity. A pope or synod, according to this theory, may, when disconnected, fall into error; but, when

[1] Hanc esse ecclesiae Gallicanae certam et indubitabilem doctrinam. Avedekin, 1. 117. Affirmativam tuentur Galli. Dens, 2. 156. Launoy, 145. Du Pin, 362, 364. Maimbourg, c. 15. Caron, c. 18.

[2] Nonnulli summi Pontifices, in haereses et errores lapsi leguntur. Errante Pontifice, sicut saepe contingit, et contingere potest. Crabb, 3. 12, 146. 148 Bin. 8. 22. Carranza, 580. Du Pin, 361, 404.

[3] Labb. 19. 968. Crabb. 3. 148.

united, become unerring. A council, under the direction and superintendence of the pontiff, is, say these speculators, raised above mistake on subjects of faith and morality.[1]

This class is opposed by both the former. The system contradicts the assumption of pontifical and synodal infallibility and the sentiments of the French and Italian schools. Its partizans differ not only from the Cisalpine theologians, Launoy, Gerson, Almain, Bossuet, and Du Pin, but also from the Ultramontane Doctors, Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, and Cajetan; and are exposed to the fire of the councils of Florence and Lateran, as well as of Pisa, Constance, and Basil.

This party, varying from the French and Italian schools, vary from their own theory and from the acknowledged facts of the general councils. The Romish communion admits the authority of several synods, undistinguished by pontifical summons and ratification. The eight oriental councils, as Launoy, Du Pin, Gibert, and Caron, have clearly shown, were summoned sometimes against the pontiff's will and always without his authority. The pope, in the first, second, third, and fifth general councils, at Nicæa, Ephesus, and Constantinople, presided neither in person nor by representation; while the second, Ephesian synod, says Mirandula having a lawful call and legantine presence of the Roman bishop, prostituted its authority nevertheless to the subversion of the faith. Several general councils were not sanctioned, but, on the contrary, resisted by pontifical power. This was the case with the third canon of the second general council, which declared the Byzantine next in rank and dignity to the Roman see. The twenty-eighth canon of the fourth general council at Chalcedon, which raised the Constantinopolitan patriarch to an equality with the Roman pontiff, met with similar opposition. But the Chalcedonian fathers disregarded the Roman bishop's expostulations and hostility. The fifth general council decided against Vigilius, and, in addition, complimented his holiness with an anathema and the imputation of heresy. The sixth ecumenical synod condemned Honorius, and its acts were confirmed by the emperior and afterwards by Leo. The Basilian assembly was ridiculed by Leo the Tenth, and both cursed and confirmed by Eugenius. His holiness, of course, between malediction and ratification, showed ample attention to the fathers of Basil. The French clergy reject the councils of Lyons, Florence, and the Lateran, though sanctioned by Innocent, Eugenius, and Leo. The Italian clergy, on the contrary, and the partizans of pontifical sovereignty, have proscribed the councils

[1] Maimbourg, c. 6. Bell. IV. 2. Caron, c. 18. Kenney. 398.

of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, though ratified by Alexander, Martin, and Nicholas.

A fourth division in the Romish communion, rejecting the other systems, persist in attributing exemption from error only to the church collective or dispersed, embracing the general body of Christian professors. These, disclaiming pontifical and synodal infallibility as well as both united, patronize ecclesiastical inerrability. The partizans of this theory, however, are few, compared with the other factions. The system, notwithstanding, can boast of several patrons of celebrity, such as Panormitan, Mirandula, and Alliaco.[1] Panormitan, the famous canonist, was one of the advocates of this theory. Councils, according to this author, may err and have erred. The universal church, he adds, 'comprehends the assembly of all the faithful; and this is the church which is vested with infallibility.' Mirandula adopted the opinion of Panormitan. He represents the second council of Ephesus as general and lawful, which, nevertheless, 'betrayed the faith.' Alliaco's statement on this head in the council of Constance, is remarkable. He observed that 'a general council, according to celebrated doctors, may err, not only in fact, but also in right, and, what is more, in the faith.' He delivered the statement as the opinion of many. The declaration, besides, was made in an assembly containing about a thousand of the clergy, and constituting a representation of the whole church, with general approbation and consent.

This party, dissenting from pontifical and synodal infallibility, differ also among themselves and are subdivided into two sections. One subdivision places illiability to error in the clergy dispersed through Christendom. The laity, according to this speculation, have nothing to do but obey the clergy and be safe. The other subdivision reckons the laity among the participators of infallibility. Clergy and laity, according to this supposition, form one sacred society, which, though dispersed through Christendom, and subject to mistake in an individual capacity, is, in a collective sense, raised above the possibility of error in the faith.

Such is the diversity of opinions in the Romish communion, on a theory, which has disgraced man and insulted human reason. These observations shall now be concluded with a digression on the absurdity and on the impossibility of this

[1] Tota ecclesia urrare non potest. Panormitan, a. 1, N. 21. P. 140. Ecclesia universalis non potest errare. Panormitan de Jud. No. 4.

Nihilominus in eversionem fidei agitatam. Mirandula, Th. 4.

Secundum magnos Doctores, generale concilium potest errare, non solum in facto, sed etiam in jure, et quod majus est, in fide. Hard. 2. 201. Lenfant, 1. 172.

infallibility. Its absurdity may be shown from the intellectual weakness of man, and the moral deformity which has disfigured the Roman pontiffs, the general councils, and the papal communion.

The intellectual weakness of man shows, in the clearest light, the absurdity of the claim. Human reason, weak in its operations and deceived by passion, selfishness, ignorance, and prepossession, is open to the inroads of error. Facts testify its fallibility. The annals of the world proclaim, in loud and unequivocal accents, the certainty of this humbling truth. The history of Romanism, and its diversity of opinions notwithstanding its boasted unity, teach the same fact. The man who first claimed or afterwards assumed the superhuman attribute, must have possessed an impregnable effrontery. Liability to error, indeed, with respect to each individual in ordinary situations, is universally admitted. But a whole is equal to its parts. Fallible individuals, therefore, though united in one convention or society, can never form an infallible council or an infallible church.

The absurdity of this arrogant claim may be shown from the moral deformity, which, from age to age, has disfigured the Roman pontiffs, the general councils, and the Papal communion. The moral character of the popes proclaims a loud negation against their infallibility. Many of these hierarchs carried miscreancy to an unenvied perfection, and excelled, in this respect, all men recorded in the annals of time. A John, a Benedict, and an Alexander seem to have been born to show how far human nature could proceed in degeneracy, and, in this department, outshine a Nero, a Domitian, and a Caligula. Several popes in the tenth century owed their dignity to Marozia and Theodora, two celebrated courtezans, who raised their gallants to the pontifical throne and vested them with pontifical infallibility.[1] Fifty of these viceroys of heaven, according to Genebrard, degenerated, for one hundred and fifty years, from the integrity of their ancestors and were apostatical rather than apostolical. Genebrard, Platina, Stella, and even Baronius, call them monsters, portends, thieves, robbers, assassins, magicians, murderers, barbarians, and perjurers. No less than seventeen of God's vicars-general were guilty of perjury. Papal ambition, usurpation, persecution, domination, excommunications, interdicts, and deposition of kings have filled the earth with war and desolation.

[1] Intruderentur in sedem Petri eorum amasii Pseudo-Pontifices. Baron. 912. VIII. Spon. 900. I. Genebrard, IV.

On ne voyoit alors plus des Papes, mais des monstres. Baronius ecrit qu' alors Rome etoit sans Pape. Giannon, VII. 5. An. Eccl. 345.

The general councils, like the Roman pontiffs, were a stigma on religion and man. Many of these conventions, in point of respectability, were inferior to a modern cock-fight or bull-baiting. Gregory Nazianzen, who is a Roman saint, has described these scenes with the pencil of truth and with the hand of a master. I never, says the Grecian bishop, saw a synod which had a happy termination. These conventions, instead of diminishing, uniformly augment the evil which they were intended to remedy. Passion, jealousy, envy, prepossession, and the ambition of victory, prevail and surpass all description. Zeal is actuated rather by malignancy to the criminal than aversion to the crime. He compares the dissension and wrangling exhibited in the councils, to the quarrels of geese and cranes, gabbling and contending in confusion, and represents such disputation and vain jangling as calculated to demoralize the spectator, rather than to correct or reform.[1] This portrait, which is taken from life, exhibits, in graphic delineation and in true colours, the genuine features of all the general, infallible, apostolic, holy Roman councils.

The generals synods of Constantinople, Nicæa, Lyons, Constance, and Basil are, in a particular manner, worthy of observation. These conventions were composed of the lowest rabble, and patronized the vilest abominations. The Byzantine assembly, which was the second general council, has been described by Nazianzen. This convention the saint characterizes as 'a cabal of wretches fit for the house of correction; fellows newly taken from the plough, the spade, the oar, and the army.' Such is the Roman saint's sketch of a holy, apostolic, unerring council.[2]

The second Nicene council approved of perjury and fornication. The unerring synod, in loud acclamation, approved of a disgusting and filthy tale, taken from the 'spiritual meadow' and sanctioning these sins. A monk, according to the story, had been haunted with the spirit of fornication from early life till hoary age. The lascivious propensity, which is all that could be meant by the demon of sensuality, had seized the solitary in the fervor of youth, and continued its temptations even in the decline of years. One day, when the spirit, or more probably the flesh had made an extraordinary attact on the anchoret, he begged the foul fiend to depart, as he was now arrived at the years of longevity, when such allurements,

[1] Χηνων η γερανων αιρετα μαρνομενων.
Ενθ' ερις, ενθα μοθος. Gregory 2. 82. Carm. X. Ep. 56. Du Pin, l. 658.

[2] Alii ab aratris venerant adusti a sole: alii a ligone vel bident totum diem non quiescente: alli remos exercitusve reliquerant, redolentes adhuc sentinam vel corpus fœdatum cicatricibus habentes:. . . . . Flagriones, et pistrinis, digni. Greg. Quer Ep. Labb. 2. 1158. Du Pin, 1. 259.

through attendant debility, should cease. The devil, appearing in his proper form, promised a cessation of arms, if the hermit would swear to tell no person what he was going to say.[1] The monk, without hesitation, obeyed the devil, and bound himself by oath to secrecy. The devil administered and the monk swore. He swore by the Most High never to divulge what Belial would tell. The solitary, it appears, was sufficiently complaisant with Belzebub, who, in return, promised to withdraw his temptations, if the monk would quit worshipping a statute of Lady Mary carrying her son in her arms.

The tempted, it seems, did not reject the temptation with becoming resolution. He requested time for consideration; and next day, notwithstanding his oath, discovered all to the Abbot Theodorus, who lived in Pharan. The holy Abbot indeed called the oath a delusion; but notwithstanding his sanctity, approved of the confession, and, in consequence of the perjury. The devil, perhaps, in the popish divinity, is a heretic, which would warrant the violation of faith with his infernal majesty. The Abbot's approbation, however, some may think, was a sufficient stretch of politeness in the holy Theodorus and not very flattering to veracity. The following is as little flattering to chastity. 'You should rather visit all the brothels in the city,' said the holy abbot to the holy monk, 'than omit worshipping Immanuel and his mother in their images.'[2] Theodorus was an excellent casuist, and knew how to solve a case of conscience. Satan afterward appeared to the monk, accused him of perjury, and pronounced his doom at the day of judgment. The devil seems to have felt a greater horror of perjury than the monk; and preached better morality than Theodorus or the holy general council. The anchoret, in his reply to the fiend, admitted that he had perjured himself; but declared that he had not abjured his God.

Such is the tale as related in the sacred synod from 'the spiritual meadow.' The holy fathers, with unanimous consent, approved; and by their approbation, showed the refinement of their taste and sanctioned perjury and debauchery. John, the oriental vicar, declared perjury better than the destruction of images. John must have been an excellent moral philosopher and Christian divine, and a worthy member of an unerring council. The monk's oath, however, did not imply the alternative of forswearing himself or renouncing image worship.

[1] Jura mihi, quod ea quæ tibi dicam nemini significabis, et non amplius tecum pugnabo. Crabb. 2. 520. Bin. 5. 642.

[2] Expedit tibi potius, ut non dimittas in civitate ista lupinar, in quod non introeas, quam ut recuses adorare Dominum et Deum nostrum Iesum Christum, cum propria matre sua in imagine. Labb. 8. 902.

He might have kept the solemn obligation, and, at the same time, enjoyed his orthodox idolatry. He was only sworn to secrecy with respect to the demon's communication. The engagement was solemn. The officer indeed, who administered the oath, was the devil. But the solitary swore by the Highest; and the validity of an oath, all agree, arises not from the administrator, but from the deity in whose name it is taken. His discovery to Theodorus, therefore, though applauded by the infallible synod, was a flagrant violation of the ninth precept of the moral law.

The approval of debauchery was, in this case, accompanied with that of perjury. Theodorus' sermon, recommended by the sacred synod, encouraged the monk, rather than dismiss his idol, which in all probability was a parcel of fusty baggage, to launch into the troubled waters of prostitution, and, with crowded canvass and swelling sail, to sweep the wide ocean of licentiousness. The picture of sensuality, presented in the abbot's holy advice, seems to have tickled the fancy and feeling of the holy fathers, who appear to have been actuated with the same spirit in the council as the monk in the cell. The old sensualists gloated over the scene of voluptousness, which the Theodorian theology had presented to the view. The aged libertines, enamoured of the tale, caused it to be repeated in the fifth session, for the laudable purpose of once more glutting their libidinous appetite, and prompting their imagination with its filthiness.

The Caroline books, the production of the French king and prelacy, deprecated the story as an unprecedented absurdity and a pestilential evil. Du Pin, actuated with the sentiments of a man and a Christian, condemns the synod, deprecates the whole transaction, and even refuses to translate the abbot of Pharan's holy homily. The infallible council sanctioned a breach of the seventh commandment, at least in comparison with the abandonment of emblematic adoration. The Nicæans, nevertheless, boasted of their inspiration. The sacred synod, amid all its atrocity, pretended to the immediate influence of heaven. The divine afflatus, forsooth, passed through these skins of pollution, and made the consecrated ruffians the channels of supernatural communications to man. The source of their inspiration, if the holy fathers felt such an impulse, is easy to tell. The spirit which influenced the secreted monk seems to have been busy with the worthy bishops, and to have stimulated their imaginations to the enjoyment of the dirty story, and the approbation of its foul criminality.

The holy infallible council of Lyons has been delineated in a portrait taken from life, by Matthew Paris, a cotemporary

nistorian. Pope Innocent retiring from the general council of Lyons in which he had presided, Cardinal Hugo made a farewell speech for his holiness and the whole court to the citizens, who had assembled on the occasion to witness his infallibility's departure. 'Friends' said the orator, 'we have effected a work of great utility and charity, in this city. When we came to Lyons we found three or four brothels in it, and we have left at our departure only one. But this extends without interruption, from the eastern to the western gate of the city.'[1] The clergy, who should be patterns of purity, seem on this occasion, when attending an unerring council, to have been the agents of demoralization through the city in which they assembled. The cardinal, speaking in the name of his holiness, gloried in his shame, and talked of the abomination of himself and his companions in a strain of railery and unblushing effrontery.

The constantine council was characterized by Baptiza, one of its own members. His protrait is frightful. The clergy, he declared, 'were nearly all under the power of the devil, and mocked all religion by external devotion and Pharisean hypocrisy. The prelacy, actuated only by malice, iniquity, pride, vanity, ignorance, lasciviousness, avarice, pomp, simony, and dissimulation, had exterminated catholicism and extinguished piety.'[2]

The character of the holy bishops, indeed, appear from their company. More than seven hundred PUBLIC WOMEN, according to Dachery's account, attended the sacred synod. The Vienna manuscript reckons the number of these female attendants, whom it calls vagrant prostitutes, at 1500.[3] This was a fair supply for the thousand holy fathers who constituted the Constantian assembly. These courtesans, says Bruys, were, in appearance, intended to exercise the chastity of the clergy. Their company, no doubt, contributed to the entertainment of the learned divines and introduced great variety into their amusements.

The council of Basil taught the theory of filthiness, as that of Constance had exhibited the practice. Carlerius, the champion of catholicism in the Basilian assembly against Nicholas the Bohemian heretic, advocated the propriety of tolerating stews in a city.[4] This hopeful and holy thesis the hero of the faith sup-

[1] Tria vel quatuor prostibula invenimus. Unum solum relinquimus. Verum ipsum durat continatum ab orientali porta civitatis usque ad occidentalem. M. Paris. 732.

[2] Presque tout le clergé est sous la puissance du diable. Dans les prelats, il n'y a que malice, iniquité, negligence, ignorance, vanité, orgueil, avarice, simonie, lascivete, pompe, hypocrisie. Baptiza, in Lenfan. 2. 95.

[3] Sept cens dix huit femmes publiques. Bruy. 4. 39.—XVC meretrices vagabundae. Labb. 16. 1435, 1436.

[4] Haec pestis maneat in urbibus. Canisius, 4. 457

ported by the authority of the sainted Augustine and Aquinas. Remove prostitutes, says Augustine as cited by Carlerius, 'and you will disturb all things with licentiousness.' Human government, says Aquinas, quoted by the same orator, 'should imitate the divine. But God, according to the saint, permits some evils in the universe, and therefore, so should man.'[1] His saintship's logic is nearly as good as his morality. Simple fornication, therefore, concludes Carlerius, is to be permitted to avoid a greater evil.

This severe moralist, however, would exclude these courtezans from the interior of the city, and confine them to the suburbs, to serve as sewers to carry away the filth. He would even, in his rigour, forbid these professional ladies the use of robes, ornaments, silver, gold, jewels, fringes, lace, flounces, and furbelows. This useful and pure speculation, the sacred synod heard with silent approbation. The holy fathers, in their superior sense and sanctity, could easily perceive the utility and reasonableness of the scheme, and could not, in politeness, object to the arguments which their champion wielded with such triumphant effect against the advocate of heresy.

The councils of Nicea, Vienna, and the Lateran, patronized the hateful and degrading doctrine of materialism. Angels and souls, the Nicæans represented as corporeal. The angels of heaven and the souls of men, if the Nicæan doctors are to be credited, possess bodies, though of a refined, thin, subtile, and attenuated description. These angelical and mental forms, the learned metaphysicians admitted, were composed of a substance less gross indeed than the human flesh or nerve, and less firm than the human bone or sinew; but nevertheless material, tangible and visible. The council of Vienna improved on that of Nicæa. The holy infallible fathers of Vienna declared the soul not only of the same substance, but also essentially and in itself of the true and perfect form of the body. The rational and intellectual mind, therefore, in this system, possesses a material and corporeal shape, limbs, features, feet and hands, and has circumference, diameter, length, breadth, and thickness. This definition the sacred synod issued, to teach all men the true faith. This doctrine, according to the same authority, is catholicism and the contrary is heresy. The Lateran council, in its eighth session, follow the Viennese definition, and decreed that the human spirit, truly, essentially, and in itself, exists in the form of the human frame.[2] Three holy universal councils,

[1] Aufer meretricibus de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus. Labb. 17 986. Deus permittit aliqua mala fieri in universo. Aquinas, II. 10. XI.

[2] Catholica ecclesia sic sentit esse quosdam intelligibiles, sed non omnino corporis expertes et invisibiles, verum tenui corpore præditos. In loco existunt et circum-

in this manner, patronized the materialism which was afterward obtruded on the world by a Priestley, a Voltaire and a Hume.

The Romish communion was as demoralized as the Roman pontiffs or the general councils. During the six hundred years that preceded the reformation, the papal communion, clergy and laity, were in the account of their own historians, sunk into the lowest depths of vice and abomination. A rapid view of this period, from the tenth till the sixteenth century, sketched by the warmest partizans of the papacy, will show the truth and justice of this imputation.

The tenth century has been portrayed by the pencil of Sabellicus, Stella, Baronius, Giannone, and Du Pin. Stupor and forgetfulness of morals invaded the minds of men. All virtue fled from the pontiff and the people. This whole period was characterized by obduracy and an inundation of overflowing wickedness. The Romish church was filthy and deformed, and the abomination of desolation was erected in the temple of God. Holiness had escaped from the world, and God seemed to have forgotten his church, which was overwhelmed in a chaos of impiety.[1]

The eleventh century has been described by Gulielmus, Paris, Spondanus and Baronius. Gulielmus, portrays the scene in dark and frightful colours. 'Faith was not found on earth. All flesh had corrupted their way. Justice, equity, virtue, sobriety, and the fear of God perished, and were succeeded by violence, fraud, stratagem, malevolence, circumvention, luxury, drunkenness, and debauchery. All kinds of abomination and incest were committed without shame or punishment.' The colours used by Paris are equally black and shocking. 'The nobility,' says the English historian, 'were the slaves of gluttony and sensuality. All, in common, passed their days and nights in protracted drunkenness. Men provoked surfeit by voraciousness, and vomit by ebriety.' The outlines of Spondanus and Baronius correspond with those of Gulielmus and Paris. 'Piety and holiness,' these historians confess, 'had fled from the earth, whilst irregularity and iniquity among all, and, in an especial manner, among the clergy every where reigned. The sacraments, in many parts of Christendom, ceased to be dispensed.

ferentiam habent. Nemo, vel angelos, vel animos dixerit incorporeos. Carranza, 478. Labb. 8. 1446.

Anima rationalis non sit forma corporis humani per se et essentialiter, tanquam haereticus sit censendus. Carranza, 560. Du Pin, 2. 545.

Illa humani corporis existat. Carranza, 604. Labb. 19. 812. Bin. 8. 928.

[1] Stupor et amentia quaedam oblivioque morum invaserant hominum animos Sabellicus, II. Quis non putarit Deum oblitum ecclesiae suae. Spon. 908. III. Contingerit abominationem desolationis in templo. Baron, 900. I. L. eglise etoit dans un etat pitoyable, de figurée pan les plus grands desordres, et plongée dans un chaos d'impietes. Giannon, VII. 5. Du Pin, 2, 156. Bruy. 2. 316.

The few men of piety, from the prospect of atrocity, thought that the reign of Antichrist had commenced, and that the world was hastening to its end.'[1]

The twelfth and thirteenth ages were similar in their morals, and have been described by Morlaix, Honorius, and Bernard. According to the two former, 'Piety and religion seemed to bid adieu to man; and for these were substituted treachery, fraud, impurity, rapine, schism, quarrels, war and assassination. The throne of the beast seemed to be fixed among the clergy, who neglected God, stained the priesthood with impurity, demoralized the people with their hypocrisy, denied the Lord by their works, and rejected the revelation which God gave for the salvation of man.'[2]

But Bernard's sketch of this period is the fullest and most hideous. The saint, addressing the clergy, and witnessing what he saw, loads the canvass with the darkest colours. 'The clergy,' said the monk of Clairvaux, 'are called pastors, but in reality are plunderers, who, unsatisfied with the fleece, thirst for the blood of the flock; and merit the appellation not of shepherds but of traitors, who do not feed but slay and devour the sheep. The Saviour's reproach, scourges, nails, spear, and cross, all these, his ministers, who serve Antichrist, melt in the furnace of covetousness and expend on the acquisition of filthy gain, differing from Judas only in the magnitude of the sum for which they sell their master. The degenerate ecclesiastics, prompted by avarice, dare for gain, even to barter assassination, adultery, incest, fornication, sacrilege, and perjury. Their extortions, they lavish on pomp and folly. These patrons of humility appear at home amid royal furniture, and exhibit abroad in meretricious finery and theatrical dress. Sumptuous food, splendid cups, overflowing cellars, drunken banquets, accompanied with the lyre and the violin, are the means by which these ministers of the cross evince their self denial and indifference to the world.'[3]

[1] Fides deficerit, et Domini timor erat de midio sublatus. Perierat de rebus, justitia et æquitate subacta, violentia dominibatur in populis. Fraus, dolus, et circumventio late involverant universa. Fides non inveniebatur super terram. Omnis caro corruperat viam suam. Bell. Sacr. 1. 8.

Optimates gulæ et veneri servientes, in cubiculis, et inter uxorios complexus. Potabatur ab omnibus in commune, et tam dies quam noctes, in hoc studio productæ sunt. In cibis urgebant crapulam, in potibus vomicam irritabant. Paris 5, 1001, Spon. 1001. II Bruy. 2. 316.

[2] La fraude, l'impureté, les rapines, les schismes, les querelles, les guerres, les trahisons, les homicides sont en vogue. Adieu la pietè et la religion. Morlaix, in Bruy. 2. 547.

Tourne toi vers le clergé, tu y verra la tente de la Bete. Ils negligent le service Divin. Ils souillent le sacerdoce par leurs impuretez, seduisent le peuple par leurs hypocrisie, renient Dieu par leurs œuvres. Honor. in Bruy. 2. 547.

[3] Dicemini pastores, cum sitis raptores. Sititis enim sanguinem. Non sunt

Bernard's picture of the priesthood is certainly not complimentary; and his character of the laity is of the same unflattering description. According to this saint, 'the putrid contagion had, in his day, crept through the whole body of the church, and the malady was inward and could not be healed. The actions of the prelacy in secret were too gross for expression,' and the saint, therefore, left the midnight miscreancy in its native and congenial darkness.[1]

The moral traits of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been delineated by the bold but faithful pens of Alliaco, Petrarch, Mariana, Ægidius, Mirandula, and Fordun.[2] Alliaco's description is very striking and significant. 'The church,' said the cardinal, 'is come to such a state, that it is worthy of being governed only by reprobates.' Petrarch, without any hesitation, calls Rome, 'Babylon, the Great Whore, the school of error, and the temple of heresy.' The court of Avignon, he pronounced 'the sink and sewer of all vice, and the house of hardship and misery;' while he lamented, in general, 'the derelection of all piety, charity, faith, shame, sanctity, integrity, justice, honesty, candor, humanity, and fear of God.'

Every enormity, according to Mariana, 'had passed into a custom and law, and was committed without fear. Shame and modesty were banished, while, by a monstrous irregularity, the most dreadful outrages, perfidy, and treason were better recompensed than the brightest virtue. The wickedness of the pontiff descended to the people.'[3]

The account of Ægidius is equally striking. 'Licentiousness reigned. All kinds of atrocity, like an impetuous torrent, inundated the church, and like a pestilence, infected nearly all its members. Irregularity, ignorance, ambition, unchastity, libertinism, and impurity triumphed; while the plains of Italy were drenched in blood and strewed with the dead. Violence, rapine, adultery, incest, and all the pestilence of villany, confounded all things sacred and profane.'[4]

pastores, sed traditores. Ministri Christi sunt, et serviunt Antichristo. Vendunt homicidia, adulteria, fornicationes, sacrilegia, perjuria. Bernard, 1725—1728.

[1] Serpit hodie putrida tabes per omne corpus ecclesiae. Intestina et insanabilis est plaga ecclesiae. Quae enim in occulto fiunt ab episcopis, turpe est dicere. Bernard, 1728.

[2] Ad hunc statum venisse ecclesiam, ut non sit digna regi, nisi per reprobos. Alliaco in Hard. 1. 424. Lenfan. 2. 276.

Il appelle, sans detour, la ville de Rome, la grande Paillarde, Babylone, l'Ecole de l'erreur, le Temple de l'Heresie. Il n'y a nulle pieté nulle charité, nulle foi, nulle crainte de Dieu. Là l'amour, pudeur, la candeur, en sont bannies. Petrarcha, in Bruy. 3. 470.

[3] Les plus grands crimes etoient presque pousses en contume et en loi. On les commetoit sans crainte. La honté et la pudeur etoient, bannies, et par un dereglement monstrueux, les plus noirs attentats, les perfidies, les trahisons etoint mieux recompensées que ne l' etoient les vertus les plus eclatantes. Marian. 5. 718.

[4] Vidimus vim, rapinas, adulteria, incestus, omnem denique scelerum pestem ita

Mirandula's picture, to the following effect, is equally hideous. 'Men abandoned religion, shame, modesty, and justice. Piety degenerated into superstition. All ranks sinned with open effrontery. Virtue was often accounted vice, and vice honored for virtue. The sacred temples were governed by pimps and Ganymedes, stained with the sin of Sodom. Parents encouraged their sons in the vile pollution. The retreats, formerly sacred to unspotted virgins, were converted into brothels, and the haunts of obscenity and abomination. Money, intended for sacred purposes, was lavished on the filthiest pleasures, while the perpetrators of the defilement, instead of being ashamed, gloried in the profanation.' Fordun, in his sketch of the fourteenth century, has loaded the canvass with the same dark colors.[1] 'Inferiors,' say the historians, 'devoted themselves to malediction and perjury, to rioting and drunkenness, to fornication and adultery, and to other shocking crimes. Superiors studied, night and day, to oppress their underlings in every possible manner, to seize their possessions, and to devise new imposts and exactions.'

The sixteenth century has been depicted by Antonius. He addressed the fathers and senators assembled at Trent, while he delineated, in such black colors, the hideous protrait of the passing day. The orator, on the occasion, stated, while he lamented, the general 'depravation of manners, the turpitude of vice, the contempt of the sacraments, the solicitude of earthly things, and the forgetfulness of celestial good and of all Christian piety. Each succeeding day witnessed a deterioration in devotion, divine grace, Christian virtue, and other spiritual attainments. No age had ever seen more tribunals and less justice; more senators and less care of the commonwealth; more indigence and less charity; or greater riches and fewer alms. This neglect of justice and alms was attended with public adultery, rape, rapine, exaction, taxation, oppression, drunkenness, gluttony, pomp of dress, superfluity of expense, contamination of luxury, and effusion of Christian blood. Women displayed lasciviousness and effrontery; youth, dis-

sacra profanaque miscere omnia. Labb. 19. 670. Bruy. 4. 365. Mariana, 5. 770.

[1] Sacras sedes et templa lenonibus et catamitis commissa. Virginibus olim dicata, plerisque in urbibus septa in meretricias fornices et obscoena latibula fuisse conversa. Spurcissimis voluptatibus et impendeant, et impendisse glorientur. Mirandula, in Rosco. 6. 68. La plupart des prelats n'ont presque plus ni religion, ni pudeur, ni modestie. La justice est changeé en brigandage, la pieté a presque degeneré en superstition; du vice on fait une vertu. Mirand. in Bruy. 4. 397.

Inferiores jam vacant maledictionibus et perjuriis, comessionibus et ebrietatibus, fornicationibus et adulteriis, ac aliis horrenis peccatis. Superiores vero student, nocte et die, circumvenire subditos suos omnibus modis quibus possunt, ut auferant eorum bona et inducant novas subtilitates, adinventiones, et exactiones. Fordun, XIV. 39.

order and insubordination; and age, impiety, and folly: while never had there, in all ranks, appeared less honor, virtue, modesty, and fear of God, or more licentiousness, abuse, and exorbitance of sensuality. The pastor was without vigilance. the preacher without works, the law without subjection, the people without obedience, the monk without devotion, the rich without humility, the female without compassion, the young without discipline, and every Christian without religion. The wicked were exalted and the good depressed. Virtue was despised, and vice, in its stead, reigned in the world. Usury, fraud, adultery, fornication, enmity, revenge, and blasphemy, enjoyed distinction; while worldly and perverse men, being encouraged and congratulated in their wickedness, boasted of their villany.[1]

The conclusion from these statements, has been drawn by Gerson, Madruccio, Cervino, Pole, and Monte. Gerson, in the council of Constance, represented, 'as ridiculous, the pretensions of a man to bind and to loose in heaven and in earth, who is guilty of simony, falsehood, exaction, pride, and fornication,' and, in one word, worse than a demon. A person of such a character, according to this authority, is unfit to exercise discipline: and much less therefore entitled to the attribute of infallibility. 'The Holy Spirit,' said Cardinal Mandruccio in the council of Trent, 'will not dwell in men who are vessels of impurity; and from such, therefore, no right judgment can be expected on questions of faith.' His speech, which was premeditated, met with no opposition from any in the assembly.

[1] Depravatos hominum mores, vitiorum omnium turpitudinem, sacramentorum despectus, solam curam terrenorum et caelestium bonorum; totiusque Christianæ pietatis oblivionem consideremus. In Divinis gratiis, in Christianis virtutibus, et devotione, et cæteris spiritualibus bonis, in dies magis semper deficere, et ad deteriora prolabi videantur. Nam ubi unquam tot fuerunt in saeculo, tribunalia, et minor justitia? Ubi unquam tot senatores et magistratus, et minor cura reipublicae? Ubi major pauperum multitudo, et minor divitum pietas? et ubi majores divitiæ, et pauciores fuerunt eleemosynae? Labb. 20. 1217—1219.

Taceo publica adulteria, stupra, rapinas. Praetereo tantam Christianae sanguinis effusionem, indebitas exactiones, vectagalia, gratis supuraddita, et innumeras hujus cemodi oppressiones. Præmitto etiam superbam vestium pompam, supervacaneos altra statut dicentium sumptus, ebrietates, crapulas, et enormes luxuriae fœditates, quales a sæculo non fuere. Quia nunquam fœmineus sexus lascivior et inverecundior, nunquam juventus effrænatior et indisciplinatior; et nunquam indevotior et insipientior senectus, atque, in summa, nunquam minor fuit in omnibus Dei timor, honestas, virtus, et modestia, et nunquam major in omni statu, carnis libertas, abusio, et exorbitantia. Nam quæ major in mundo, exorbitantia, et abusio excogitari potest quam pastor sine vigilantia, prædicator sine operibus, judex sine æquitate, leges sine observantia, populus sine obedientia, religiosus sine devotione, dives sine verecundia, mulier sine misericordia, juvenis sine disciplina, senex sine prudentia, et Christianus quisque sine religione. Boni opprimuntur, et impii exaltantur virtutes despiciuntur, et vitia, pro eis, in mundo regnant. Usuræ, frandes, adulteria, fornicationes, inimicitiae, vindictae, blasphemiae, et id genus reliqua, nota sunt; in quibus mundani et perversi homines, non solum excusantur, sed lætantur, cum malefecerint, et exultant in rebus pessimis. Labb. 20. 1219—1223.

Cervino, Pole, and Monte, presiding in the same synod with legantine authority, declared that the clergy, if they persevered in sin, 'would in vain call on the Holy Spirit.'[1] The idea, indeed, that such popes, councils, or church should be influenced by the Spirit of God, and exempted by this means from error, is an outrageous insult on all common sense.

No valid reason could be given why God, in his goodness to man, should confer doctrinal and withhold moral infallibility. Impeccability in duty is as valuable in itself, and as necessary for the perfection of the human character, as inerrability in faith. Holiness, in scriptural language, is enjoined on man with as unmitigated rigour as truth. Criminality, in manners, is, in Revelation, represented as equally hateful to God and detrimental to man, as mistake in judgment. The Deity is "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;" and "without holiness no man shall see the Lord."[2] Moral apostacy is, indeed, in many cases, more culpable than doctrinal error. The one is sometimes invincible; while the other is always voluntary. But no individual or society is gifted with impeccability, or has reason to claim infallibility. God does not keep man, either in a personal or collective capacity, from error in practice; and only presumption, therefore, will conclude, that he keeps any from misapprehension in belief or theory.

The moral impossibility of infallibility, without individual inspiration and the special interposition of heaven in each case, is as clear as its improbability or absurdity. God, by his extraordinary interference extended to each person, could, no doubt, preserve all men from error, and convey with undeviating certainty, a knowledge of the truth. His power of bestowing this perfection appeared in the Jewish prophets and Christian apostles. These communicated the will of God to men, under the Old and New Testament, without any liability to mistake. The Holy Spirit, in these instances, acted in a supernatural manner on each individual's mind; which, in consequence, became the certain channel of Divine truth, to the Jewish theocracy, and the Christian commonwealth.

But infallibility, though it may be conferred in an extraordinary or miraculous way by God to man, cannot be transferred by ordinary or common means from man to man. God could inspire men with a certain knowledge of his will; but these

[1] N'est ce pas une chose bien ridicule, qu' un homme simoniaque, avare, menteur, exacteur, fornicateur, superbe, fastueux, pire en un mot qu' un Demon, pretende avoir la puissance de lier et de delier dans le ciel et sur la terre. Gerson in Lenfan. 2. 288. Le Saint Esprit ne pouvoit habiter en nos vases, s'ils n'etoient purifez. Mandruccio, in Paol. 1. 227. Frustra invocemus Spiritum Sanctum. Labb. 20. 13.

[2] Habak. i. 13. Heb. xii. 14.

again could not inspire others with a certainty of understanding their oracles without any possibility of misapprehension. A person who is himself uninspired may misinterpret the dictates of inspiration. This liability to misapprehension was exemplified in both the Jewish and Christian revelations. Many Jews misunderstood the Jewish prophets. The misapplication of scriptural truth, at the advent of the Messiah, was so gross that they rejected his person and authority. The Christian apostles, prior to the effusion of the Spirit, mistook on several occasions, the clear language of Immanuel; and these apostolical heralds of the gospel, though afterwards guided into "all truth," have been misapprehended in many instances by the various denominations of Christendom.

Papal bulls and synodal canons, like the Jewish and Christian revelations, are liable to misconception by uninspired or fallible interpreters. Suppose infallibility to reside in the Pope. Suppose the pontiff, through divine illumination, to deliver the truth with unerring certainty, and, contrary to custom, with the utmost perspicuity. Admit that the pontifical bulls, spoken from the chair, are the fruits of divine influence and the declarations of heaven. Each of the clergy and laity, notwithstanding, even according to the popish system, is fallible. The patrons of infallibility, in a collective capacity, grant that the several individuals, taken separately, may err. Some of the clergy, therefore, may misunderstand and therefore misinterpret the Romish bulls to the people. But suppose each of the clergy, in his separate capacity, to understand and explain the pontiff's communications with the utmost precision and with certain exemption from error; the laity, nevertheless, if uninspired or fallible, may misapprehend the explanation of the clergy, and, in consequence, embrace heresy. The papal instructions, therefore, though true in themselves, may be perverted in their transmission through a fallible medium to the people.

Or suppose infallibility to reside in a council, and the synodal canons to declare the truth with the utmost certainty and without any possibility of mistake. The canons, when circulated through Christendom, are liable to misapprehension from some of the clergy or laity, if each is not inspired or infallible in his interpretation. An individual, who, according to popish principles, is not unerring, cannot be certain he has interpreted any synodal decision in its proper and right sense. A clergyman, if he mistake the meaning, will lead his flock astray. A layman, if fallible in apprehension, may misconceive the signification of any instruction issued either by synodal or papal authority. Each individual, in short, must be an infallible judge

of controversy, or, from misapprehension, he may be deceived, and there is an end to the infallibility of the church.

Many instances of the clergy as well as of the laity, mistaking the meaning of synodal definitions, might be adduced. Examples of this kind are afforded by the councils of Chalcedon and Trent, two of the most celebrated synods in the annals of the church. The council of Chalcedon, according to the general explanation, taught the belief of only two substances or natures, the human and the divine, in the Son of God. The fifteenth council of Toledo, notwithstanding, enumerated three substances in Immanuel, and quoted the Chalcedonian definition for its authority.[1] The Spanish clergy, therefore, and through them the Spanish people, put a wrong construction, according to the usual interpretation, on the general council of Chalcedon.

Contradictory explanations were also imposed on some of the Trentine canons, the last infallible assembly that blessed the world with its orthodoxy or cursed it with its nonsense. Soto, a Dominican, and Vega, a Franciscan, interpreted the decisions of the sixth session on original sin, grace, and justification, according to their several peculiar systems. Soto published three books on nature and grace, and Vega fifteen books on the same subject. Each of these productions was printed in 1548, and intended as a commentary on the canons of Trent. Their varying and often contradictory statements are both founded, the authors pretend, on the definitions of the universal council. This contrariety of opinion was not confined to Soto and Vega. The Trentine fathers were divided into several factions on the exposition of their own decisions.[2]

The same synod affords another example of the same kind. The council, in the sixth session, declared that ministerial intention, actual or virtual, is necessary to confer validity on a sacrament. This sentence, Contarinus opposed in the synod with warmth; and a year after, notwithstanding the perspicuity of the synodal definition, wrote a book to show that the Trentine assembly was of his opinion, and that their canon should be understood in his sense.[3]

Pontifical as well as synodal definitions have been misunderstood and subjected to contradictory interpretations. The bull Unigenitus, issued by Clement the Eleventh, affords an instance

[1] Ecce tres in una Christi persona substantias, secundum Chalcedonense concilium. Labb. 8. 13.

[2] Ces deux théologiens non seulement differassent de sentiment dans presque tous les articles, mais que dans plusieurs même, ils enseignassent une doctrine evidemment contraire. Paolo, 1. 430. Du Pin, 3. 446. Mem. Sur Predestin 172. Les autres en ont parlé avec la même diversité. Paolo. 1. 340.

[3] Un écrit pour prouver que le concile avoit été de son avis. Paolo, 1. 389. Morery, 2. 207.

of this kind. The French and Italians, the Jesuits and the Jansenists explained the papal constitution according to their several humours and prepossessions. The accommodating document, according to some, was pointed against the Thomists. but, according to others, against the abettors of Calvinism. Many maintained its obscurity, or candidly admitted their inability to understand this puzzle. The astonished pontiff, in the meantime, wondered at the people's blindness or perversity. Men, he was satisfied, must have lost their reason or shut their eyes, to become insensible to the dazzling light, which, clear as noonday, radiated from the bright emanation of his brain.[1] Popes and councils, in this manner, may be misrepresented, and their definitions, even if true in themselves as the dictates of heaven, are no infallible security against error in men who are liable to mistake their meaning. Each of the clergy and laity would require preternatural aid, to understand their instructions with certainty. Every individual, subject to error, may annex heterodox siginfications to the dictations of the sovereign pontiffs and general councils, as well as to the inspired volume. Very different opinions, accordingly, have been tortured from the synodical canons and the sacred penmen. Sound doctrine, both written and verbal, may be perverted by erroneous interpretation. Water, though clear in the fountain, may contract impurity as it flows through muddy channels to the reservoir. Truth in like manner, may be misrepresented or misunderstood in its transmission, in various ways and through diversified mediums, to the minds of men. The friend of protestantism, because fallible, may misinterpret revelation, and therefore is liable to mistake. The professor of Romanism, who is also fallible, may, it is plain, misunderstand the church and therefore fall into error. Infallibility, therefore, or the preservation of all, clergy and laity, from error, would require a continued miracle and personal inspiration, extended to every age and to every individual in the Christian commonwealth.

[1] La Bulle souffre les explanations les plus opposées. Apol. 2. 264.
A l'egard de la bulle de Clement XI. les uns l'entendent d' une façon et les autres de l' autre. On la tire comme on peut pour la faire plier à ses sentimens. etc Apol. 1. 131, 132.
Une bulle qui lui paroissoit plus claire que la jour. Apol. 1. 259

CHAPTER VI.

DEPOSITION OF KINGS.

FRENCH SYSTEM—ITALIAN SYSTEM—ORIGINAL STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH—PONTIFICAL ROYALTY—ATTEMPTS AT DEPOSITION OF KINGS—GREGORY AND LEO—ZACHARY AND CHILDERIC—CONTINENTAL DEPOSITIONS—GREGORY, CLEMENT, BONIFACE, AND JULIUS DETHRONE HENRY, LEWIS, PHILIP, AND LEWIS—BRITISH DEPOSITIONS—ADRIAN TRANSFERS IRELAND TO HENRY—INNOCENT, PAUL, AND PIUS, PRONOUNCE SENTENCE OF DEGRADATION AGAINST JOHN, HENRY, AND ELIZABETH—SYNODAL DEPOSITIONS—COUNCILS OF THE LATERAN, LYONS, VIENNA, PISA, CONSTANCE, BASIL, LATERAN, AND TRENT—MODERN OPINIONS—EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE French and Italian schools vary on the civil power of the Roman pontiff, as well as on his spiritual authority. The French deny his political or regal jurisdiction, except, perhaps in the ecclesiastical states of Italy, over which, in consequence of Pepin's donation, he has obtained dominion. Pontifical deposition of kings and domination through the nations of Christendom, the Cisalpines to a man hold in detestation.[1]

This system has been supported with great learning and ability by the French theologians; such as Gerson, Launoy, Almain, Marca, Maimbourg, Bossuet, and Du Pin. The Parisian parliament and university distinguished this view of the subject by their persevering and powerful advocacy. The Parisian senate, in 1610, proscribed Bellarmine's Treatise against Barclay, on the temporal power of the pope. The whole French clergy, in 1682, assembled at Paris, and recognized this as the belief of the Gallican church; and their decision has been embraced by the moderate and rational friends of Romanism through the several nations of Christendom.[2]

The Italians, and all who abet their slavish system, countenance the pope's political power, even beyond the papal regalia, and support his assumed authority over emperors and kings.

[1] Bell. i. 811. Maimb. 260. Du Pin, 433.
[2] Gibert, 2. 513. Maimb. c. 30. Anglad. 156. Thuan. 5. 241. Crotty, 70. Ita habet declaratio cleri Gallicani, Anno 1682, quam sequuntur plures exteri Dens 2, 164.

The Roman hierarch, according to this theory, presides by divine right in the state as well as in the church. He possesses authority to transfer kingdoms, dethrone sovereigns for heresy, and absolve their subjects from the oath of fidelity.[1]

The partizans of the Italian school are divided into two factions. One party allows the pope no direct power over the state or over kings. He is not, according to this theory, the lord of the whole world. He possesses no jurisdiction over the realms of paganism or infidelity. But he is vested with an indirect power over the temporal monarchs and the political institutions of Christendom. The supreme pontiff can, for the good of the church and the salvation of souls, enact and repeal civil laws, erect kingdoms, transfer thrones, depose emperors and kings, and rescind, by divine right and spiritual authority, the obligations of vassals to their sovereigns. This, Bellarmine represents as the common opinion of all the friends of Romanism. This system has been advocated by Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Carranza, Perron, Turrecrema, Pighius, Walden, Sanderus, Cajetan, and Vittoria. Many pontiffs, also, since the days of Gregory the Seventh, as well as several provincial and general councils, have patronized the same absurdity.[2]

A second faction vest the pontiff with still ampler prerogatives and greater power. These characterize the pope as the lord of the whole world, who presides, with divine and uncontrolled authority, over all the nations of Christendom and infidelity. His power, according to this system, is direct in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. He wields, at once, the temporal and spiritual swords. He is clothed with civil and ecclesiastical sovereignty, which places him above all earthly monarchs, whom he is authorised, in his unerring judgment and unlimited power, to degrade from their dignity and to remove from their dominions. This scheme has, with brazen effrontery, been maintained by many doctors and pontiffs, and, in general, by the Canonists and Jesuits. The last council of the Lateran, also, in some of its declarations and enactments, seem to have favoured the same monstrous theory.[3]

Christendom, on this topic, has witnessed four variations, and fluctuated through as many diversified periods. One period embraced a protracted lapse of about 700 years, from the era of our redemption till the accession of Gregory the Second. Chris-

[1] Bell. v. 1. Daniel, 4. 402. Maimb. 260. Dens, 2. 164.
[2] Bellarmin, V. 1. Maimbourg, c. 26. Caron, 31.
[3] Bell. 1. 820. Du Pin, 2, 523. Labb. 19, 726. Bin. 9. 112.
Omnem vim regiam omniumque rerum, quæ in terris sunt, potestatem et dominium datum esse Romano Pontifici jure Divino. Barclay, 7.
Canonistæ dicunt, papam directe dominium temporale totius orbis a Christo accepisse. Barclay, 95.

tians, during this time, all professed and practised unconditional loyalty. A period of dissension and rivalry, between the mitre and the diadem, between royalty and the papacy, then succeeded, continued nearly four hundred years, from Gregory the Second till Gregory the Seventh, and terminated in the defeat of regal sovereignty and the triumph of pontifical domination. The supremacy of the popedom and the debasement of kingly majesty, according to Lessius, an ultra advocate of Romanism, next ensued, and continued for a period of near five hundred years after Gregory, till the dawn of the Reformation, when the meridian splendour of papal glory began to decline. The fourth period, from the rise of Protestantism till the present day, comprehends about three hundred years, during which the pontifical pretensions have gradually receded, and the regal claims have revived. The first and third periods were distinguished for their unanimity: the former for the monarchy of kings, and the latter for the sovereignty of pontiffs. The second and fourth were days of contention between the church and the state, between the authority of popes, and the power of kings.

The church, for seven hundred years after its establishment, was distinguished for its loyalty and submission to the civil magistracy. The Christian commonwealth for more than three hundred years, from Jesus to Constantine, existed in poverty and without power or ostentation. Joseph and Jesus were humble artizans of Nazareth. The Son of Man, who came to pour contempt on human glory, had not where to lay his head. The original heralds of the gospel, apostles, evangelists, and pastors, were, like their master, void of worldly rank or influence. The voluntary oblations of the faithful were chiefly divided among this humble ministry, and the poor, the sick, the distressed, the aged, the stranger, the prisoner, the orphan, and the widow. The Christian society, indeed, during the reign of the heathen emperors, might, by concealment and connivance, possess some landed property. But these possessions were trifling and precarious; and, at the same time, liable to be seized by a rapacious magistracy.[1] The Roman Bishop, participating in the general indigence, and destitute of civil authority or worldly power, was subject to persecution and obscurity.

The situation of the church, at the accession of Constantine,

[1] Giannon, II. 8. Maimb. c. 27. John xvii. 16. Luke xii. 14. Rom. xiii. 1.
Il y avoit plus de sept cent ans, que la seule puissance spirituelle des clefs faisoit reverer la majesté du saint siege. Vertot, 1.
Jusque au regne du Grand Constantin, les successeurs de St. Pierre n'en avoient herité que ses chaines et des persecutions, souvent terminées par le martyre. Vertot, 2.

underwent an important change. The emperor, by the edict of Milan, gave legal security to the temporal possessions of the Christian republic. The Christians recovered their land forfeited under Diocesian, and obtained a title to all the property which they had enjoyed by the connivance of the Roman magistracy. A second edict, in 321, granted a liberty of bequeathing property to the church; while the emperor showed an example of liberality, and lavished wealth on the clergy with an unsparing hand.

The imperial munificence attracted many imitators, whose donations, during life and especially at the hour of death, flowed into the ecclesiastical treasury in copious streams. The women, in particular, displayed on the occasion the utmost profusion, The Roman matrons rivalled each other in this pecuniary devotion. The clergy, indeed, in this respect, prevailed so much with female credulity, that Valentinian was obliged to enact a law, forbidding monks or ecclesiastics to accept any donation or legacy from maids, matrons, orphans, or widows. Womanish simplicity, the emperor wished to prevent from being deluded by priestly policy.

The northern barbarians, who, had overrun the Roman empire, might indeed, be less enlightened; but they were even more lavish in their generosity. The adoration of Hessus, Odin, and Terasius, these rough warriors left in the fastnesses and forests of the north; but they retained, in a great measure, their barbarianism and superstition. The credulity and veneration of these hardy veterans for the hierarchy, seemed to invite imposture. Rapacious, but lavish; dissolute, but devotional, these proselyted sons of heathenism, poured torrents of wealth into the channels of the church.

The Roman Bishops, from Constantine to Pepin, enjoyed an exuberance of this liberality. The grandeur and opulence of the church in the imperial city, in a few years after Christianity obtained a legal establishment, became truly astonishing. Ammianus, a pagan, an impartial and a contemporary historian, has described the pontiff's affluence and ostentation. The hierarch enjoyed the stateliest chariots, the gayest attire, and the finest entertainments. He surpassed kings in splendour and magnificence. His luxury, pride, vanity, and sensuality formed a contrast to the provincial bishops, who approved themselves to the eternal God by their temperance, frugality, simplicity, plainness, and modesty.[1] Christianity, at this time, had been established by law only about fifty years. The Roman See, in

[1] Ammianus, XXVII, 3. Thomasin, III. 1. Giannon, IV. 12.
Les Papes, depuis l' empire du Grand Constantin, avoient aquis une grande consideration dans Rome et dans toute l' Italie. Vertot, 10.

that period, had emerged from obscurity, mounted to earthly grandeur, and obtained afterwards in the seventh century, an ample patrimony through Italy, France, and Africa.

But ambition is never satisfied; and his infallibility, surrounded with wealth and grandeur, affected royalty, and aspired to be numbered among kings. This dignity was bestowed on these viceroys of heaven by the French monarchs Pepin and Carolus. The Lombards, taking advantage of the seditions in Italy, occasioned by the imperial edicts of Leo and Constantine against image-worship, seized the Grecian provinces subject to the exarch of Ravenna. Astolf, king of Lombardy, elated with these new accessions to his dominions, formed the project of subduing the Roman city, its territory, and indeed all Italy. The city was summoned to acknowledge his sovereignty, and the sword of destruction was unsheathed to exact the penalty of disobedience. The Romans, in this emergency, solicited the interposition of Pepin, whose hand, in war or in friendship, was never lifted in vain. Actuated by the call of religion, policy, gratitude, and glory, the French monarch mustered an army, scaled the Alps, descended on the plains of Italy, marched on the capital, defeated the enemy, and compelled Astolf in 754, in a solemn treaty, to surrender Ravenna, Pentapolis, and the Roman dukedom, to the Roman pontiff and his sacerdotal successors.[1]

Astolf, however, on the departure of Pepin, retracted his engagement. Stephen again applied to Pepin; and personifying Peter himself, assured the French king, that dead in body, he was alive in spirit, and summoned the monarch to obey the founder and guardian of the Roman see. The virgin, the angels, the saints, the martyrs, and all the host of heaven, if credit may be attached to his holiness, urged the request and would reward the obligation. Victory and paradise, he promised, would crown the enterprise; while damnation would be the penalty of suffering his tomb, his temple, and his people, to fall into the possession of the enemy. These arguments, in the eighth century, could not fail. Pepin again crossed the Alps, and obliged Astolf to fulfil the violated treaty. Carolus, the son of Pepin, afterward confirmed the grant of his predecessor, consisting of Ravenna, Pentapolis, or the March of Ancona, and the Roman dukedom; and, according to the general opinion, added the duchy of Spoleto, completing, by this cession, the present circle of the ecclesiastical states, and forming an extensive territory in the midland region of Italy.[2]

[1] Labb. 8. 368, 370. Anastasius, 44. Giannon, V. 1. Vertot, 30, 41

[2] Bruy I. 562. Giannon, V. 4. et VI. 1. Labb. 8. 376. Vertot, 78.

Si vous voulez sauver vos âmes et vos corps du feu eternel, vous aurez ensuite la vie eternelle. Vertot, 54.

This splendid donation raised the pontiff to royalty. The world, for the first time, saw a bishop vested with the prerogatives of a prince and ranked among the sovereigns of the earth. His holiness added a temporal to a spiritual kingdom. The hierarch, in this manner, united principality to priesthood, the crown to the mitre, and the sceptre to the keys. The vicegerent of Jesus, who declared his kingdom not of this world and refused a diadem, grasped with avidity at regal honors and temporal dominion. Satan, said Passavan with equal truth and severity, tendered this earth and all its glory to Immanuel; but met with a peremptory rejection. The Devil afterward made the same overture to the pope, who accepted the offer with thanks, and with the annexed condition of worshipping the prince of darkness. The observation unites all the keenness of sarcasm, and the energy of truth.[1]

The Roman hierarchs, however, during these seven revolving ages, professed unqualified submission to the Roman emperors; and, though often persecuted, attempted neither anathemas nor deposition. Gelasius, Gregory, Agatho, and Leo, manifested obedience and even servility to the imperial authority. The persecuting emperors, for three hundred years after the era of redemption, experienced nothing but passive obedience from the Christian priesthood and people. Liberius and Damasus launched no anathemas against the Arian Constantius and Valens. Felix and Gelasius fulminated no excommunications against Zeno, who discountenanced Catholicism and favoured heresy. Julian, notwithstanding his apostacy, escaped pontifical degradation. Vitalian even honoured Constans, the patron of error, who banished Martin and tortured Maximus. Gregory little indeed to his credit, eulogized Phocas, the assassin of Mauricius and his helpless family.[2] The Gothic kings, notwithstanding their stratagems and invasion of the ecclesiastical patrimony, reigned without molestation in Italy.

The second period of papal pretension, which entered with Gregory the Second in the beginning of the eighth century, introduced dissension and rivalry between the Roman emperors and the Roman pontiffs, which lasted above three hundred years. The Popes advanced to the deposition of kings with slow and gradual, but firm and steady steps. Their first essay, in this hazardous enterprise, showed their usual caution. The wary hierarchs, began the career of ambition by using their spiritual authority, in the encouragement of subjects to rebel against their sovereigns. The prudent chiefs stimulated others to the depo-

[1] Du Pin, 279, 468. Caron. 114. Maimbourg, c. 29.
[2] Les Papes obeissoient alors à des rois, ou infideles ou Ariens Vertot, 3

sition of civil governors; but attempted nothing, in this perilous project, in their own name. Specimens of this kind, were afforded by Gregory and Zachary in France and Italy.

Gregory encouraged the Italians to rebel against Leo. The eastern emperor, in 726, issued an edict in favour of Iconoclasm. The Roman pontiff, in return, proceeded, according to the Greek historians Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Nicephorus, and Glycas, to excommunicate his Grecian majesty. The Greeks have been followed by the Transalpine Latins, Baronius, Bellarmine, Sigonius, Perron, and Allatius. Gregory's excommunication of Leo, however, has, with reason, been rejected by the critics of the French school, Launoy, Alexander, Marca, Bossuet, Giannon, Caron, and Du Pin. The event is unmentioned or opposed by Gregory, John Damascen, Paulus, Diaconius, Anastasius, and other Latin historians. The hierarch, however, fomented a revolt amongst the Romans, Venetians, Lombards, and other Italians. Subjects, his holiness taught, could not in conscience contribute taxes to a heretical prince. The people in consequence, rose in arms for the protection of the pontiff and the faith, disclaimed all fealty to the emperor, and refused to pay tribute.[1] Italy, in this manner, was, by papal treason severed from the eastern emperor.

Gregory's success encouraged Zachary. Childeric, the French king, was, in 751, deposed for inefficiency, and Pepin, mayor of the palace, crowned for his activity and achievements; and through the casuistry of Zachary, who occupied the Roman see, which was esteemed, in the eighth century, the seminary of all virtue and sanctity. The ultra partizans of Romanism maintain that the diadem was transferred from Childeric to Pepin by the pontiff's supremacy, and not by his casuistry. Eginhard, indeed, says Childeric was dethroned by the command of Zachary, and Pepin crowned by his authority.[2] Similar expressions have been used by Regino, Aimon, Marian, Sigebert, Otho, Æmilius, and Ado. Launoy, Caron, and Du Pin think that this phraseology signifies only the papal advice and recommendation. The Roman pontiff's authority, however, influenced the French nation, and decided the destiny of the French king, who was hurled from the throne and immured in a monastry. The Pope, also, dissolved the oath of fidelity, which Pepin and the French nation had taken to Childeric, and which, for the gratification of ambition, they had violated.[3]

[1] Ils ne pouvoient en conscience payer des tributes a un prince herétique. Vertot, 13. Giannon, II. 4. Bruy. I 520. Labb. 8. 163. Mezeray, 1. 198. Giannon, V. 1. Caron, 32. Du Pin, 508.

[2] Per auctoritatem Romani Pontificis. Eginhard, in Carol.—Papa mandavit Pipino. Regino, II. Mezeray, I. 209. Aimon, IV. 61.

[3] Zacharias omnes Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis absolvit. Caron, c. IX. Du Pin, 513

The third period, in the annals of papal deposition of emperors and kings, began with Gregory the Seventh, and lasted till the declension of the papacy at the commencement of the reformation. This protracted series of about five hundred years was marked by pontifical sovereignty and regal debasement. During this time, the Roman vicegerents of heaven, shining in meridian splendour and appearing in all their glory, continued, according to the dictates of interest or passion, to dethrone sovereigns, transfer kingdoms, and control the governments of the world. Each vicar-general of God in succession, with hardly any exception, proceeded, on his accession to the chair of the Galilean fisherman, to hurl his anathemas, issue his interdicts, and degrade kings. The history of these transactions would fill folios. A few continental examples may be supplied from the annals of Gregory, Clement, Boniface, and Julius, who deposed Henry, Lewis, Philip, and Lewis. A few British instances may be selected from the history of Adrian, Innocent, Paul, and Pius, in their treatment of Henry, John, Henry, and Elizabeth.

Gregory and Clement deposed Henry and Lewis, two German emperors; and Boniface and Julius degraded Philip and Lewis, two French kings. Gregory the Seventh, who succeeded to the papal throne in 1073, was, according to Otho, Panvinius, and the Leodian clergy, the first Pope, who, in the fury of ambition, attempted the degradation of civil potentates. I have often, says Otho, 'read the deeds of the Roman emperors, and never found any, prior to Henry, whom papal usurpation deprived of his kingdom or dignity.' Henry, says Panvinius, 'was the first whom pontifical ambition divested of his kingdom or empire.' Hildebrand, according to the Leodian clergy, 'first lifted the sacerdotal lance against the royal diadem.'[1] Similar statements have been made by Benno, Waltram, Trithemius, Gotofred, Cuspinian, Masson, Helmold, and Giannon.

Gregory had not only the honour of commencement in this field, but also of bringing the system to perfection. His infallibility excelled his predecessors and eclipsed all his successors in the noble art, which he had the glory to invent. His holiness pointed his sarcasms against the institution of regal government, as well as against its royal administration. The dignity itself, his infallibility declared, 'was the invention of laymen who were unacquainted with God. Monarchy, which he represented as a stratagem of Satan and ushered into the

[1] Hildebrandus primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regis. Crabb. 2. 814. Du Pin. 476 Caron. 90 Milletot, 524.

world by infernal agency, reigns over men, his holiness discovered, in blind ambition and intolerable presumption and in the perpetration of rapine, pride, perfidy, homicide, and every atrocity. Kings, who are void of religion, Gregory characterized as 'the body and members of the Devil.'[1] Sovereigns, accordingly, he treated as his vassals. The necks of all, he alleged, should submit to the clergy, and much more to the hierarch, whom the supreme Divinity had appointed to preside over the clergy. He degraded Basilas the Polish king, and Nicephorus the Grecian emperor. The viceroy of Heaven, in the wantonness of ambition and fury, menanced the French and English sovereigns, and, indeed, all the European potentates with degradation.

But Gregory's treatment of Henry, the emperor, affords the most striking display of his tyranny. This denunciation was issued in two Roman councils, and presents the most frightful combination of dissimulation, blasphemy, arrogance, folly, superstition, and fury that ever outraged reason or insulted man. The papacy he represented as forced on his acceptance, and received with sighs and tears; though ambition, it is well known, was the ruling passion of his soul. He forced his way, in the general opinion, to the papal throne through murder and perfidy, and certainly by hasty and hypocritical machinations. Henry and his partizans, he denominated 'wild beasts and members of the Devil.' Assuming the authority of Almighty God even in an act of enormity, this plenipotentiary of heaven proceeded 'for the honour and protection of the church, to depose Henry from the government of Germany and Italy, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' The sentence was accompanied with shocking execrations. His holiness, 'relying on the divine mercy, cursed the emperor by the authority of the Almighty, with whom he joined Jesus, Peter, Paul, and Lady Mary the mother of God.' Henry's subjects, Gregory absolved from the oath of fidelity, and transferred his dominions to Rodolphus, to whom he granted the pardon of all sin, and apostolic benediction in time and eternity. A Roman council of one hundred and ten bishops, in which Gregory presided, urged their head, by their importunity, to pass this sentence, which was afterwards confirmed by Victor, Urban, Pascal, Gelasius, and Calixtus in the synods of Beneventum, Placentia, Rome, Colonia, and Rheims.[2]

[1] Dignitas a sæcularibus etiam Deum ignorantibus inventa. Mundi principe diabolo videlicet agitante. Labb. 12. 409.—Membra sunt Dæmonum. Illi Diaboli corpus sunt. Labb. 12. 501.—Membra diaboli consurrexere, et manus suas in me conjectere. Platin. 152. Daniel, 3, 106.

[2] Labb. 12, 599, 600, 639. Platina, 152. Giannon, X. 5. Alex. 18, 295, 338.

His infallibility's curse, however, did not consume Henry, nor did his blessing preserve Rodolphus. His apostolic benediction, which he pronounced on Rodolphus, was of little use in time, whatever it might effect in eternity. The usurper fell in battle against the emperor.[1] Holding up his hand, which had been wounded in the engagement, to his captains, 'you see,' said the dying warrior, 'this hand with which I swore allegiance to Henry. But Gregory induced me to break my oath and usurp an unmerited honour. I have received this mortal wound in the hand, with which I violated my obligation.' That martyr of ambition, treason, perjury, and pontifical domination made this confession and expired.

Many of the Italian, German, and French prelacy in the mean time, supported Henry against Gregory. The emperor mustered a party, and summoned the councils of Worms, Mentz, and Brescia against the pontiff. The council of Worms accused his holiness of perjury, innovation, and too great familiarity with the Countess Matilda. The synod of Brescia deposed the head of the church, for simony, perjury, sacrilege, obstinacy, perverseness, scandal, sorcery, necromancy, infidelity, heresy, and Berengarianism.[2] Henry, in this manner, enjoyed the sweets of evangelical retaliation, and returned, according to the old law, a tooth for a tooth, or deposition for deposition,

Clement deposed the Emperor Lewis, as Gregory had degraded the Emperor Henry. Lewis indeed was excommunicated by the pontiffs John, Benedict, and Clement. The emperor, on his election, had not submitted to be crowned by the pope, or plastered with the hierarch's holy oil. John the Twenty-second, therefore, according to custom, excommunicated Lewis. The pope fulminated red-hot anathemas and execrations against the emperor, as a patron of schism and heresy. Benedict confirmed John's sentence, and divested Lewis of the imperial dignity, which, according to his infallibility, devolved on the pontiff as the viceroy of heaven. Clement the Sixth degraded Lewis in 1344, and ordered the election of another emperor.[3]

Lewis, however, though excommunicated and cursed, protested against the papal sentence, and appealed to a general council. He declared that the imperial dignity, with which he was vested by election, depended on God and not on the pontiff, who possessed no authority in temporals. He even retorted John's deposition, and raised Nicholas, in opposition, to the pontifical throne. The emperor, in his hostility to the refractory pontiffs, was supported by the German electors. His

[1] Helmold, c. 29. Albert ad Ann. 1080. Giannon, X. 5. Ocquille, 415.
[2] Caron, 126. Du Pin, 2, 216, 217. Giannon, X. 5.
[3] Labb. 15, 148, 419. Du Pin, 552. Dun. 4. 55. Caron. 3C

majesty also consulted the universities of Germany, France, and Italy, especially those of Bononia and Paris, on the lawfulness and validity of the papal denunciations. These all agreed that the acts and enactments of John against Lewis were contrary to Christian simplicity and divine philosophy.[1]

Boniface and Julius deposed Philip and Lewis, French kings, as Gregory and Clement had degraded Henry and Lewis, German emperors. Boniface was a man of profound capacity, and of extensive information in the civil and canon law. Ambition was the ruling passion of his soul; and seemed, in him, to be without any bounds or limits. He hurled his anathemas in every direction against all who opposed the mad projects of his measureless ambition. Philip the Fair, the French king, who withstood his usurpations, was, in consequence, visited by the papal denunciations. Boniface, in proper form and with due solemnity, excommunicated the king, interdicted his kingdom, freed his subjects from their allegiance, and declared the government of the French nation to have devolved on the Roman pontiff.[2]

The French king and nation, however, refused to acquiesce in the pontiff's decision or submit to his temporal authority. Boniface declared that Philip was subject to the holy see in temporals as well as in spirituals; and that the contrary was heresy. Philip replied, that he was subject to none in temporals; and that the contrary was madness. The prince, on this occasion, addressed the pontiff, not as his holiness, but as his foolishness. The Parisian parliament burnt the papal bulls. The French, consisting of the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy convened by the king, rejected his claims and confirmed their civil and ecclesiastical immunity. The vicar-general of God was assailed in turn, and found guilty of simony, murder, usury, incest, adultery, heresy, and atheism. The majesty of the Church, says Mariana, 'was, by an unprecedented atrocity, violated in the person of the pope.'[3] His infallibility, maddened by the outrage, died of grief and desperation.

Julius excommunicated Lewis, as Boniface had anathematized Philip. His supremacy, in 1510 and in due and proper form, deposed the king, interdicted the nation, rescinded the people's oath of fealty, and transferred the kingdom to any successful invader. He anathematized the Gallican clergy, the

[1] Acta et dogmata Joannis adversus Caesarem, Christianae simplicitati et Divinis philosophiis repugnare. Aventinus, VII. Caron, 44. Du Pin, 2, 502.

[2] Labb. 14. 1222. Dan. 4. 380. Marian. 3. 306. Du Pin, 560. Mezeray, 2, 778.

[3] Par un attentat inoui, la majesté de l'eglise fut violé en la personne du Pape Boniface VIII Mariana, 3, 304. Du Pin, 2, 490.

council of Pisa, Milan, and Lyons, and all the sovereigns who should aid the French monarch. Lewis, though a man of honour and piety, the plenipotentiary of heaven accursed in dreadful anathemas and imprecations. The king of Navarre, the French sovereign's ally, his holiness honoured with similar compliments and benedictions, and his kingdoms with equal tokens of pontifical charity and benevolence.[1]

Lewis withstood Julius, as Philip had resisted Boniface. He convoked a general assembly of the French clergy at Tours, which established the nullity of unjust excommunications, the right of repelling pontifical usurpation, and the lawfulness of withdrawing obedience, in case of aggression, from the Roman see. Patronized by his most Christian majesty, the council of Pisa, afterwards translated to Milan and Lyons, convicted his holiness of perjury, schism, incorrigibility, and obduracy, and suspended him from the administration of the papacy; and his suspension, in the French nation, was authorised by the French king and government.[2]

These are a few specimens of continental depositions. But the Roman pontiffs also extended their usurpations to the British islands, and assumed the sovereignty of England and Ireland. Adrian transferred Ireland to Henry; while Innocent, Paul, and Pius deposed John, Henry, and Elizabeth.

Adrian the Fourth, who arrogated the power of transferring kingdoms, was a striking example of the vicissitudes of human life, and the presumption of many who rise from penury to power. Born in England, and the child of indigence and obscurity, he was subject, in early life, to all the hardships which march in the train of poverty. He lived in an English abbey, spent his juvenile days in drudgery, and subsisted, during his youth, on alms supplied by the cold hand of charity. Elevated in the revolution of human affairs, to the pontifical dignity, he displayed all the arrogance which often attends a sudden transition from meanness to celebrity. He compelled the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa to officiate as his equerry. His imperial majesty, in the sight of all his army, had the honour of holding the stirrup for his pontifical holiness.[3] His infallibility, also, as the viceroy of heaven, bestowed Ireland on Henry the Second, king of England. Henry's petition on the occasion and Adrian's grant are the two completest specimens of hypocrisy and the two foulest perversions of religion, to cloke ambition and

[1] Labb. 19. 536. Daniel, 7. 5. Marism, 5, 710, 711, 749, 787.
[2] Du Pin, 284. Caron. 184. Labb. 19, 558. Daniel, 7, 214.
[3] Morery, 1. 130. Il fut resolvé que Frédéric feroit la fonction d'ecuyer auprés du Pape. Bruys, 3. 21.

avarice, the love of power and money, that the annals of nations afford.

Henry, in 1155, despatched messengers to Adrian, requesting his infallibility's permission to invade Ireland. His design, the English sovereign pretended, was to exterminate the seeds of immorality, and turn the brutal Irish, who were Christians only in name, to the faith and to the way of truth.[1] Adrian's reply was complaisant, and fraud with the grossest dissimulation and ambition. He pronounced his apostolic benediction on Henry, whom he styled his dearest son, who, on account of his resolution to conquer Ireland, would obtain glory on earth and felicity in heaven. Fame and heaven, in the apostolic manifesto, were to be the recompense of bloodshed and usurpation. The reduction of Ireland and the murder of its inhabitants, his holiness represented as the means of enlarging the bounds of the church, teaching the truths of Christianity to a barbarous and unlettered people, and eradicating the tares of vice from the garden of God. All this, in his infallibility's statement, would tend to the honour of God and the salvation of souls. His holiness, anxious in this manner for the salvation of men, was also mindful of another important consideration. He had the recollection to stipulate for peter-pence, which was an annual tax from each family.[2] This fruit of Henry's military mission, which Adrian repeats in his apostolic bull, seems to have been congenial with his infallibility's devotion, and gratifying, in a particular manner, to his pontifical piety. The pontiff, like a holy humble successor of the Galilean fisherman, reminds the English monarch of his right to bestow Ireland on Henry. This island, his infallibility discovered, and all others which have been enlightened by the sun of righteousness and shown evidence of their Christianity, belong to the Roman pontiff. Adrian, who, it appears, had a respectable domain, considered Henry's application for apostolic sanction to his expedition, as an earnest of victory. Adrian's bull was confirmed by Alexander the Third. The Irish clergy also met at Waterford, submitted to the papal dictation, and took an oath of fidelity to Henry and his successors.

Mageoghegan and Caron, the friends of Romanism, have both condemned the bull of Adrian, which transferred Ireland to Henry.[3] Adrian's sentence, says Mageoghegan, 'violated

[1] Homines illos bestiales ad fidem et viam reducere veritatis. Paris, 91.

[2] De singulis domibus, annuam unius denarii Beato Petro velle solvere pensionem. Labb. 13. 14, 15. Mageogh. 1. 439, et 2. 12. Spon. 1152. III.

Ut . . . quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinent animarum taliter ordinentur, et a Deo sempiternæ mercedis fructum consequi mereamur. Trivettus Ann. 1155. Duchery, 3. 151.

[3] Mageogh 1. 440. Caron, c. 13.

the rights of nations and the most sacred laws of men, under the specious pretext of religion and reformation. Ireland was blotted from the map of nations and consigned to the loss of freedom, without a tribunal and without a crime.' The historian represents Henry, who undertook to reform the brutal Irish, 'as a man of perfidy, superstition, selfishness, and debauchery, and void of gratitude, goodness, and religion.' Adrian's bull, says Caron, 'proclaims the author a tyrant and a transgressor of the law of nations and equity.'

Innocent divested John of England, as Adrian had vested Henry with Ireland. Innocent the Third, says Orleans, might boast of striking nearly all the crowned heads with anathemas. The Roman pontiff opened the campaign against the British sovereign by a national interdict. This, which he published in 1208, presents to the eye of superstition an awful spectacle. All the institutions of religion were suspended, except Baptism, Confession, and the Viaticum in the last extremity. The churches were closed. The images of the saints were laid on the ground, and the bells ceased to toll. The dead, borne from the towns, were, without ceremony or funeral solemnity, deposited in pits or buried, like dogs, in the highways.[1]

The interdict being found ineffectual, John, in 1209, was excommunicated. All were forbidden to hold any communication with the king at table, in council, or even in conversation. His deposition followed in 1212. Innocent, in a consistory of the sacred college, and in accordance with their unanimous advice, declared John's dethronement, the recision of his people's oath of allegiance, and the transfer of the kingdom to Philip the French monarch. The English sovereign was denounced as the public enemy of God.[2] The French king was encouraged to take possession of the English realm. His holiness exhorted all Christians in the British and French States to rally round the standard of Philip; and offered a pardon of all sin as an inducement to engage in the holy expedition. He granted the soldiery of the pious enterprise the same remission as the pilgrims who visited the sacred sepulchre, or the crusaders who marched for the recovery of the holy land. The British nobility and people were invited to rebellion; and 'the English barons rejoiced in being freed from the obligation of fidelity.'[3] Philip's piety and ambition were kindled by the prospect of obtaining

[1] Corpora quoque defunctorum de civitatibus et villis efferebantur, et more canum, in bivilis et fossatis sine orationibus et sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur. M. Paris, 217. Polyd. Virg. 271. Orleans, 1. 118.

[2] Tanquam Dei publicum hostem persequantur. Poly. Virgil. XV. Orleans, 1. 119.

[3] Les Seigneurs ravis de se voir absous de leur serment de fidelité. Dan. 2. 552, 554.

the expiation of sin, and the possession of a kingdom. He mustered an army, equipped a fleet of one hundred sail, and only waited a favouring gale to swell the canvass and waft his army to the British shores.

The thunder of the Vatican, the disaffection of the English, and especially the armament of the French king, alarmed the British sovereign and shook his resolution. He submitted to all the despotic demands of the pontiff. British independence struck to Roman tyranny. John, in an assembly of the English nobility and clergy, took the crown from his head, delivered it, in token of subjection, to Pandolphus the pope's Nuncio, from whom the king condescended to receive this emblem of royality.[1] The monarch confirmed his submission with an oath. These transactions completed the degradation of majesty. This important day witnessed the debasement of the British sovereign, and the vassalage of the British nation. Pandolphus, in consequence, who was vested with legatine authority, countermanded Philip's expedition. Philip had only been the tool of Innocent's despotism; and his agency, when John submitted, became unnecessary.

Paul the Third, in 1535, issued sentence of deposition against Henry the Eighth, in retaliation for the British sovereign's rejection of the pontifical authority. Henry, indeed, according to Mageoghegan and Du Pin, 'was guilty, not of heresy, but merely of schism. He changed nothing in the faith. His majesty, without any discrimination, persecuted the partizans of popery and protestantism. The Reformation indeed, in England, had not appeared under Henry. This Revolution was reserved for the following reign.'[2] But Henry withdrew from the papal jurisdiction, and, in consequence, was exposed to papal execration. Paul excommunicated and deposed Henry, interdicted the nation, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. He transferred the kingdom to any successful invader, and prohibited all communication with the English monarch. He deprived the king of Christian burial, and consigned the sovereign, and his friends, accomplices, and adherents to anathemas, maledictions, and everlasting destruction. 'Paul,' says Paolo, 'excommunicated, anathematized, cursed, and condemned Henry to eternal damnation.'[3] He stigmatized his

[1] Diadema capiti ademptum Pandolpho legato tradit, nunquam id ipse aut hæredes accepturi, nisi a Pontifice Romano. Polydorus Virgilius, 273. M. Paris, 227. Daniel 3. 556. Orleans, 1. 121. Concedimus Deo et nostro Papæ Innocentio ejusque successoribus totum regnum Angliæ et totum regnum Hiberniæ, pro redemptione peccatorum nostrorum. Trivettus, Am. 1213. Dachery, 3. 183

[2] La reforme ne s'etoit pas encore montrée à decouvert sous Henri VIII. Cette revolution etoit reservée au regne suivant. Le Roi n'etoit que schismatique. Mageoghegan, 2. 310.—Nihil quidem in fide mutans. Du Pin, 568.

[3] Eos anathematis, maledictionis, et damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

posterity by Queen Anna, with illegitimacy and incapacity of succession to the crown; while he delivered his partizans to slavery.

The English clergy, his holiness commanded to leave the kingdom, and admonished the nobility to arm in rebellion against the king. He annulled every treaty between Henry and other princes. He enjoined the clergy to publish the excommunication; and, with the standard of the cross, to ring the bells on the occasion, and then extinguish the candles. All who opposed, according to his infallibility, 'incurred the indignation of Almighty God, and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.'

Pius deposed Elizabeth, as Innocent and Paul had degraded John and Henry. His holiness, in 1570, 'anathematized her majesty as a professor and patron of heresy, despoiled the English queen of all dominion and dignity, and freed the British nation from all subjection and fidelity.' His infallibility's imprecations, according to Gabutius, took effect on the British sovereign. 'The queen of England,' says the historian of Pius the Fifth, 'exchanged, in 1603, an impious life for eternal death.'[1]

The Roman pontiff also intrigued for the temporal destruction of the English queen, whom he had excommunicated. This, he attempted by rebellion and invasion, and through the agency of Rodolpho and the Spanish king. Rodolpho, a Florentine merchant who resided at London, employed, in his zeal for Romanism, a variety of stratagems for exciting an insurrection in England. Many partizans of popery and some nominal friends of protestantism, actuated by ambition or a desire of innovation, entered into the conspiracy. This, according to Gabutius, 'was an evidence of their piety.' The majority of the nobility, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, engaged, through the activity of Rodolpho, in this combination for an insurrection.[2] The rebels were to be supported by a Spanish army of

Cherub. 2. 704. Il avoit excommunié, anathematisé, maudit, condamné à la damnation externello. Paol. 1. 166. Labb. 19. 1203. Mageogh. 2. 310. Du Pin, 568. Alex. 93. 174. Paulus, III. Henricum regno ac dominiis omnibus privatum denunciat, and loca omnia, in quibus rex fuerit, ecclesiastico subjicit interdicto. Henrici vassallos and subditos a juramento fidelitatis absolvit. Alex. 24. 420.

[1] Ipsam Angloe regno omnique alio dominio dignitate, privilegio, privatum declaravit, omnesque ac singulos ejus subditos a juramento fidelitatis absolvit, latos in eos qui illius legibus and mandatis parerent anathemate: quam constitutionem, Gregorius XIII, and Sixtus V. innovarunt and confirmarunt. Alex. 24. 435. Mageogh. 3. 412, 413. Impiam vitam cum sempiterna morte commutaverit. Gabutius, 102. Mageogh. 3. 409. Thuan. 2. 770.

[2] Incolarum animos ad Elisabethae perditionem, rebellione facta, commoveret. Anglorum in Elisabetham pie conspirantium studia foveret. Rodulfus negotium eo perduxit, ut pars major optimatum in Elisabetham conspiraret. Gabut. 103.

10,000 men from the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of Alva. But the vigilance of Cecil, Elizabeth's Secretary, frustrated the machinations of Rodolpho and Alva.

The designs of Pius were afterward pursued by Gregory, Sixtus, and Clement. Gregory the Thirteenth, in 1580, sent his apostolic benediction to the Irish rebels, who, according to his infallibility, were, in the war with the English, fighting against the friends of heresy and the enemies of God. The pontiff accompanied this benediction to the Irish army with a plenary pardon of all sins, as to the crusaders who marched for the recovery of the Holy Land. He supported his benediction and remission with a levy of 2000 men raised in the Ecclesiastical states. Sixtus the Fifth also fulminated anathemas and deposition against Elizabeth; and urged Spain to second his maledictions by military expeditions to Ireland. Clement the Eighth, in 1600, loaded Oviedo and La Cerda, whom Philip the Spanish king had despatched to Ireland, with crusading indulgences to all who would arm in defence of the faith.

The Spanish king, induced by the Roman pontiff, sent two expeditions to Ireland, under Lerda and Aquilla, with arms ammunition, men, and money. The university of Salamanca in the mean time, as well as that of Valladolid, celebrated for learning and Catholicism, deliberated, in 1603, on the lawfulness of the war waged by the Irish against the English. The Salamancan theologians, after mature consideration, decided in favour of its legality, and of supporting the army of the faith under the command of O'Neal, prince of Tyrone, against the queen of England. The learned doctors, at the same time determined against the lawfulness of resisting O'Neal, who was the defender of Catholicism against heresy, The warriors of the faith, according to the Spanish university, were sowing righteousness and would reap an eternal recompense: while those who supported the English committed a mortal sin, and would suffer, if they persisted, the reward of iniquity. This sentence proceeded on the principle, which the Salamancans assumed as certain, that the Roman pontiff had a right to use the secular arm against the deserters of the faith and the impugners of Catholicism.[2] The university of Valladolid agreed with that of Salamanca; and both, on the occasion, differed from their modern reply in 1778 to Pitt the British statesman.

The Roman pontiffs, in these and various other instances,

[1] Mageogh. 3. 437, 542, 549. Thuan. 4. 531.

[2] Magno cum merito et spe maxima retributionis æternæ. Mageogh. 3. 595. Stafford, 285. Tanquam certum est accipiendum, posse Romanum Pontificem fidei desertores, et eos, qui Catholicam religionem oppugnant, armis compellere.—Mageogh. 3 595. Slevin, 193.

shewed, in practical illustration, their assumption of temporal authority. But these viceroys of heaven also taught what they practised; and inculcated the theory in their bulls, as well as the execution in fact. The partizans of the French system indeed have, with the assistance of shuffling and sophistry, endeavoured to explain this principle out of the pontifical decretals. Doctor Slevin, in the Maynooth examination, has, on this topic, exhibited a world of quibbling, chicanery, and Jesuitism. The learned doctor, with admirable dexterity, plays the artillery of misrepresentation and hair-breadth distinctions. He maintains that no pope, speaking from the chair, ever proposed this doctrine to the church, to be believed as revealed and held as an article of faith. Doctor Higgins, on the same occasion, and with more candour and dogmatism than Slevin, asserted, that no pontiff defined for the belief of the faithful, that the pontifical power of dethroning kings was founded on divine right.[1] These misrepresentations and evasions, however, will vanish before a plain unvarnished statement of facts. These facts may be supplied from the bulls and definitions of Gregory, Boniface, Paul, Pius, and Sixtus.

Gregory taught the principle of the dethronement of kings, with as much decision and in as unequivocal a manner as he wielded the exercise. His infallibility, in a Roman council in 1076, decreed, that the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth, which extended to temporals as well as to spirituals, and by which he deposed the emperor Henry, was given to the pontiff by God. Gregory, in consequence, degraded his imperial majesty in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The sentence, he pronounced in council, and therefore in an official capacity. He acted, he declared, by the authority of God, and therefore by divine right.[2]

Gregory afterwards vindicated his conduct in a letter to Herman, who requested information on this subject. The act, he said, 'was warranted by many certain scriptural proofs,' and quoted, as a specimen, the words of Jesus conferring the power of the keys. He represented, 'the Holy Fathers as agreeing in his favour with one spirit and with one voice.' The contrary opinion his holiness called madness, fatuity, impudence, and idolatry. Those who opposed, he styled wild beasts, the body of Satan, and members of the devil and antichrist.[3] Philip the

[1] Slavin, 189. Higgins, 275.

[2] Labb. 12. 496, 498, 660, 637, 638, 639. Duran. 1. 46.

[3] Hujus rei, tam multa et certissima documenta in sacrarum scripturarum paginis reperiuntur. Greg. ad Herm. Matt. xvi. 16.

Sancti patres in hoc consentientes, et quasi uno spiritu, et una voce concordantes. Labb. 12. 498.—Contra illorum insaniam, qui nefando ore garriunt.—Pro magna fatuitate. Scelus idololatriæ incurrunt. Labb. 12. 380. 497, 498.

French monarch, whose soul and kingdom, Gregory affirmed, were in the pontiff's power, his holiness denominated a ravening wolf, an iniquitous tyrant, and the enemy of God, religion, and the holy church.'[1]

Boniface followed the footsteps of Gregory. The Roman pontiff, says Boniface in his bull against Philip, 'wields, according to the words of the Gospel, two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. He who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of the pope, misunderstands the words of our Lord.' His infallibility applies to the pope, the language of Jeremiah, "I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms." This power, continues his holiness, 'is not human, but rather divine, and was conferred by divine authority on Peter for himself and his successors. He, therefore, who resists this power, resists the institution of God. The subjection of all men to the Roman pontiff is wholly necessary for salvation. All this the pontiff declared, asserted, pronounced, and defined.[2]

Gibert, Maimbourg, and Caron admit that the pontiff, in these words, defines the pope's temporal power from the chair, and proposes it, as an article of faith, to the whole church. According to Gibert, 'Boniface defined that the earthly is subject to the spiritual power, so that the former may, by the latter, be constituted and overthrown.' 'Boniface,' says Maimbourg, 'proposed the pontifical sovereignty over all earthly kingdoms, in temporals as well as in spirituals, to all as an article of faith necessary for salvation.' 'Boniface,' according to Caron, 'defined from the chair, that the French king was subject to the Roman pontiff in temporals as in spirituals.' Durand, accordingly, states, agreeably to the canon law, that 'the pontiff by the commission of God, wields both the temporal and spiritual swords.'[3]

Paul and Pius, in their bulls against Henry and Elizabeth, represented themselves as 'the vicegerents of God, who gave

Hac fera bestia. Plat. in Greg.—Illi diaboli corpus sunt,—Membra diaboli, Membra sunt Antichristi. Labb. 12. 501, 637.

[1] In ejus potestate est, tuum regnum et anima tua. Lupus rapax, tyrannus iniquus. Dei et religionis, sanctæ ecclesiæ inimicus. Greg. ad Phil.

[2] In hac ejus potestate, duos esse Gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Uterque, ergo, est in potestate ecclesiæ. Qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Dominis constitui te hodie super gentes et regna. Ore Divino Petro data, sibique, suisque successoribus. Quicunque, igitur, huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatæ resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Extrav. Comm. I. 8. 1.

[3] Bonifacius VIII. definit, terrenam potestatem spirituali ita subdi, ut illa possit ab ista institui et destitui. Gibert, 2. 513.

Boniface propose à tous les fidelles, comme un article de foi, dont la creance est necessaire a salut. Maimburg, 129.

Definit hic Pontifex ex Cathedra. Caron. c. II.—Papa utrumque gladium habet, scilicet, temporalem et spiritualem, ex commissione Dei. Duran. 1. 51

the pontiffs the sovereignty above kings, and set them, in the language of Jeremiah, "over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build and to plant." Sixtus, also, in his bull against Henry of Navarre, boasted of 'the immense power of the eternal king conferred on Peter and his successors, who in consequence could, not by human but divine institution, cast from their thrones the most powerful monarchs as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer.'[1] These are a few specimens of the temporal authority which the Roman viceroys of heaven assumed over earthly kings.

These insults on royalty were not the mere acts of the Roman pontiffs. Pontifical deposition of kings was sanctioned by eight general, holy, apostolic, Roman councils. These were the councils of the Lateran, Lyons, Vienna, Pisa, Constance, Basil, Lateran, and Trent.

The fourth council of the Lateran, in its third canon, enacted formal regulations for the dethronement of refractory kings. The offending sovereign, according to these regulations, 'is first to be excommunicated by his metropolitan and suffragans; and, if he should afterward persist in his contumacy for a year, the Roman pontiff, the vicegerent of God, is empowered to degrade the obstinate monarch, absolve his subjects from their fealty, and transfer his dominions to any adventurer, who may invade his territory and become the champion of Catholicism.'[2] This assembly consisted of about 1300 members. The Greek and the Roman emperors attended, and many other sovereigns in person or by their ambassadors. All these potentates, in the true spirit of servility and superstition, consented, under certain conditions, to degradation by his Roman supremacy. This enactment was indeed the debasement of majesty.

The general council of Lyons pronounced sentence of deposition against Frederic the Second. This emperor was the object of many papal denunciations, and was cursed by Honorius, Gregory, and Innocent. Honorius anathematized and deposed Frederic, and freed his subjects from their oath of fidelity. Gregory the Ninth, says Heinricius and Du Pin, 'proclaimed a holy war against Frederic, and cursed him with all possible

[1] Cherub. 2. 704. Jerem. I. 10. Mageogh. 3. 409. Thuan. 4. 301.
Sixtus dixit, se supremam in omnes reges et principes universæ terræ, cunctosque populos, gentes, et nationes, non humana sed Divina institutione sibi traditam potestatem obtinere. Barclay, 101. c. 13. Regna et principatus, cui et quando voluerit, dare vel auferre possit. Barclay, 7.

[2] Vassalos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos, et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam possideant. Binius, 8. 807. Labb. 13. 883. Alex. 21. 599. Du Pin, 571.

solemnity."[1] 'His holiness,' says Paris, 'consigned his majesty to the devil for destruction.'[2] His infallibility's sentence, indeed, is a beautiful and perfect specimen of pontifical execration. His holiness, seven times in succession and nearly in a breath, excommunicated and anathematized his imperial majesty, 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The emperor however, did not take all the hierarch's kindness and compliments for nothing. His majesty, in return and in the overflowings of gratitude to his benefactor, called his holiness, 'Balaam, Antichrist, the Prince of darkness, and the great dragon that deceives the nations.'[3]

Innocent the Fourth, in 1245, in the general council of Lyons, repeated this sentence of degradation. His infallibility's denunciation, on the occasion, was a master-piece of abuse and imprecation. The pontiff compared the emperor, 'to Pharaoh and to a serpent, and accused his majesty of iniquity, sacrilege, treachery, profaneness, perjury, assassination, adultery, schism, heresy, and church-robbery.' Having in these polite and flattering terms characterized his sovereign as an emissary of Satan, his holiness proceeded, without hesitation and in the language of blasphemy, to represent himself, as 'the vicegerent of God, to whom, in the person of Peter, was committed the power of binding and loosing, and who therefore possessed authority over emperors and kings.' The emperor's dethronement being pronounced by the viceroy of heaven, was, according to his infallibility, 'from God himself.'[4] His denunciations, hurling Frederic from all honour and dignity, his supremacy thundered in full council, and with such vociferation and fury, that he filled the whole audience with astonishment and dismay. The emperor's vassals, absolved from all fealty, his holiness prohibited, by apostolic authority and on pain of excommunication, to obey Frederic, or to lend the fallen monarch any aid or favour.

This sentence was pronounced 'in full synod, after mature and diligent deliberation, and with the consent of the holy council.'[5] Du Pin, indeed, forgetful of his usual candour, has recourse

[1] Cum quanta potest solemnitate devovet. Du Pin, 547. Giannon, XVII, 1. Paris, 470. Heinricius, Ann. 1227. Canisius, 4. 181.

[2] Dominus Papa Satanae dederit in Perditionem. M. Paris, 542. Omnes qui ei fidelitatis juramento tenentur, decernendo ab observatione juramenti hujusmodi absolutos. Heinricius, Anno 1227. Canisius, 4. 183.

[3] C'est le grand Dragon, qui seduit l'Univers l'Antechrist, un autre Balaam, et un Prince de Tenebres. Bruy. 3. 192.

[4] Ipsum velut hostem ecclesiæ privandi imperio condemnavit. Trivettus, Ann. 1245. Dachery, 3. 193.

A deo, ne regnet vel imperet, est abjectus. Paris, 651. Labb. 14. 48, 67. Bin. 8. 852. Alex. 21. 733. Ipsum.

[5] Cum sacrosancto concilio, deliberatione præhabita matura et diligenti. Paris, 651. Labb. 14. 51

on this occasion to Jesuitism; and represents the pontifical sentence as hasty, and the sole act of Innocent. This is a gross misstatement. Thaddeus, the emperor's advocate, was allowed to plead his cause, and the sentence was deferred for several days for the purpose of affording his majesty an opportunity of personal attendance. The prelacy, in the synodal denunciation, concurred with the pontiff. 'The pope and the bishops, sitting in council, lighted tapers, and thundered, says Paris, in frightful fulminations against the emperor.'[1] Frederic, therefore, had the honour to be not only dethroned, but also excommunicated and cursed with candle light in a universal, infallible, holy, Roman council. This testimony of Paris is corroborated by Martin and Nangis.[2] The sentence on the atrocious Frederic was, says Nangis, pronounced after 'diligent previous deliberation with the assembled prelacy.' Innocent, says Pope Martin, 'denounced the notorious Frederic at Lyons with the approbation of the council.'

The general council of Lyons issued another canon of a similar kind, but of a more general application. 'Any prince or other person, civil or ecclesiastical, who becomes principal or accessary to the assassination of a Christian, or who defends or conceals the assassins,' incurs, according to this assembly in its canon on homicide, 'the sentence of excommunication and deposition from all honour and dignity.'[3] This canon is not, like the sentence against Frederic, restricted to an individual; but extends to all sovereigns who are guilty of a certain crime. The Pope decreed this enactment in proper form, and with the approbation of the holy general council.

The general council of Vienna, in 1311, under the presidency of Clement, declared that 'the emperor was bound to the Pope, from whom he received unction and coronation, by an oath of fealty.' This, in other words, was to proclaim the emperor the subject or vassal of the papacy. Former emperors, according to the assembly of Vienna, had submitted to this obligation, which still, according to the same infallible authority, 'retained its validity.'[4] His holiness, on the occasion, also reminded his majesty of the superiority which the pontiff, beyond all doubt,

[1] Dominus Papa et prælati, assidentes concilio, candelis accensis, in indictum imperatorem Fredericum terribiliter fulgurarunt. Paris, 652. Giann. XVII. 3.

[2] Diligenti deliberatione prehabita cum prælatis ibidem congregatis super nefandis Frederici. Nangis, Ann. 1045. Dachery, 3. 35.

Innocentius, memoratum Fredericum in concilio Lugdunensi, eodem approbante, concilio denunciavit. Dachery, 3. 684.

[3] Sacri approbatione concilii, statuimus, ut depositionis incurrat sententiam Labb. 14. 80. Sex. Decret. V. 4. 1. Pithou, 334.

[4] Declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere. Clem. L. II. Tit. 9 Pithou, 356. Bin. 8. 909.

possessed in the empire, and which, in the person of Peter, he had received from the King of Kings. 'The grandest emperors and kings,' Clement declared, 'owed subjection to the ecclesiastical power which was derived from God.'[1]

The general council of Pisa, in its fifteenth session, forbade all Christians of every order and dignity, even emperors and kings, to obey Benedict or Gregory, or to afford these degraded pontiffs council or favour. All who disobeyed this injunction, though clothed with regal or imperial authority, the Pisans sentenced to excommunication and the other punishments awarded by the divine precepts and sacred canons.[2]

The general council of Constance, in its fourteenth session, condemned all, whether emperors or kings, who should annoy the synod or violate its canons, to perpetual infamy, the ban of the empire, and the spoliation of all regal and imperial authority. The same infallible assembly, in its seventeenth session, excommunicated and deposed all persons, whether clergy or laity, bishops or cardinals, princes or kings, who should throw any obstacle or molestation in the way of the emperor Sigismond in his journey to Arragon, to confer with king Ferdinand for the extinction of schism in the church. This enactment roused the indignation even of the Jesuit Maimbourg, who styled it an insult on all sovereigns, especially the French king, through whose dominions Sigismond had to pass. Du Pin on this topic, instead of his accustomed candour, musters an array of shuffling and misrepresentation; and these, indeed, on this occasion, his cause required. The Constantian convention, in its twentieth session, granted a monitory of excommunication and interdict against Frederic duke of Austria, if he would not restore the dominions which he had taken from the Bishop of Trent. The sentence extended to his heirs, his accomplices, the loss of his feudal dominions, which he held from the church or the state, and the absolution of his vassals from the oath of fidelity. The Constantian congress, in its thirty-ninth session, interdicted the obedience of all Christians to Benedict, and sentenced the refractory, whether bishops or cardinals, emperors or kings, to deposition and the punishment of persons guilty of schism and heresy.[3]

The general council of Basil imitated the examples of the Pisan and Constantine synods. This assembly, in its fortieth

[1] Le Roi des Rois a donné une telle puissance à son eglise, que le Roiaume lui appartient, qu'elle peut elever les plus grands Princes, et que les Empereurs et les Rois doivent lui obeir et la servir. Bruy. 3, 373. Giannon, XI. 1.

[2] Labb. 15. 1219. Lenfan. 1. 278. Du Pin, 3. 5.

[3] Labb. 16. 236, 280, 303, 681. Lenfant. 1. 389, 439, 502. Bin. 8. 1077, 1115 Maimb. 247. Du Pin, 3. 14, 15, 16.

session, commanded all the faithful, even emperors and kings, to obey Felix, the newly-elected pontiff, under pain of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and deprivation of all regal and imperial authority.[1]

The council of the Lateran, in 1512, taught the same theory. Cajetan, in this assembly and without any opposition, declared that the Pope had two swords; one common to his supremacy and other earthly princes, and another peculiar to himself. Leo, afterward, in the certainty of pontifical knowledge and the plenitude of apostolic power, sanctioned the constitution of Boniface, teaching the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power, and the necessity of all men's subjection to the Roman pontiff for salvation.[2] This, in all its extravagancy, the infallible council, in its eleventh session, approved and confirmed.

The council of Trent finishes the long array. This celebrated assembly, in its twenty-fifth session, excommunicated the king or other temporal sovereign who permits a duel in his dominions. The excommunication is accompanied with the loss of the city or place which had been the scene of combat.[3] The territory, if ecclesiastical, is to be resumed by the church, and if feudal, to revert to the direct lord. The duellists and their seconds are, in the same canon, condemned to perpetual infamy, spoliation of goods, and, if they fall in fight, to privation of Christian burial. The spectators, though otherwise unconcerned, are excommunicated and sentenced to eternal malediction.[4] The same synod, in its twenty-fourth session, anathematised the temporal lords of every rank and condition, who compel their vassals or any other persons to marry. Eight infallible councils, in this manner, sanctioned a principle, incompatible with political government, fraught with war and perjury, and calculated to unhinge and disorganize all civil society.

All the beneficed clergy in the Romish communion are, according to the bull of Pius the Fourth, sworn to all these councils and canons. The following is contained in their oath. 'I receive and profess all that the sacred canons and general councils have delivered, defined, and declared; and I shall endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to cause the same to be held, taught, and preached. This I promise, vow, and swear, so help me God and these Holy Gospels.'[5] Any person who

[1] Labb. 17, 41. Crabb. 3. 120.

[2] Labb. 19. 726. Bin. 9. 153. Labb. 19. 968.

[3] Synodus regem excommunicat et privat ea civitate ac loco, in quo duelli committendi copiam fecerit. Thuan. 5. 241. Du Pin, 3. 645. Paolo, VIII.

[4] Spectatores excommunicationis ac perpetuæ maledictionis vinculo teneantur. Labb. 20. 192.

[5] Omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis tradita, definita, et declarata,

should infringe or contradict this declaration, will, and commandment, incurs, according to his infallibility, the indignation of Almighty God and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

The reformation introduced the fourth era on this subject of the deposing power. Protestantism, from its infancy, avowed its hostility to this principle in all its forms. A struggle, therefore, on this topic, has existed for three hundred years between the spirit of Protestantism and the ambition of the Papacy. The Roman pontiffs, for a long period after the check which the reformation gave their usurpation, continued to prefer their claims, and to indulge, with fond and lingering attachment, in dreams of former greatness. These patrons of spiritual domination persisted in fulminating their anathemas with great resolution, indeed, but little terror. The denunciations which had been hurled with more efficiency by a Gregory and a Boniface, were wielded, but without effect, by a Paul, a Pius, and a Sixtus.

Paul, Pius, and Sixtus, even after the commencement of the reformation, thundered deposition against Henry and Elizabeth of England and Henry of Navarre. Paul the Fifth, in 1567, issued the bull IN COENA. This, says Giannone, overthrows the sovereignty of kings, subverts regal sovereignty, and subjects political government to the power of the papacy. His infallibility in this publication excommunicated by wholesale, all monarchs who countenanced heresy, as well as all who, without special licence from the apostolic see, exact, in their own dominions, new taxes and customs. The excommunication which, according to his Supremacy's directions, is published every year, extends to all the Protestant sovereigns in the world. His holiness also enacted ecclesiastical laws against civil government, which, if carried into full execution, would overturn all regal authority and transfer all causes to episcopal jurisdiction.[1] This bull, his holiness ordered to be published on holy Thursday and to become the law of all Christendom.

Paul the Fifth, in 1609, issued a bull, forbidding the English who were attached to Romanism to take the oath of allegiance, which had been prescribed by the king and contained a disavowal of the deposing maxim. The oath, according to his infallibility, comprehended many things inimical to the faith and to salvation. Bellarmine, on the occasion, subsidized the pontiff, and, in support of his theory, quoted Basil, Gregory, Leo,

indubitanter recipio atque profiteor. Illis quorum cura ad me, in munere meo, spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem spondeo, voveo, ac juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et haec sancta Dei evangelia. Labb. 20. 222.

[1] Giannon, XXXIII. 4. Maimb. 83.

Alan, Cajetan, Sixtus, Mendoza, Sanderus and Pedrenza. The king wrote an apology for the oath; and the Pope called the royal publication heretical, and subjected its reader, to excommunication. But his infallibility's anathemas were vain.[1] Many took the prescribed oath; and the Parisian university, in defiance of pontifical denunciations, declared it lawful.

Paul the Fifth also canonized Gregory the Seventh, and inserted an office in the Roman breviary for the day of his festival. This eulogizes Gregory's dethronement of Henry, as an act of piety and heroism. The following are extracts from the work of blasphemy. 'Gregory shone like the sun in the house of God. He deprived Henry of his kingdom, and freed his vassals from their fealty. All the earth is full of his doctrine. He has departed to heaven. Enable us, by his example and advocacy, to overcome all adversity. May he intercede for the sins of all the people.'[2] Alexander the Seventh introduced this office, in all its senselessness and impiety, into the Roman basilics. Clement the Eleventh, in 1704, recommended it to the Cistercians, and, in 1710, to the Benedictines. The impiety was approved by Benedict the Thirteenth, and retains its place in the Roman breviary, though rejected by most European nations.[3]

Pius the Seventh, so late as 1809, excommunicated and anathematized Bonaparte. His holiness, in the nineteenth century, proceeded, though in captivity, to pronounce against the emperor, sentence of excommunication, and all the punishments inflicted by the sacred canons, the apostolic constitutions, and the general councils. His anathemas, which were pointless as Priam's dart, Pius hurled from his spiritual artillery against Napoleon, on account of his military occupation of the ecclesiastical states.[4]

No pope or council has ever disclaimed the power of dethroning kings, though time and experience have suggested caution in its use. This fact, Crotty, Anglade, and Slevin admitted in their examination at Maynooth.[5] Many of the pontiffs, knowing the inutility of avowing the claim, have wisely allowed it to sleep in oblivion and inactivity, till occasion may

[1] Thuan. CXXXVIII. 12. Du Pin, 570. Thuan. 6. 425.

[2] Da nobis ejus exemplo et intercessione omnia adversantia fortiter superare. Sicut sol effulsit in demo Dei. Henricum regno privavit atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit. Migravit in cœlum. Omnis terra doctrina ejus repleta est. Ipse intercedat pro peccatis omnium Populorum. Bruy, 2. 491—493. Crotty, 85. Bre. Rom. 6, 7. Officia Propria, 75—77.

[3] Cons. Miscel. 35. 197, 244.

[4] Pie VII. lanca une bulle l' excommunication contre les auteurs, fauteurs, et executeurs des violences exercées contre le saint-siége. Graviere, 471.

[5] Crotty, 84. Anglade, 182. Slevin, 200.

awake its slumbering energy. But no express renunciation of this prerogative has ever issued from the Vatican. The councils also, like the pontiffs, have, in no instance since the eleventh century, disavowed the assumed right of degrading monarchs. Another fact is worthy of observation. The congregation of the Index has never condemned the works of Bellarmine, Baronius, Perron, Lessius and other authors, who have supported this claim of the papacy with devoted advocacy. The expurgatorian index has given no quarter to the patrons of heresy, whose literary works have been mangled, mutilated, and condemned. But the society, which, in cases of schism and protestantism, has proceeded with inquisitorial zeal, has uniformly treated the abettors of the deposing power with unusual forbearance and courtesy.

The authority of the Roman pontiff to dethrone sovereigns, however, since the days of Luther and Calvin, has declined. The general opinion, says Anglade, even in popish Christendom, except the papal states, is against this principle.[1] The usurpation has been denied or deprecated by some of the boldest partizans of catholicism. Two reasons, however, which sufficiently account for this fact, may be assigned for the disavowal. One reason arises from the utter want of power to enforce the claim. According to Aquinas, 'the church, in its infancy, tolerated the faithful to obey Julian, through want of power to repress earthly princes.' The loyalty of the pristine ecclesiastical community, clergy and laity, saints, confessors, and martyrs, the angelic doctor resolves into weakness. Bellarmine, following Aquinas, 'represents inability, as the reason, which prevented the Christians from deposing Nero, Dioclesian, Julian, and Valens.'[2]

The Christian commonwealth, in its early state, soared far above all such meanness and hypocrisy. But the Popish community, for near 300 years, have acted on the prudent but unprincipled maxims of Aquinas and Bellarmine. The Reformation detached nearly half the European nations from the domination of the Romish superstition, and, by this means, enfeebled its power. Protestantism, in strength, soon became a formidable rival of popery; and the two religions, the Romish and the Reformed, now divide Christendom in nearly equal proportions. The defection of so many states has, in a great measure, rendered Rome's spiritual artillery useless, and spoiled

[1] Anglade, 158.

[2] Ecclesiam, in sua novitate, nondum habebat potestatem terrenos principes compescendi, et ideo toleravit fideles Juliano Apostatæ obedire. Aquin. II. 12. II. P. 51. Si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem et Diocletianum, et Julianum, et Valentem, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. Bell. V. 7

her anathemas of nearly all their terrrors. Kings have become wiser, and learned to contemn ecclesiastical denunciations. Rome, therefore, according to her usual policy, has ceased to claim an authority which she can no longer exercise with success. But raise her to her former elevation, and, ancient ambition returning with reviving power, she would reassume the attitude, in which she once launched the thunders of excommunication, affrighted monarchs, interdicted nations, and wielded all the destinies of man.

A second reason for the renunciation of this maxim arises from the effects of the reformation on public opinion. These effects are not to be estimated merely by their influence on those who have embraced the protestant communion; but on those also, who, though they disclaim the name, have imbibed something of its spirit. Many, at the present day, remaining still in the bosom of the Romish communion, have been reasoned or ridiculed out of some of its loftiest pretensions. Sentiments, in consequence, may, on this subject, be now uttered with safety, which would formerly have been attended with danger. Answers from Alcala, Valladolid, and Salamanca, similar to those returned in our day to the celebrated questions of Pitt, would, in the sixteenth century, have thrown the doors of the Spanish inquisition wide open for the reception of their authors. The light of the reformation exposed the misshapen fabric of papal superstition, in all its frightful deformity, to the gaze of the world; whilst the champions of protestantism pointed their heaviest artillery against the mighty mass, and carried destruction into its frowning battlements, which threatened the subversion of political government and the disorganization of civil society. Its defenders, in consequence, abandoned these holds, which they found untenable by all their spiritual tactics and artillery.

The king-deposing power of the papacy, however, is never likely to return. The days of its glory, in all probability, have, on this usurped claim, for ever departed. Kings, in general, even in the times of literary and religious darkness, resisted this usurpation; and often, especially in France, with decided success. Monarchs, even in the middle ages, frequently contemned the thunder of excommunication fulminated from the Vatican. Those, therefore, who successfully contended for their rights in a period of gross superstition, will hardly permit a resumption of pontifical usurpation when philosophy and the Reformation have poured a flood of light over Christendom. Prophecy, on the contrary, teaches, in clear terms, that Rome will fall under the detestation and fury of regal authority. Kings, in the strong language of Revelation, "shall hate

her, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire." The sovereigns of the earth, it would appear, will be made instrumental in overthrowing the ecclesiastical despotism, the fulminations of whose spiritual artillery often shook the thrones of the world and made monarchs tremble.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSECUTION.

PRETENSIONS OF THE PAPACY—THREE PERIODS—FIRST PERIOD: RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—SECOND PERIOD; PERSECUTION OF PAGANISM—PERSECUTION OF HERESY—PERSECUTING KINGS, SAINTS, THEOLOGIANS, POPES, AND COUNCILS—CRUSADES AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES—INQUISITION—THIRD PERIOD; PERSECUTING DOCTORS, POPES, COUNCILS, AND KINGS—PERSECUTIONS IN GERMANY, NETHERLANDS, SPAIN, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND—DIVERSITY OF SYSTEMS—POPISH DISAVOWAL OF PERSECUTION—MODERN OPINIONS.

THE popedom, raised to the supremacy in church and state, challenged a controlling power over the partisans of heresy, schism and apostacy, as well as over kings. The sovereign pontiffs, in the madness of ambition and despotism, affected the dominion over all mankind, and called the arm of the civil magistracy to their aid, to enforce their pretensions. Schismatics and heretics, accordingly, though separated from the Romish communion, are reckoned subject to its authority, as rebels and deserters are amenable to the civil and military laws of their country. The traitor may be punished by the state for his perfidy; and the apostate, in like manner, may, from the church, undergo excommunication and anathemas.[1] He may even, according to Aquinas, Dens, and the university of Salamanca, followed by that of Valladolid, be compelled by arms to return to the profession of Catholicism.[2] This assumption of power and authority has given rise, as might be expected, to long and sanguinary persecutions.

Christendom, on the subject of persecution, has witnessed three distinct periods. One commenced with the era of Redemption, and ended at the accession of Constantine, the first

[1] Neque illi magis ad ecclesiam spectant, quam transfugæ ad exercitum pertineant, a quo defecerunt. Non negandum tamen quin in ecclesiæ potestate sint. Cat. Trid. 54.—Slevin, 216, 217. Kenney, 399. Ecclesia in eos, jurisdictionem habet. Dens, 2, 80.

[2] Posse Romanum Pontificem fidei desertores, armis compellere. Mageog. 3. 395. Hæretici sunt etiam corporaliter compellendi. Aquin. 2, 42. Hæretici sunt compellendi, ut fidem teneant. Aquinas, II. 10. VIII.

Cogi possunt, etiam poenis corporalibus, ut revertantur ad fidem. Dens, 2 89.

Christian emperor. During this period, Christians disavowed all persecution both in theory and action. The second period extended from Constantine till the Reformation. This long lapse of years was more or less characterized by continual intolerance and persecution, The third period occupies the time which has intervened between the Reformation and the present day. This interval has been diversified by many jarring opinions on the topic of persecution, the rights of conscience, and religious liberty.

The world saw more than three ages pass, from the era of Christianity till the accession of Constantine, before its professors disgraced their religion by the persecution of heathenism or heresy. Intolerance is a manifest innovation on the usage of antiquity, and one of the variations of Romanism. The ancients, Du Pin remarks, 'inflicted no ecclesiastical punishment but excommunication, and never employed the civil authority against the abettors of heresy and rebellion.' Du Pin has been followed by Giannon, Mariana, Moreri, and Du Hamel.[1]

The Messiah, the apostles, and the fathers for several ages, opposed, in word and deed, all compulsion and persecution. The Son of man came not to destroy but to save the lives of men. This he stated to his apostles, when, in mistaken zeal, they wished, like Elias, to command fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans, who, actuated by the spirit of party, were hostile to the Jews. His empire, he declared, is spiritual; and is not, like Paganism, Popery, or Islamism, to be established or enlarged by the roar of artillery, the din of battle, or the horrors of war. When Peter struck Malchus, Jesus healed the wound, and condemned, in emphatical language, the use of the sword in the defence of his kingdom.[2]

No two characters, indeed, ever displayed a more striking contrast than the Messiah and an inquisitor. The Messiah was clothed in mercy. The inquisitor was drenched in blood The tear of compassion stained the cheek of the divine Saviour. The storm of vengeance infuriated the face of the inquisitorial tormentor. The Son of God on earth was always persecuted; but never retaliated. His ardent petitions, on the contrary, ascended to heaven, supplicating pity for his enemies' weakness and pardon for their sins.

The apostles walked in the footsteps of their divine master.

[1] Inauditum certe est apud antiquos quemquam aliâ quam excommunicationis aut depositionis poenâ fuisse ab ecclesia mulctatum. Du Pin, 448. Multis annis, ecclesia civili authoritate adversus hæreticos et rebelles minime usa est. Du Pin 449.—Giannon, XV. 4. Mariana, 4. 365. Moreri, 5, 129. Du Hamel, 691.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 51, 52. Mark xiv. 47. Luke ix. 56, and xxii. 51. John xviii. 10. 36.

The inspired heralds of the gospel recommended their message by holiness and miracles, accompanied with the influence of divine energy. Persecution from the powers of earth and hell, from demons and men, was their predicted destiny. But these messengers of peace, when execrated, blessed, and when persecuted, showed no wish for retaliation; but, in submission to their master's precept, returned good for evil.

The fathers, for several ages, copied the example of their Lord and the apostles. The ancients, Du Pin observes, taught with unanimous consent the unlawfulness of compulsion and punishment in religion.'[1] The sentiments of Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Bernard on this topic are worthy of transcription and imitation. Christians, says Origen, 'should not use the sword.' Religion, according to Tertullian, 'does not compel religion.' According to Cyprian, 'the king of Zion alone has authority to break the earthen vessels; nor can any claim the power which the Father hath given to the Son.' Lactantius, in the following statement, is still more full and explicit, 'Coercion and injury are unnecessary, for religion cannot be forced. Barbarity and piety are far different; nor can truth be conjoined with violence or justice with cruelty. Religion is to be defended, not by killing, but by dying; not by inhumanity, but by patience.' Bernard, at a later date, enjoins, in similar language, the same toleration. 'Faith is conveyed by persuasion, not by constraint. The patrons of heresy are to be assailed, not by arms, but by arguments. Attack them, but with the word, not with the sword.'[2] Du Pin has shown that the ideas of Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Bernard were entertained by Gregory, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Damian, and Anselm.

The second period, from Constantine till the Reformation, was characterized, more or less, by uninterupted persecution and constraint, as the former was by toleration and liberty. This emperor's proselytism to Christianity, in the beginning of the fourth century, commenced a new era in the Christian commonwealth. The church, in his reign, obtained a new

[1] Sancti Patres, unanimi consensu docent ecclesiam carere omni gladio materiali ad homines cogendos et puniendos. Du Pin, 450.

[2] Adversus neminem, Gladio uti debemus. Origen, in Matt. xxvi. 25. Nec religionis est cogere religionem. Tertul. ad Scap. 69. Fictilia vasa confringere Domino soli concessum est cui et virga ferrea data est. Nec quisquam sibi, quod soli filio Pater tribuit, vindicare potest. Cyprian, 100. Ep. 54. Non est opus vi et injuria quia religio cogi non potest. Longe diversa sunt carnificina et pietas; nec potest aut veritas cum vi, aut justitia cum crudelitate conjungi. Defendenda enim religio est non occidendo sed moriendo, non sævitia, sed patientia. Lactan. V. 19. Fides suadenda, non imponenda. Bernard, 766. Haeretici capiantur, dico non armis, sed argumentis. Aggredere eos sed verbo, non ferro. Bernard. 885. Serm. 64.

establishment: and the civil power began to sanction the ecclesiastical authority. The magistracy learned to act in unison with the clergy. The emperor, however, was not a persecutor of Paganism. He extended to Heathenism the toleration which he withheld from heresy. The prudent monarch, unwilling to alarm Pagan suspicion, advanced with slow and cautious steps to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of gentilism. He condemned indeed the arts of divination, silenced the oracles of Polytheism which had been convicted of fraud and falsehood, and demolished the temples of Phœnicia, which, in the face of day, displayed all the abominations of prostitution to the honour of Venus. But he tolerated the priests, the immolations, and the worship of the Grecian and Roman gods of antiquity.[1]

Constans and Constantius imitated the example of Constantine. Facts and monuments still remain, to attest the public exercise of idolatry during their whole reign. Many temples were respected or at least spared: and the patrons of Paganism, by permission or connivance, enjoyed, notwithstanding the imperial laws, the luxury of sacrifices, processions, and festivals. The emperors continued to bestow the honours of the army and the state on Christians and Heathens: whilst wealth and honour, in many instances, patronized the declining institutions of Polytheism.[2]

Julian's reign was characterized by apostacy, and Jovian's brevity. Valentinian was the friend of toleration. The persecution of Paganism commenced in the reign of Gratian, and continued through the reigns of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. Gratian and Theodosius were influenced by Ambrosius Archbishop of Milan: and the clergy, in general, misapplied the laws of the Jewish theocracy and the transactions of the Jewish annals, for the unchristian and base purpose of awakening the demon of persecution against the mouldering remains of Grecian and Roman superstition. Gratian abolished the pretensions of the Pagan pontiff, the honours of the priests and vestals, transferred their revenues to the use of the church, the state, and the army, and dissolved the ancient fabric of Polytheism, which had dishonoured humanity for the lengthened period of eleven hundred years.

Theodosius finished the work of destruction which Gratian had begun. He issued edicts of proscription against eastern and western gentilism. Cynegius, Jovius, and Gaudentius were commissioned to close the temples, destroy the instruments of

[1] Moreri, 5, 129. Euseb. Vit. Con. II. 56, 66. Gibbon, c. 21. 22
[2] Cod. Theod. XVI. Tit. 5. Gibbon, c. 28

idolatry, and confiscate the consecrated property. Heavy fines were imposed on the use of frankincense and libations. The temples of the gods were afterwards demolished. The fairest structures of antiquity, the splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture were, by mistaken and barbarian zeal, levelled with the dust. The saintified Martin of Tours in Gaul, marched at the head of its tattered monks to the demolition of the fanes, the idols, and the consecrated groves of his extensive diocese. Martin's example was followed by Marcellus of Syria, whom Theodorus calls divine, and by Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria. A few of these grand edifices however, were spared by the venality or the taste of the civil or ecclesiastical governors. The Carthaginian temple of the celestial Venus was converted into a Christian church; and a similar consecration rescued from ruin the majestic dome of the Roman pantheon.[1]

Gentilism, by these means, was, in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, expelled from the Roman territory. Theodosius, who was distinguished by his zeal for the extermination of Polytheism, questioned whether, in his time, a single Pagan remained in the empire. Its ruin affords perhaps the only example in the annals of time of the total extirpation of an ancient and popular superstition, and presents, in this point of view, a singular event in the history of the human mind.[2]

But the friend of Christianity and his species must, in many instances, lament the means by which the end was effected. Paganism was indeed an unwieldly and hideous system of abomination and folly: and its destruction, by lawful means, must have been the wish of every friend of God and man. But the means, in this case, often dishonoured the end. Coercion, in general, was substituted for conviction, and terror for the gospel. One blushes to read of a Symmachus and a Libanius, two heathen orators, pleading for reason and persuasion in the propagation of religion; whilst a Theodosius and an Ambrosius, a Christian emperor and a Christian bishop, urge violence and constraint. The whole scene opens a melancholy but striking prospect of human nature. The Christians, while few and powerless, deprecated the unhallowed weapons of persecution wielded with such fury by the Pagans. But the situation of the two is no sooner reversed, than the heathens, who were the former partizans of intolerance, recommend forbearance; and the Christians, the former advocates of toleration, assume the unholy arms of proscription.

[1] Theoph. 49. Codex Theod. 6. 266—274. Giannon III. 6. Godeau, 3. 361.
[2] Bisciola, 318. Cod. Theod. 6. 277—283.

The hostility of the secular arm under the Emperors was not restricted to Gentilism. Heresy, as well as heathenism, became the object of imperial persecution. Constantine, till he was perverted by the tuition of the clergy, seems to have possessed correct views of religious liberty and the rights of conscience. The imperial edict of Milan, conceived in the genuine spirit of liberality, was the great charter of toleration, which conferred the privilege of choosing his own religion on each individual of the Roman world. The beauty of this fair picture, however, as usual, was fading and transitory. Its mild features were soon dashed with traits of harshness and severity. The emperor, influenced by his ecclesiastical tutors, imbibed the maxims of illiberality, and learned to punish men for consulting their own reason in the concerns of their own souls.

Sovereigns, according to the sacerdotal theology of the day, acted in a two-fold capacity; as Christians and as governors. Considered as Christians, kings, in their personal character, should believe the truth as well as practise duty, which, as governors and in their official relation, they should enforce on their subjects. Offences against man, according to these clerical casuists, were less criminal than against God. Theft and murder, of course, were less heinous than schism and heresy. The edicts of emperors, in consequence, came to be substituted for the gospel of God. Error, according to these theologians, was to be remedied by proscription; which, according to common sense, may produce hypocrisy, but can never enlighten the understanding or subdue the heart. Constantine, therefore, in conformity with this new or rather old plan of instruction and proselytism, issued two penal laws against heresy; and was followed, in the hopeful project, by Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius. Theodosius published fifteen, Arcadius twelve, and Honorius no less than eighteen of these inhuman and Antichristian statues. These are recorded in the Theodosian and Justinian codes, to the eternal infamy of their priestly and imperial authors.[1]

The chief victims of persecution, during this period, were the Arians, Manicheans, Priscillianists, and Paulicians. Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius overwhelmed Arianism with destruction, and clothed Trinitarianism with triumph. The Arians, however, under Constantius and Valens, Roman emperors, and Genseric and Hunneric, Vandal kings, retaliated, in their turn, in dreadful inhumanity and vengeance. Valentinian fined the Manichean doctors and interdicted the Manichean assemblies. Theodosius exposed them to infamy and

[1] Theoph. 42, 45, 46. Codex Theod. XVI. Tit. 5. p. 104—190.

deprived them of the rights of citizens. Constantine, Gratian, Maximus, and Honorius harassed and ruined the factions of Donatism, Priscillianism, and Pelagianism. The Paulicians were persecuted in the most dreadful manner, during the reigns of Constans, Constantine, Justinian, Leo, Michael, and Theodora. Ammianus, a heathen historian, and Chrysostom, a Roman saint, compare the mutual enmity of Christians at this time, to the fury of wild beasts.[1]

Heresy, during this period, was punished with more or less severity, according to the offender's supposed criminality or obstinacy. The penalty was banishment, fine, confiscation, infamy, disqualification of buying and selling, or incapacity of civil and military honour. The Roman code contained no law, sentencing persons guilty of heresy to death. Capital punishments, indeed, in some instances, were inflicted. This was the case with the unhappy Priscillian and some of his partizans, who were prosecuted by the inquisitorial Ithacius and sentenced by the usurping Maximus. But Maximus, on this occasion, exercised an illegal authority as he had usurped the imperial power. The unlawful and unhallowed transaction displayed the baseness of the prosecutor and the tyranny of the emperor. The few that suffered capital punishment for sectarianism were, in general, also guilty or supposed to be guilty of treason or rebellion.[2]

The Roman laws, on the topic of persecution, continued in this state till the year 800, and in the eastern empire till its dissolution in 1453 by the Ottomans. An important change happened about the commencement of the ninth century. This consisted of the great eastern schism. The Greek and Latin churches were rent asunder and ceased to be governed by mutual laws. A new era, on the subject of heresy and its punishment, began at this time in the west, and lasted till the year 1100 of our redemption, comprehending a lapse of 300 years. This period was distinguished by superstition, ignorance, insurrection, revolution, and confusion. Sectarianism, in the European nations, seemed, for three centuries, to be nearly extinguished. Egyptian darkness reigned and triumphed over learning and morality. The world sunk into a literary lethargy: and, in the language of some historians, slept the sleep of orthodoxy. Learning, philosophy, religion error, and sectarianism reposed in inactivity, or fled from the view, amidst the

[1] Codex Theod. 6. 113, 115, 120, 123. Godeau, 3. 9, 67. Cod. Theod. 6. 5, 10, 130, 146. Codex Justin. I. p. 71, 75, 88. Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianiorum. Ammian. XXII. 5. Καθαπερ θηρια διεστηκαμεν. Chrysos. 10. 632. Hom. 27.

[2] Giannon, XV. 4. Sulp. Sev. II. 49. Codex. Theod. 6. 160, 161.

wide and debasing dominion of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, which superseded the use of the inquisitor and crusader.[1]

The revival of sectarianism followed the revival of Letters. Many denominations of this kind appeared, in the beginning of the twelfth century, among the European nations, such as the Paulicians, Catharians, Henricians, Waldenses, and Albigenses. The Waldenses and Albigenses were the most numerous and rational, and therefore the most formidable to the Papacy. All these concurred in hostility to Romanism, as a system of error and superstition. The usurpation and despotism of the Popedom were the chief objects of their enmity and opposition. The despotism and immorality of the clergy exposed them to the indignation of sectarian zeal. Philosophy in its first dawn, learning in its feeblest glimmerings, discovered the deformity and shook the domination of the Papacy. The revival of literature, however, was not the only cause of opposition to Romanism. Many reasons concurred. The reign of superstition; the trafic of indulgences; the dissensions between the emperors and the pontiffs; the wars, which, for two hundred years, had desolated the Christian world; the luxury of the bishops and inferior clergy; all these tended to arouse the hostility of men against the overgrown system of ecclesiastical tyranny.[2]

This hostility against the principles of Popery produced a reaction and enmity against the partizans of sectarianism. Rome plied all her spiritual artillery, and vented her rage in excommunication and massacre. Heresy or rather truth and holiness were assailed by kings, theologians, popes, councils, crusaders, and inquisitors.

Princes wielded the secular arm against the abettors of heresy. Frederic the German emperor, and Lewis the French king, as well as many other sovereigns, enacted persecuting laws against the Waldenses and Albigenses. Frederic, in 1224, promulgated four edicts of this kind from Padua. His majesty, in his imperial politeness, began with calling the Albigenses vipers, snakes, serpents, wolves, angels of wickedness, and sons of perfidy, who were descended from the author of iniquity and falsehood, and insulted God and the church. Pretending to the authority of God for his inhumanity, he execrated all the patrons of apostacy from Catholicism, and sentenced heretics of every sect and denomination alive to the flames, their property to confiscation, and their posterity, unless they became persecutors, to infamy. The suspected, unless they took an

[1] Moreri, 5. 129. Giannon, XV. 4. Velly, 3. 431.
[2] Giannon, xv. 4.

oath of exculpation, were accounted guilty. Princes were admonished to purify their dominions from heretical perversity; and, if they refused, their land might without hesitation be seized by the champions of Catholicism.[1] This was the first law that made heresy a capital offence. The emperor also patronized the inquisition, and protected its agents of torture and malevolence.

Lewis, in 1228, issued similar enactments. He published laws for the extirpation of heresy, and enjoined their execution on the barons and bailiffs. He rendered the patrons and protectors of error incapable of giving testimony, making a will, or succeeding to any honour or emolument. The sainted monarch encouraged the work of death, and in the language of Pope Innocent, diffused through the crusading army 'the natural and hereditary piety of the French kings.' He forced Raymond, Count of Toulouse, to undertake the extermination of heresy from his dominions, without sparing vassal or friend. Alfonso, king of Arragon, and several others copied the example of Frederic and Lewis.[2]

The emperors were sworn to exterminate heretics. The emperor Henry, according to Clement, in the council of Vienna took an oath, obliging his majesty to eradicate the professors and protectors of heterodoxy. A similar obligation was imposed on the emperor of Germany, even after the dawn of the Reformation. He was bound by a solemn oath to extirpate, even at the hazard of his life and dominions, all whom the pontiff condemned.[3]

Saints and pontiffs, in these deeds of inhumanity, imitated emperors and kings. Lewis, who enacted such statutes of cruelty, was a saint as well as a sovereign. Aquinas was actuated with the same demon of malevolence, and breathed the same spirit of barbarity. 'Heretics,' the angelic doctor declares, 'may not only be excommunicated but justly killed. Such, the church consigns to the secular arm, to be exterminated from the world by death.'[4] Dominic, Osma, Arnold,

[1] Hi sunt lupi rapaces. Hi sunt angeli pessimi. Hi sunt filii pravitatum, a patre nequitiæ et fraudis authore. Hi colubri, hi serpentes, qui latenter videntur insertere. Debitæ ultionis in eos gladium exeramus: decernimus, ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur. Labb. 14. 25, 26. Du Pin, 2, 486.

[2] Labb. 13. 1231. Velly, 4. 134. Gibert, 1. 15.

[3] Omnem hæresim, schisma, et hæreticos quoslibet fautores, receptatores, et defensores ipsorum exterminaret. Clem. II. Tit. 9. Bruy. 3. 373.

Les Princes, et encore plus les Empereurs, qui en font des sermens si solemnels, etant etroitement obligez sous peine des censures d'extirper ceux, que les papes ont condamnez, et d'y employer jusqu' à leurs etats et meme leur vie. Pacl. 1 103.

[4] Hæretici possunt non solum excommunicari, sed et juste occidi.... Ecclesia relinquit eum judici seculari mundo exterminandum per mortem. Aquinas, II-11. III. p. 48

Conrad, Rainer, Guy, Castelnau, Guido, Rodolf, and a long train of saints and doctors might be named, who, for supporting the work of murder and extermination, were raised to the honours of canonization.

The pontiffs, like the kings and saints, encouraged, with all their influence, the system of persecution and cruelty. Urban, Alexander, Lucius, Innocent, Clement, Honorius, and Martin gained an infamous notoriety for their ruthless and unrelenting enactments against the partizans of Albigensianism, Waldensianism, and Wickliffism. Urban the Second, in 1090, decided that the person, who, inflamed with zeal for Catholicism, should slay any of the excommunicated, was not guilty of murder.[1] The assassination of a man under the sentence of excommunication, his infallibility accounted only a venial crime. His holiness must have excelled in the knowledge of casuistry. His morality, however, Bruys characterized by the epithets diabolical and infernal.[2] Lucius the Third fulminated red-hot anathemas against the Waldenses, as well as against their protectors and patrons, and consigned them to the secular arm, to undergo condign vengeance in proportion to their criminality. Innocent the Fourth sanctioned the enactments of Frederic, which sentenced the partizans of error and apostacy to be burned alive. He commanded the house in which an Albigensian had been sheltered to be razed from the foundation. All these viceroys of heaven concurred in consigning to infamy any who should give the apostate from the faith either counsel or favor; and in driving the magistracy to execute the sanguinary statutes, by interdicts and excommunication. The crusaders against the Albigenses enjoyed the same indulgences as those who marched to the holy land. Supported by the mercy of Omnipotent God and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, Innocent granted these holy warriors a full pardon of all sin, and eternal salvation in heaven.[3]

Provincial and national councils breathed the same spirit of persecution, as kings and pontiffs. These were many. But the most sanguinary of them met at Toledo, Oxford, Avignon, Tours, Lavaur, Montpellier, Narbonne, Albi, and Tolosa. Anno 630, the national council of Toledo, in its third canon, promulgated an enactment for the expulsion of all Jews from Spain, and for the permission of none in the kingdom but the

[1] Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus excommunicatos, Zelo Catholicæ matris ardentes, aliquis eorum trucidasse contingerit. Pithou, 324.

[2] Bruy. 2. 508.

[3] Plenam peccaminum veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum. Labb. 14. 64. Bened. 1. 73. et 2. 232. Bruy. 3. 13. Du Pin, 2. 335. Labb. 13 643. et 14. 23.

professors of Romanism.[1] This holy assembly made the king, on his accession, swear to tolerate no heretical subjects in the Spanish dominions, The sovereign who should violate this oath, and all his accomplices, would, according to the sacred synod, 'be accursed in the sight of the everlasting God, and become the fuel of eternal fire.' This sentence, the holy fathers represented 'as pleasing to God.' Spain, at an early date, began those proscriptions, which she has continued to the present day.

The council of Oxford, in 1160, condemned more than thirty of the Waldenses who had emigrated from Gascony to England, and consigned these unhappy sufferers to the secular arm. Henry the Second ordered them, man and woman, to be publicly whipped, branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, and driven half-naked out of the city: while all were forbid to grant these wretched people hospitality or consolation. None therefore showed the condemned the least pity. The winter raged in all its severity, and the Waldenses in consequence perished of cold and hunger.[2]

The councils of Tours, Lavaur, Albi, Narbonne, Beziers, and Tolosa issued various enactments of outlawry and extermination against the Albigenses and Waldenses. These, according to the sentence of those sacred synods, were excommunicated every Sunday and festival; while, to add solemnity and horror to the scene, the bells were rung and the candles extinguished. An inquisitorial deputation of the clergy and laity was commissioned for the detection of heresy and its partisans. The barons and the magistracy were sworn to exterminate heretical pollution from their lands. The barons who through fear or favor should neglect the work of destruction, forfeited their estates, which were transferred to the active and ruthless agents of extirpation. The magistracy, who were remiss, were stripped of their office and property.[3]

All were forbidden to hold any commerce in buying or selling with these sectarians, that, deprived of the consolations

[1] Hanc promulgamus Deo placituram sententiam. Inter reliqua sacramenta, pollicitus fuerit, nullum non catholicum permittere in suo regno degere. Temerator hujus extiterit promissi sit anathema, marantha, in conspectu sempiterni Dei, et pabulum efficiatur ignis æterni. Carranza, 376. Crabb. 2. 211. Godea. 5. 157.

[2] Præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri; et spectante populo, virgis coercitos, urbe expelli, districte prohibens, ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere, vel aliquo solatio confovere, præsumeret....Algoris intolerantia (hyems quippe erat), nemine vel exiguum misericordiæ impendente, misere interierunt. Labb. 13. 287, 288. Neubrig. II. 13. Spelman, 2. 60.

[3] Excommunicentur in ecclesiis, pulsatis campanis et extinctis candelis. Labb. 4. 158. Dominos locorum de illis detegendis solicitos esse, et illorum latibula destruere; fautores hæreticorum terræ suæ jactura et aliis pœnis plecti. Baillivum, qui exterminandis hæreticis operam non dederit, bonis suis et magistratu exul Alex. 20. 1667. Du Pin, 2. 415 Labb. 13. 1237. Marian. 2. 707

of humanity, they might, according to the council of Tours 'be compelled to renounce their error.' No person was allowed to afford them succour or protection. The house, in which the Albigensian sheltered his head, was, as if contaminated with his presence, to be demolished and the ground confiscated. The grave itself could not defend the heretical tenants of its cold domains from the fury of the inquisitor. The body or the bones of the Albigenses that slept in the dust were to be disinterred, and the mouldering remains committed, in impotent and unavailing vengeance, to the flames.[1]

The council of Tolosa, in 1229, waged war on this occasion against the Bible as well as against heresy. The sacred synod strictly forbade the laity to possess the Books of the Old and New Testament in the vernacular idiom. A layman, in the language of the holy fathers, might perhaps keep a Psalm-book, a breviary, or the hours of holy Mary; but no Bible.[2] This, Velly admits, was the first prohibition of the kind. Twelve revolving ages from the commencement of Christianity had rolled their ample course over the world, and no assembly of men had dared to interdict the book of God. But a synod, in a communion boasting unchangeability, arrogated at length the authority of repealing the enactment of heaven and the practice of twelve hundred years.

These provincial synods were sanctioned by general councils; which therefore were blessed with infallibility. These comprehended four of the Lateran, and those of Constance and Sienna. Anno 1139, the second council of the Lateran, in its twenty-third canon, excommunicated and condemned the heretics of the day who affected a show of piety. These, the infallible assembly commanded the civil powers to suppress; and consigned their protectors also to the same condemnation.[3]

The Third general council of the Lateran issued a canon of a similar kind; but of greater rigour and severity. This unerring assembly, in its twenty-seventh canon, and supported by the mercy of God and the authority of Peter and Paul, excommunicated on Sundays and festivals, the Cathari of

[1] Nec in venditione aut emptione aliqua cum eis omnino commercium habeatur, ut solatio saltem humanitatis amisso ab errore vitæ suæ resipiscere compellantur. Labb. 13. 303. Bened. I. 47, 52. Domum in qua fuerit inventus hæreticus diruat, et fundum confiscari. Alex. 20. 667. Hæretici exhumentur et eorum cadavera sive ossa publice comburantur. Labb. 14. 160. Alex. 2. 679.

[2] Ne laici libros veteris aut novi testamenti permittantur. Ne sacros libros in linguam vulgarem translatos habeant, arctissime prohibet Synodus. Labb. 13. 1239. Alex. 20. 668. Mez. 2. 810. Aucun laique n'aura chez lui les livres de l'ancien et du noveau Testament. Velly, 4. 133.

[3] Eos qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, tanquam hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus, et damnamus, et per potestates exteras coerceri præcipimus. Defensores quoque ipsorum ejusdem damnationis vinculo innodamus. Bin. 3. 596.

Gascony, Albi, and Tolosa: and the sentence extended to all their protectors, who admitted those sons of error into their houses or lands, or to any kind of traffic or commerce. Their possessions were consigned to confiscation and themselves to slavery; while any who had made a treaty or contract with them, were acquitted of their engagement.[1] Crusaders were armed against these adherents of heresy; and the holy warriors were encouraged in the work of extermination and death by indulgences and the assurance of eternal felicity. But no oblation was to be offered for the souls of the heretics, and their dead were refused Christian burial on consecrated ground.

The fourth general council of the Lateran, in 1245, surpassed all its predecessors in severity. These persecuting conventions seem to have risen above each other by a regular gradation of inhumanity. The third excelled the second on the scale of cruelty; and both again were exceeded by the fourth, which indeed seems to have brought the system of persecution to perfection. This infallible assembly pronounced excommunication, anathemas, and condemnation against all heretics of every denomination, with their protectors; and consigned all such to the secular arm for due punishment.[2] The property of these sons of apostacy, if laymen, was, according to the holy fathers, to be confiscated, and, if clergymen, to be conferred on the church. The suspected, unless they proved their innocence, were to be accounted guilty, and avoided by all till they afforded condign satisfaction. Kings were to be solicited, and, if necessary, compelled by ecclesiastical censures, to exterminate all heretics from their dominions. The sovereign, who should refuse, was to be excommunicated by the metropolitan and suffragans: and, if he should prove refractory for a year, the Roman pontiff, the vicar-general of God, was empowered to transfer his kingdom to some champion of Catholicism and absolve his vassals from their fealty. The populace were encouraged to engage in crusading expeditions for the extinction of heterodoxy. The adventurers in these holy wars enjoyed the same indulgences and the same honours as the soldiery that marched to

[1] Eos et defensores eorum et receptores anathemati decernimus subjacere. Sub anathemate prohibemus, ne quis eos in domibus, vel in terra sua tenere vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere presumat. Confiscentur eorum bona et liberum sit principibus hujusmodi homines subjicere servituti. Labb. 13. 430. Bin 3. 602.

[2] Excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnem hæresim, condemnantes universos hæreticos, quibuscumque nominibus censeantur. Labb. 13. 934. Synodus hæreticos omnes diris devovit, et damnatos, secularibus potestatibus tradi jussit, animadversione debita puniendos. Alex. 20. 312. Bray. 3. 148. Gibert, 1. 16.

the Holy Land. The prelacy were enjoined to bind the people of their vicinity by oath to inform, if they knew any guilty or suspected of heresy. Any, who should refuse to swear, were to be considered as guilty: and the bishops, if remiss in the execution of their task, were threatened with canonical vengeance.

The general council of Constance, in 1418, sanctioned the canons of the Lateran. The holy and infallible assembly, in its forty-fifth session, presented a shocking scene of blasphemy and barbarity. Pope Martin, presiding in the sacred synod and clothed with all its authority, addressed the bishops and inquisitors of heretical perversity, on whom he bestowed his apostolic benediction. The eradication of error and the establishment of Catholicism, Martin represented as the chief care of himself and the council. His infallibility, in his pontifical politeness, characterized Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome, as pestilent and deceitful heresiarchs, who, excited with truculent rage, infested the Christian fold, and, in his supremacy's beautiful style, made the sheep putrify with the filth of falsehood. The partizans of heresy through Bohemia, Moravia, and other kingdoms, his holiness described as actuated with the pride of Lucifer, the fury of wolves, and the deceitfulness of demons. The pontiff, then, supported by the council, proceeded, for the glory of God, the stability of Romanism, and the preservation of Christianity, to excommunicate these advocates of error, with their pestilent patrons and protectors, and to consign them to the secular arm and the severest vengeance. He commanded kings to punish them according to the Lateran council. The above mentioned inhuman enactments of the Lateran, therefore, were to be brought into requisition against the Bohemians and Moravians. These, according to the holy synod, were to be despoiled of all property, Christian burial, and the consolations of humanity.[1]

The general council of Sienna, in 1423, which was afterward continued at Basil, published persecuting enactments of a similar kind. The holy synod assembled in the Holy Ghost, and representing the universal church, acknowledged the spread of heresy in different parts of the world through the remissness of the inquisitors, and to the offence of God, the injury of Catholicism, and the perdition of souls. The sacred convention then

[1] Haeresiarchæ, Luciferina superbia et rabie lupina evecti, dæmonum fraudibus illusi. Oves Christi Catholicas haeresiarchæ ipsi successive infecerunt, et in stercore mendaciorum fecerunt putrescere. Credentes et adhaerentes eisdem, tantuam haereticos indicetis et velut haereticos seculari Curiae relinquatis. Bin. 8. 1120. Secundum tenorem Lateranensis Concilii expellant, nec eosdem domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatia cum Christi fidelibus habere permittant. Bin. 8. 1121. Crab. 2. 1166.

commanded the inquisitors, in every place, to extirpate every heresy, especially those of Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome. Princes were admonished by the mercy of God to exterminate error, if they would escape divine vengeance. The holy fathers and the viceroy of heaven conspired, in this manner, to sanction murder in the name of the God of mercy: and granted plenary indulgences to all who should banish those sons of heterodoxy or provide arms for their destruction.[1] These enactments were published every Sabbath, while the bells were rung and the candles lighted and extinguished.

The fifth general council of the Lateran, in 1514, enacted laws, marked, if possible, with augmented barbarity. Dissembling Christians of every kind and nation, heretics polluted with any contamination of error were, by this infallible gang of ruffians, dismissed from the assembly of the faithful, and consigned to the inquisition, that the convicted might undergo due punishment, and the relapsed suffer without any hope of pardon.[2]

The general council of Trent was the last of these infallible conventions that sanctioned persecutions. This assembly, in its second session, 'enjoined the extermination of heretics by the sword, the fire, the rope, and all other means, when it could be done with safety.' The sacred synod again, in the last session, admonished 'all princes to exert their influence to prevent the abettors of heresy from misinterpreting or violating the ecclesiastical decrees, and to oblige these objectors, as well as all their other subjects, to accept and to observe the synodal canons with devotion and fidelity.' This was clearly an appeal to the secular arm, for the purpose of forcing acquiescence and submission. The natural consequence of such compulsion was persecution. The holy fathers, having, in this laudable manner, taught temporal sovereigns their duty, concluded with a discharge of their spiritual artillery, and pronounced an 'anathema on all heretics.'[3] The unerring

[1] Volens haec sancta synodus remedium adhibere, statuit et mandat omnibus et singulis inquisitoribus haereticæ pravitatis, ut solicite intendant inquisitioni et extirpationi haeresium quarumcumque. Omnes Christianae religionis principes ac dominos tam ecclesiasticos quam saeculares hortatur, invitat, et monet per viscera misericordiae Dei, ad extirpationem tanti per ecclesiam praedamnati erroris omni celeritate, si Divinam ultionem et poenas juris evitare voluerunt. Labb. 17. 97, 98. Bruy. 4. 72.

[2] Omnes ficti Christiani, ac de fide male sentientes, cujuscumque generis aut nationis fuerint, necnon haeretici seu aliqua haeresis labe polluti, a Christi fidelium coetu penitus eliminentur, et quocumque loco expellantur, ac debita animadversione puniantur, statuimus. Crabb. 3, 646. Bin. 2. 112. Labb. 19. 844.

[3] On devoit les destruire par le fer, le feu, la corde, ou tout autre moyen. Paolo, IV. p. 604.

Ut principes omnes, quot facit in domino moneat ad operam suam ita praestandam, ut quæ ab ea decreta sunt, ab haereticis depravari aut violari non permittant;

council, actuated according to their own account, by the Holy Ghost, terminated their protracted deliberations, not with blessing mankind, but with cursing all who should claim religious liberty, assert the rights of conscience, or presume to differ from the absurdity of their synodal decisions.

The principle of persecution, therefore, being sanctioned, not only by theologians, popes, and provincial synods, but also by general councils, is a necessary and integral part of Romanism. The Romish communion has, by its representatives, declared its right to compel men to renounce heterodoxy and embrace Catholicism, and to consign the obstinate to the civil power to be banished, tortured, or killed.

The modern pretenders to liberality in the Popish communion have, in general, endeavoured to solve this difficulty by dividing the work of persecution between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. This was the solution of Crotty, Slevin, and Higgins at the Maynooth examination.[1] The canons of the Lateran, these doctors pretend, were the acts of both church and state. These councils were conventions of princes as well as of priests, of kings as well as of clergy. Their enactments therefore were authorized by the temporal as well as by the spiritual authority.

But the laity never voted in councils. The prelacy, accordingly, Crotty admits, had the sole right of suffrage, and these canons, in all their barbarity, were suggested by the episcopacy, by whom they were recommended to princes and kings. The clergy even urged the laity to these deeds of carnage by interdicts and excommunication.

The solution, even on the supposition of concurrence or collusion between the church and state, is a beautiful specimen of Shandean dialectics. Tristram invented a plan of evading sin by a division similar to the logic of Crotty, Slevin, and Higgins. The process was simple and easy. Two ladies between them contrived to repeat a word, the pronunciation of which by one would have entrenched a little on politeness and morality. Each lady, therefore, rehearsed only half of the obnoxious term, and, of course, preserved a clear conscience and committed no offence against propriety or purity. Our learned Popish doctors, in like manner, and by equally conclusive reasoning, have, by a similar participation, been enabled to transubstantiate sin into duty, and excuse murder and massacre.

The authority of the Lateran, Constantian, and Siennan

sed ab his et omnibus devote recipiantur et fideliter observantur. Labb. 20. 195 Anathema cunctis hæreticis. Resp. Anathema, Anathema, Labb. 20. 197.

[1] Crotty, 82, 87. Slevin, 241. Higgins, 269.

canons may be shown in another way. Popish Christendom, without a single murmur of opposition, acquiesced in these decisions, and in their accomplishment in the massacre of the Albigenses. None, among either the clergy or laity, remonstrated or reclaimed. But a Papal bull, received by open or tacit assent and by a majority of the Popish clergy, forms a dogma of faith. This, at Maynooth, was, in the clearest language, stated by Crotty, Brown, and Higgins.[1] Many pontiffs, such as Urban, Innocent, Clement, and Honorius, issued such decretals of persecution. These, without the objection of a solitary clergyman or layman, were approved and executed without justice or mercy on the adherents of heresy. These principles, therefore, obtained the sanction of the whole Romish church, and have been marked with the sign manual of infallibility.

All the Popish beneficed clergy through Christendom profess, on oath, to receive these persecuting canons and councils. They swear on the holy evangelists and in the most solemn manner, 'to hold and teach all that the sacred canons and general councils have delivered, defined, and declared.'[2] The rejection of these enactments would amount to a violation of this obligation. Any person, who should infringe or contradict this declaration, will, and commandment, incurs, according to the bull of Pius the Fourth, the indignation of Almighty God and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

The legislation of kings, pontiffs, and councils was no idle speculation or untried theory. The regal, papal, and synodal enactments were called into active operation: and their practical accomplishment had been written in characters of blood in the annals of the papacy and the inquisition.

Pope Innocent first sent a missionary expedition against the Albigenses. His holiness, for this purpose, commissioned Rainer, Guy, Arnold, Guido, Osma, Castelnau, Rodolf, and Dominic. These, in the execution of their mission, preached Popery and wrought miracles. Dominic, in particular, though distinguished for cruelty, excelled in the manufacture of these 'lying wonders.' But the miracles and sermons, or rather the imposition and balderdash, of these apostles of superstition and barbarity, excited only the derision and scorn of these 'sons of heresy and error.' The obdurate people, says Benedict, 'shewed no desire for conversion; but, on the contrary, treated their instructors with contempt and reproach.' 'An infinite

[1] Crotty, 78. Brown, 154. Higgins, 274.

[2] Omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor. Ego idem spondeo, voveo, ac juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet. Labb. 20. 222.

number,' says Nangis, 'obstinately adhered to their error.' According to Mariana, 'The Albigenses increased every day and, in their stupidity, rejoiced in their own blindness.' The gospel of Castelnau, Rainer, and Arnold, Velly grants, 'met with no attention;' and, therefore, according to Giannon's admission, 'made no impression.'[1]

His infallibility, Pope Innocent the Third, finding the inefficiency of his gospel as preached by Dominic, proclaimed, by his bulls, a crusade against the Albigenses. Supported by divine aid, his holiness, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, granted all who should march against the Albigensian pestilence, the pardon of sin, the glory of martyrdom, and the possession of heaven. The pontiff, by special favour and indulgence, gave the hero of the cross, if he fell in battle, an immediate passport, by a short way, to heaven, without ever touching on purgatory.[2] These rewards assembled half a million of HOLY WARRIORS, composed of bishops, soldiers, canons, and people, from Italy, France, and Germany, ready to riot in blood for the honour of God, the good of society, the defence of Romanism, and the extinction of heresy.

This army was led by the Earl of Montfort, whom ambition and hypocrisy marked for the hero of a holy war. The archbishop of Narbonne, at an early period, painted Montfort's ambition, stratagems, malice, violence, and duplicity. But the contemporary historians ascribed his exploits to zeal and piety; while Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, who was Montfort's rival, and protector of the Albigenses, was, on the contrary, characterized as a member of the Devil, the son of perdition, the eldest born of Satan, the enemy of the cross, the defender of heresy, and the oppressor of Catholicism.[3]

This holy war, during its campaigns, exhibited a great diversity of battles and sieges. The storming of Beziers and Lavaur will supply a specimen of the spirit and achievements of the crusading army.

The city of Beziers was taken by storm in 1209, and the

[1] Les deux legats travaillerent quelque années avec beancoup de zèle, et peu de fruit. Sans qu'il parut que les heretiques fussent touchez d'aucun desir de conversion. Benedict, 1, 51, 52. Mariana, 2, 686. Alii, quorum infinitus erat numerus, suo pertinaciter inhaerebant errori. Nangis, Ann. 1007. Dachery, 3. 22. Tous les trois se mirent à faire des sermons, qui ne furent point ecoutés. Velly, 3, 436. Giannon, XV. 4.

[2] Nos per indulgentias innovatas Crucesignatos et fideles alios excitamus, ut ad extirpandam pestem hanc, Divino freti auxilio, procedant in nomine Domini Sabaoth. Alex. 20. 307. Velly, 3, 439. Thuan. VI. 16. Benedici, 1. 79.

Innocentius III. sacram adversus haereticos militiam indixit. Alex. 20. 290.

[3] L'archevêque de Narbonne depeint les demarches, les menées, les violences, l'ambition, et la malice de ce général de la croisade. Velly, 3, 444. Vrai membre du diable, fils de perdition, fils ainé de Satan, ennemi de la croix. Velly, 3 437. Mariana, 2. 687.

citizens put to the sword without distinction of condition, age, sex, or even religion. When the Crusaders and Albigenses were so mixed that they could not be discriminated, Arnold, the Papal missionary, commanded the soldiery to 'kill all and God would know his own.'[1] Seven hundred were slain in the church. Daniel reckons the killed at thirty thousand. Mezeray and Velly as well as some of the original historians, estimate the number who were massacred at sixty thousand. The blood of the human victims, who fled to the churches for safety and were murdered by the HOLY WARRIORS, drenched the altars, and flowed in crimson torrents through the streets.

Lavaur was taken by storm in 1211. Aimeric the governor was hanged on a gibbet, and Girarda his lady was thrown into a well and overwhelmed with stones. Eighty gentlemen, who had been made prisoners, were slaughtered like sheep in cold blood. All the citizens were mangled without discrimination in promiscuous carnage. Four hundred were burned alive, to the extreme delight of the crusaders.[2] One shudders, says Velly in his history of these transactions, while he relates such horrors.

Languedoc, a country flourishing and cultivated, was wasted by these desolators. Its plains became a desert; while its cities were burned and its inhabitants swept away with fire and sword. An hundred thousand Albigenses fell, it is said, in one day: and their bodies were heaped together and burned. Detachments of soldiery were, for three months, despatched in every direction to demolish houses, destroy vineyards, and ruin the hopes of the husbandman. The females were defiled. The march of the HOLY WARRIORS was marked by the flames of burning houses, the screams of violated women, and the groans of murdered men.[3] The war, with all its sanguinary accompaniments, lasted twenty years, and the Albigenses, during this time, were not the only sufferers. Three hundred thousand crusaders fell on the plains of Languedoc, and fattened the soil with their blood.

[1] Tuez les tous, Dieu connoit ceux qui sont a lui. Soixante mille habitans passerent par le fil de l'epee. Velly, 3. 441. Il y fut tué plus de soixante mille personnes. Mezeray, 2. 619. Promiscua cædes civium facta est. Thuan. 1. 222. Urbs capta, cædes promiscue facta. Alex. 20. 291. Benedict, 1. 104. Daniel, 3. 518. Nangis, Ann. 1209. Dachery, 3. 23.

[2] Quatre-vingt gentils hommes prisonniers furent egorgés de sang froid. Quatre cents heretiques furent brulés vifs avec une joye extrême de la part des croisés. Velly, 3. 454. Benedict, 1. 163. Daniel, 3. 527. Alex. 20. 292. Nangis, Ann. 1210.

[3] En violant filles et femmes. Bruy. 3. 141. En un seul jour, on egorgea cent mille de ces heretiques. Bruys, 3. 139. Daniel, 3. 511. Velly, 4. 121, 135.

On promit indulgence et absolution pleniere a ceux qui tueroient des Vaudois. Moreri, 8. 48.

All this barbarity was perpetrated in the name of religion. The carnage was celebrated as the triumph of the church, the honour of the Papacy, and the glory of Catholicism. The pope proclaimed the HOLY WAR in the name of the Lord. The army of the cross exulted in the massacre of Lavaur, and the clergy sung a hymn to the Creator for the glorious victory.[1] The assassins thanked the God of mercy for the work of destruction and bloodshed. The soldiery, in the morning, attended high mass, and then proceeded, during the day, to waste the country and murder its population. The assassination of sixty thousand citizens of Beziers was accounted, says Mariana, 'the visible judgment of heaven.' According to Benedict, 'the heresy of Albigensianism drew down the wrath of God on the country of Languedoc.'

The Crusaders were accompanied with another engine of horror and inhumanity. This was no less than the INFERNAL INQUISITION. The inventor of this inquisition, according to Benedict, was Dominic, who was also the first Inquisitor General. This historian, indeed, seems doubtful whether the benevolent and Christian idea suggested itself first to Dominic or to Innocent, to the saint or to the pontiff. But Dominic first mentioned it to Arnold. The saint also established, as agents of this tribunal, a confraternity of knights whom he called the MILITIA OF JESUS.[2] These demons of destruction, these fiends of blood, the blasphemer had the effrontery to represent as the warriors of the Captain of Salvation. Gregory the Ninth, in more appropriate language, styled the knights the MILITIA OF DOMINIC. These, in Italy, were called the knights of the inquisition, and in Spain the familiars of the holy office.

Benedict is quite out of temper with some historians, who would rob Dominic of the glory of being the first inquisitor, and who bestow that honour on Rodolf, Castelnau, and Arnold. The invention of the holy office, and the title of Inquisitor-general, in this author's opinion, crowns his hero with immortal renown.[3] The historian of Waldensianism therefore, has eternalized his patron's name, by combining it with an institution erected for human destruction, associated with scenes of blood, and calculated to awaken horror in every mind which retains a single sentiment of humanity.

Dominic, it must be granted, was well qualified for his office. He possessed all that impregnable cruelty, which enabled his mind to soar above every feeling of compassion, and to extract

[1] Le clergé chantoit avec beaucoup de devotion l'hymne Veni Creator. Velly 3. 454, 121. Alex. 20. 307. Mariana, 2. 687. Benedict, 2. 139.
[2] Il nomma les Freres de la Milice de Jesus. Bened. 2. 131.
[3] Bened. 2. 131. Giannon, XXXII. 5.

pleasure from scenes of torture and misery. The torments of men or, at least, of heretics were his enjoyment. The saint, in satanic and unsated malignity, enjoyed the spectacle of his victim's bleeding veins, dislocated joints, torn nerves, and lacerated limbs, quivering and convulsed with agony.

Proofs of his inhumanity appeared, in many instances, in the holy war and in the holy office, During the crusade against the Albigenses, though a pretended missionary, he encouraged the holy warriors of the cross in the work of massacre and murder. He marched at the head of the army with a crucifix in his hand; and animated the soldiery to deeds of death and destruction.[1] This was the way of disseminating Dominic's gospel. The cross which should be the emblem of peace and mercy, became, in perverted application, the signal of war and bloodshed; and the professed apostle of Christianity preached salvation by the sword and the inquisition.

The holy office as well as the holy war showed Dominic's cruelty. The inquisition, indeed, during his superintendence, had no legal tribunal; and the engines of torment were not brought to the perfection exhibited in modern days of Spanish inquisitorial glory. But Dominic, notwithstanding, could, even with this bungling machinery and without a chartered establishment, gratify his feelings of benevolence in all their refinement and delicacy. Dislocating the joints of the refractory Albigensian, as practised in the Tolosan Inquisition, afforded the saint a classical and Christian amusement. This kind operation, he performed by 'suspending his victim by a cord, affixed to his arms that were brought behind his back, which, being raised by a wheel, lifted off the ground the suspected Waldensian, man or woman, who refused to confess 'till forced by the violence of torture.'[2] Innocent commissioned Dominic to punish, not only by confiscation and banishment, but also with death; and, in the execution of his task, he stimulated the magistracy and populace to massacre the harmless professors of Waldensianism. 'His saintship, by words and MIRACLES, convicted a hundred and eighty Albigenses, who were at one time committed to the flames.'[3]

Such was the man or monster, who, to the present day, is a full-length saint in the Roman Calendar. The miscreant is an

[1] Dominique animoit les soldats, le Crucifix a la main Dominique marchoit à la tete de l'armée, avec un crucifix à la main. Bened. 1. 248, 249. Les Catholiques animés par les exhortations de S. Dominique. Marian. 2. 689.

[2] In chorda levatus aliquantulum. Negans se quicquam de haeresi confessum nisi per violentiam tormentorum. Limborch, IV. 29.

[3] Fuerunt aliquando simul exusti CLXXX haeretici Albigenses, cum antea et verbis et miraculis eos S. Dominicus convicisset. Bell. de Laic. III. 22. Velly 3. 435 Giannon, XV. 4.

object of worship in the popish communion. The Roman breviary lauds 'his merits and doctrines which enlightened the church, his ingenuity and virtue which overthrew the Tolosan heretics, and his many miracles which extended even to the raising of the dead.' The Roman missal, having eulogized his merits, prays for 'temporal aid through his intercession.'[1] The holy infallible church, in this manner, perfers adoration to the canonized Dominic, who was the first Inquisitor-General, and one of the greatest ruffians that ever disgraced humanity.

The inquisition was first established in Languedoc. The council of Thoulouse, in 1229, appointed a priest and three laymen to search for the partizans of heresy. The synod of Alby, in 1254, commissioned a clergyman and a layman to engage in the same odious task: and this commencement constituted this infernal institution in its infancy. The tribunal afterward received various alterations and fresh accessions of power, till, at length, it was authorized in Spain, Portugal, and Goa to try the suspected, not only for heresy, but also for blasphemy, magic, sorcery, witchcraft, infidelity, and Judaism, and to punish the convicted with infamy, imprisonment, galley-slavery, banishment, outlawry, confiscation of property, and consignment to the flames in an ACT of FAITH.[2]

The holy office admitted all kinds of evidence. Suspicion alone would subject its object to a long course of imprisonment in a dungeon, far from all intercourse with friends or society. A malefactor or a child was allowed to be a witness. A son might depose against his father, or a wife against her husband. The accuser and the accusation were equally unknown to the accused, who was urged by the most treacherous means to discover on himself. His feelings, in the mean time, were horrified by a vast apparatus of crosses, imprecations, exorcisms, conjurations, and flaming piles of wood, ready to consume the guilty.[3]

The RACK, in defect of evidence, was applied. The accused, whether man or woman, was, in defiance of all decency, stripped naked. The arms, to which a small hard cord was fastened, were turned behind the back. The cord, by the action of a pulley, raised the sufferer off his feet and held him suspended in the air. The victim of barbarity was, several times, let fall, and raised with a jerk, which dislocated all the joints of his arms; whilst the cord, by which he was suspended, entered the

[1] Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam beati Dominici confessoris tui illuminare dignatus es meritis et doctrinis, concede ut ejus intercessione, temporalibus non destitutus auxiliis. Miss. Rom. 463. Brev. Rom. 906.

[2] Labb. 13. 1236. et 14. 153. Velly, 4. 132 Dellon. c. 2. Mariana, 4. 362.

[3] Mariana, 4. 362, 363. Moreri, 5. 130. Dellon, c. 13. Giannon, XXXII. 5.

flesh and lacerated the tortured nerves. Heavy weights were frequently, in this case, appended to the feet, and when the prisoner was raised from the earth by the arms, strained the whole frame, and caused a general luxation of the shattered system. The cord was sometimes twisted round the naked arm and legs, till it penetrated to the bone through the ruptured flesh and bleeding veins.[1]

This application of the rack, without evidence, caused many to be tortured who had never committed the sin of heresy. A young lady, who was incarcerated in the dungeon of the inquisition at the same time with the celebrated Bohorquia, will supply an instance of this kind. This victim of inquisitorial brutality, notwithstanding her admitted attachment to Romanism, endured the rack till all the members of her body were rent asunder by the infernal machinery of the holy office. An interval of some days succeeded, till she began, notwithstanding such inhumanity, to recover. She was then taken back to the infliction of similar barbarity. Small cords were twisted round her naked arms, legs, and thighs, till they cut through the flesh to the bone; and blood, in copious torrents, streamed from the lacerated veins. Eight days after, she died of her wounds, and was translated from the dungeons of the inquisition to the glory of heaven.

The celebrated Orobio endured the rack for the sin of Judaism. His description of the transaction is frightful. The place of execution was a subterranean vault lighted with a dim lamp. His hands and feet were bound round with cords, which were drawn by an engine made for the purpose, till they divided the flesh to the excoriated bone. His hands and feet swelled, and blood burst, in copious effusion, from his nails as well as from his wounded limbs. He was then set at liberty, and left Spain the scene of persecution and misery.[2]

The convicted were sentenced to an ACT of FAITH. The ecclesiastical authority transferred the condemned to the secular arm, and the clergy in the mean time, in mockery of mercy, supplicated the magistracy in a hypocritical prayer, to shew compassion to the intended victim of barbarity. But the magistracy, who, through pity, should have deferred the execution, would by the relentless clergy, have been compelled by excommunication to proceed in the work of death. The heretic, dressed in a yellow coat variegated with pictures of dogs, serpents, flames, and devils, was then led to the place of execution, tied to the stake, and committed, amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. to the flames. Such has been the death of

[1] Limborch, iv. 29. [2] Moreri, 6. 7. Limborch, 323.

myriads. Torquemada, on being made Inquisitor-general, burned alive, to signalize his promotion to the holy office, no less than two thousand of these 'sons of heresy."[1]

The inquisition, in all its horrors, was founded and fostered by the whole Romish church or popish hierarchy. Several popish kingdoms indeed deprecated and expelled this enemy of religion and man. The only places in which this tribunal, prior to the reformation, obtained a permanent establishment, were Languedoc, and in modern times Spain, Portugal, and Goa. The holy office, with all its apparatus of inquisitors, qualificators, families, jailors, dungeons, racks, and other engines of torture, was driven, with indignation and ignominy, out of the Netherlands, Hungary, France, Germany, Poland, and even Italy. The Neapolitans and Romans expelled the inhuman nuisance with determined resolution. Spain itself, notwithstanding its red-hot persecutions, witnessed a scene of a similar kind. The citizens of Cordova, on one occasion, rose in insurrection against this infernal tribunal, stormed the palace of the inquisition, pillaged its apartments, and imprisoned the jailor.[2]

All this opposition, however, was the work, not of the priesthood, but of the people. The populace dreaded its horrors, deprecated its cruelty, and therefore prevented its establishment. The clergy, on the contrary, have, with all their influence, encouraged the institution in all its inhumanity. The pope and the prelacy, who, in the Romish system, are the church and possess infallibility, have, with the utmost unanimity, declared in favor of the holy office. No Roman pontiff or popish council has ever condemned this foul blot on pretended Catholicism, this gross insult on reason and man.

The inquisition, beyond all other institutions that ever appeared in the world, evidences the deepest malignancy of human nature. Nothing, in all the annals of time, ever exhibited so appalling and hateful a view of fallen and degenerate man, demoralized to the lowest ebb of perversity by Romanism and the popedom. No tribunal, equally regardless of justice and humanity, ever raised its frightful form in all the dominions of Heathenism or Mahometanism, Judaism or Christianity. The misanthropist, in the contemplation of the holy office, may find continual and unfailing fuel for his malevolence. He may see, in its victim, the wretchedest sufferer that ever drained the cup of misery; and in the inquisitor, the hatefullest

[1] On le faisoit publiquement bruler vive. Mariana, 4. 362, 365. Dellon. c. 28. Moreri, 5. 130.

[2] Mariana, 5. 535, 572. Giannon, XXXII. 5. Thuan. 1. 788. Paolo, 1. 444. et 2. 57, 566.

object, Satan not exempted, that ever defiled or disgraced the creation of God. No person, in a future world, would own an inquisitor, who dies in the spirit of his profession, but the devil, and no place would receive him but hell.

Such is a faint view of the persecutions which distracted Christendom, from the accession of Constantine till the era of the Reformation. The third period occupies the time which intervened between the Reformation and the present day. This long series of years displays great variety. Its commencement was marked by persecution, which was afterwards repressed by the diffusion of letters, the light of Revelation, and the influence of Protestantism.

The popish clergy and kings wielded the civil and ecclesiastical power against the Reformation, during its rise and progress. The whole Romish hierarchy, through the agency of theologians, popes, and councils, laboured in the work of persecution. The theologians and historians, who have prostituted their pen for the unworthy purpose, have been many. From this multitude may be selected Benedict, Mariana, Bellarmine, Dens, the college of Rheims, and the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid.

Benedict the Dominican, in his history of the Albigenses, approves of all the inhumanity of the holy office and the holy wars. The inquisitor and the crusader are the themes of his unqualified applause. Mariana the Jesuit, in his history of Spain, has, like Benedict, eulogized persecutions and the inquisition; though these, he admits, 'are innovations on Christianity.' The historian recommends 'fire and sword, when mild means are unavailing and useless. A wise severity, in such cases, is the sovereign remedy.'[1]

Bellarmine's statements, as well as those of Dens, on this subject, are distinguished by their ridiculousness and barbarity. He urges, in the strongest terms, the eradication of heretics, when it can be effected with safety. Freedom of faith, in his system, tends to the injury of the individual and of society; and the abettors of heterodoxy therefore are, for the honour of religion, to be delivered to the secular arm and consigned to the flames. The cardinal would burn the body for the good of the soul. The prudent Jesuit, however, would allow even the advocates of heresy to live, when, owing to their strength and number, an appeal to arms would be attended with danger to the friends of orthodoxy. The apostles, he contends, 'abstained from calling in the secular arm only because there were, in their

[1] Il faut recourir au fer et au feu dans les maux, où les remèdes lents sont inutiles. Un sage severité est le remède souverain. Mariana, 2. 686.

day, no Christian princes.' This, in all its horrors, he represents as the common sentiment of all the patrons of Catholicism.[1] His arguments, in favor of his system, are a burlesque on reason and common sense. Dens, patronized by the Romish clergy in Ireland, follows Bellarmine. He would punish notorious abettors of heresy with confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, death, and deprivation of Christian burial. 'Such falsifiers of the faith and troublers of the community,' says the precious Divine, 'justly suffer death in the same manner as those who counterfeit money and disturb the state.' This, he argues, from the Divine command to slay the Jewish false prophets, and from the condemnation of Huss in the council of Constance.

The college of Rheims commended the same remedy. These doctors, in their annotations, maintain that the good should tolerate the wicked, when, in consequence of the latter's strength, punishment would be attended with danger. But heresy or any other evil, when its destruction could be effected with safety, should, according to this precious exposition, be suppressed and its authors exterminated. Such is the instruction, conveyed in a popular commentary on the gospel of peace and good will to man. The university of Salamanca followed the college of Rheims. The doctors of this seminary, in 1603, maintained 'the Roman pontiff's right to compel, by arms, the sons of apostacy and the opponents of catholicism.' The theory taught at Salamanca, was also inculcated by the professors of Valladolid.[2]

These are a few specimens of the popish divines, who have abetted the extirpation of heresy by violence and the inquisition. The list might be augmented to almost any extent. Immense indeed is the number of Romish doctors, who, in the advocacy of persecution, 'have wearied eloquence and exhausted learning.'

Pontiffs, as well as theologians, have enjoined persecution. This practical lesson has, for a thousand years, been uniformly taught in the school of the popedom. The viceroys of heaven have, for this long succession of ages, acted on the same satanic system. From these pontifical persecutors, since the

[1] Libertas credendi perniciosa est. Libros hæreticorum jure interdici et exuri. Bell. De Laic. III. 18. Huss asseruit, non licere hæreticum incorrigibilem tradere seculari potestati et permittere comburendum. Contrarium docent omnes Catholici. Bell. III. 20. Ecclesia, zelo salutis animarum, eos persequitur. Sunt proculdubio extirpandi. Bellarmin. 1. 1363.

Hæretici notorii privantur sepulturâ ecclesiasticâ. Bona eorum temporalia sunt ipso jure confiscata. Exilio, carcere, &c. merito afficiuntur. Falsarii pecuniæ vel alii rempublicam turbantes, justa morte puniuntur: ergo etiam hæretici, qui sunt falsarii fidei et rempublicam graviter perturbant. Dens, 2. 88, 89.

[2] Rheim. Testam. in Matth. XIII. 29. Mageogh. 3. 595.

reformation, may, as a specimen, be selected the names of Leo, Adrian, Paul, and Pius.

Leo, in a bull issued in 1520, ordered all to shun Luther and his adherents. His holiness commanded sovereigns to chase the abettors of Lutheranism out of their dominions. Adrian, in 1522, deprecated the spread of Lutheranism, and admonished princes and people against the toleration of this abomination; and, if mild methods should be unavailing, to employ fire and faggot.[1]

Paul the Fourth distinguished himself by his recommendation of the inquisition for the extermination of heresy. This tribunal, his infallibility accounted the sheet-anchor of the papacy, and the chief battery for the overthrow of heresy. The pontiff reckoned the gospel, with all its divine institutions, as nothing, compared with the holy office for the defence of the holy see. Paul was right. The gospel may support the church, but the inquisition is the proper instrument to protect the popedom. The inquisition, accordingly, was the darling theme of his supremacy's thoughts. He conferred additional authority on the sacred institution, and recommended it to the cardinals and his successors with his parting breath.[2] When the cold hand of death was pressing on his lips, and the soul just going to appear before its God, he enjoined the use of the inquisition, and expired, recommending murder and inhumanity.

These enactments of doctors and pontiffs were supported by the canons of councils. The council of Lyons, in 1527, commanded the suffragans to make diligent inquiry after the disseminators of heresy, and to appeal, when necessary, to the secular arm. Anno 1528, the council of Sens enjoined on princes the extermination of heretics, in imitation of Constantine, Valentinian, and Theodosius.[3]

The general council of Trent, in the same manner, patronized persecution. Ciaconia, a Dominican, preached before this assembly on the parable of the tares. The preacher, on this occasion, broached the maxim afterward adopted by Bellarmine and the Rhemish annotators. He urged 'that the adherents of heresy should be tolerated, when their extermination would be attended with danger; but when their extirpation

[1] Labb. 19. 1059, 1068. Du Pin, 3. 170. Se servir de remedes plus violens, et d'employer le feu. Paolo, 1. 48.

[2] Il donna toutes ses pensees aux affaires de l'inquisition, qu' il disoit être la meilleure batterie, qu'on put opposer a l'heresie, et la principale defense du Saint Siege. Paolo, 2. 45, 51. Bruys, 4. 636. Sanctissimum inquisitionis officium, quo uno sacræ sedis auctoritatem niti affirmabat, commendatum haberent. Thuan XXIII. 15. Sacræ inquisitionis tribunali majorem auctoritatem dedit. Alex. 23. 216

[3] Labb. 19. 1127. 1180. Du Pin, 3. 257.

can be effected with safety, they should be destroyed by fire the sword, the gallows, and all other means.' All this, Ciaconia declared, the sacred synod itself had inculcated in its second session: and the Dominican's sermon and declaration were heard in the infallible assembly without objection or contradiction. The sacred synod again, in their last session, admonished 'all princes to exert their influence to prevent abettors of heresy from misinterpreting or violating the ecclesiastical decrees, and to oblige these objectors, as well as all their other subjects, to accept and to observe the synodal canons with devotion and fidelity.'[1] This was clearly an appeal to the secular arm, for the purpose of forcing acquiescence and submission: and the natural consequence of such compulsion was persecution.

The canon law and the Roman ritual extend the spirit of persecution even to the dead. The canon law excommunicates any, who, with his knowledge, bestows Christian burial on heretics. The Roman ritual, also, published by the command of Paul the Fifth, and in general use through the popish communion, 'refuses sepulchral honours to heretics and schismatics.' The offender, in this case, to obtain absolution and be freed from excommunication, must, with his own hands and in a public manner, raise the interred from the hallowed sepulchre.[2] He must, to be uncursed, unearth the mouldering remains of the corpse, and violate, by an act of horror, the sanctuary of the tomb.

The enactments of popes and councils were sanctioned and enforced by emperors and kings. Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany and king of Spain and the Netherlands, persecuted the friends of the reformation through his extensive dominions. His majesty in 1521, supported by the electors in the Diet of Worms, declared it his duty, for the glory of God, the honour of the papacy, and the dignity of the nation, to protect the faith and extinguish heresy; and in consequence proscribed Luther, his followers, and books, and condemned all, who, in any manner, should aid or defend the Saxon reformer or read his works, to the confiscation of their property, the ban of the empire, and the penalty of high-treason.[3]

[1] On devoit les detruire par le fer, le feu, la corde, ou tout autre moyen. Paolo, IV p. 604.

Le concile ensuite exhortait tous les princes à ne point souffrir que ses decrets fussent violez par les heretiques, mais à les obliger aussi bien que tous leurs autres sujets a les observer. Paolo, 2. 660.

[2] Quicunque hæreticos scienter præsumpserint ecclesiastica tradere sepulturæ, excommunicationis sententiæ se noverint subjacere. Nec absolutionis beneficium mereantur, nisi propiis manibus publice extumulent. Sex. Decret. V. 2. p. 560. Negatur ecclesiastica sepultura hæreticis, et eorum fautoribus, schismaticis. Rituel. Rom. 167.

[3] Paolo, 1. 30. Sleidan, III. Du Pin, 3. 176

The emperor's edicts against the Lutherans in the Netherlands were fraught with still greater severity. Men who favoured Lutheranism were to be beheaded, and women to be buried alive, or, if obstinate, to be committed to the flames. This law, however, was suspended. But inquisitorial and military executions rioted in the work of death in all its shocking forms. The duke of Alva boasted of having caused, in six weeks, the execution of eighteen thousand for the crime of protestantism. Paolo reckons the number, who, in the Netherlands, were, in a few years, massacred on account of their religion, at fifty thousand; while Grotius raises the list of the Belgic martyrs to a hundred thousand.[1]

Charles began the work of persecution in Spain, and with his latest breath recommended its completion to his son Philip II. The dying advice of the father was not lost on the son. He executed the infernal plan in all its barbarity, without shewing a single symptom of compunction or mercy. His majesty, on his arrival in Spain, commenced the work of destruction. He kindled the fires of persecution at Valladolid and Seville, and consigned the professors of protestantism without discrimination or pity to the flames. Among the victims of his fury, on this occasion, were the celebrated Pontius, Gonsalvus, Vænia, Virœsia, Cornelia, Bohorquia, Ægidio, Losado, Arellan, and Arias. Thirty-eight of the Spanish nobility were, in his presence, bound to the stake and burned.[2] Philip was a spectator of these shocking scenes, and gratified his royal and refined taste with these spectacles of horror. The inquisition, since his day, has, by relentless severity, succeeded in banishing protestantism from the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

Francis and Henry, the French kings, imitated the example of Charles and Philip. Francis enacted laws against the French Protestants; and ordered the judges, under severe penalties, to enforce them with rigor. These laws were renewed and new ones issued by Henry. His most Christian Majesty, in 1549, entered Paris, made a solemn procession, declared his detestation of protestantism and attachment to popery, avowed his resolution to banish the friends of the reformation from his dominions and to protect Catholicism and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He caused many Lutherans to suffer martyrdom in

[1] Poena in viros capitis, in fœminas defossionis in terram, sin pertinaces fuerint exustionis. Thuan. I. 229. Brand. II. Dans les Pais Bas, le nombre de ceux, que l'on avoit pendus, decapitez, brulez, et enterrez vifs, montat à cinquante mille hommes. Paolo, 2. 52. Carnificata hominum non minus centum millia. Grotius, Annal. 12. Brand. IV. X. Du Pin, 3. 656.

[2] Spectante ipso Philippo, XXXVIII ex præcipua regionis nobilitate palis alligati ac cremati sunt. Thuan. XXIII. 14. Du Pin, 3. 655.

Paris, and lent his royal assistance in person at the execution.[1] Henry, like Philip, had, on this occasion, an opportunity of indulging the refinement and delicacy of his taste, in viewing the expiring struggles of his heretical subjects in the pangs of dissolution.

Instances of French persecution appeared in the massacres of Merindol, Orange, and Paris. The massacre of Merindol, planned by the king of France and the parliament of Aix, was executed by the president Oppeda. The president was commissioned to slay the population, burn the towns, and demolish the castles of the Waldenses.

Oppeda, thirsting for blood, executed his commission with infernal barbarity. The appalling butchery has been related by the popish historians, Gaufridus, Moreri, Paolo, and Thuanus with precision and impartiality.[2] The president slaughtered more than three thousand Waldenses, who, from age to age, have been the object of papal enmity. Man, woman, and child fell in indiscriminate and relentless carnage. Thousands were massacred. Twenty-four towns were ruined and the country left a deserted waste.

The massacre was so appalling that it excited the horror even of Gaufridus, the Roman historian of these horrid transactions. The men, women, and children, in general, at the approach of the hostile army, fled to the adjoining woods and mountains. Old men and women were mixed with boys and girls. Many of the weeping mothers carried their infants in cradles or in their arms; while the woods and mountains re-echoed their groans and lamentations. These were pursued and immolated by the sword of popish persecution, which never knew pity.

A few remained in the towns and met a similar destiny. Sixty men and thirty women surrendered in Capraria, on condition that their lives should be spared: and, notwithstanding plighted faith, they were taken to a meadow and murdered in cold blood. Five hundred women were thrown into a barn, which was then set on fire; and when any leaped from the windows, they were received on the points of spears or halberts. The rest were consumed in the flames or suffocated with the smoke.

The women were subjected to the most brutal insults. Girls

[1] Ce Prince fit executer plusieurs Lutheriens à Paris, aux supplices desquels il voulut assister lui-meme. Il vouloit exterminer de tout son royaume les nouveaux heretiques. Paolo, 1. 484. Thuan. VI. 4. 10.

[2] Gaufrid, XII. Moreri, 6. 46. Thuan. VI. 16. Les troupes passerent au fil de l' epee tous ceux qui n' avoient pu s'enfuir, et etoient restez exposez à la merci du soldat, sans distinction d' age, de qualité, ni de sexe. On y massacra plus de 4000 personnes. Paolo, 1. 199.

were snatched from the arms of their mothers, violated and afterward treated with the most shocking inhumanity. Mothers saw their children murdered before their face, and were then, though fainting with grief and horror, violated by the soldiery. The champions of the faith forced the dying women, whose offspring had been sacrificed in their presence. Cruelty succeeded violation. Some were precipitated from high rocks; while others were put to the sword or dragged naked through the streets.[1]

The massacre was not merely the work of Oppeda and the soldiery; but approved by the French king and parliament; and afterward by the popedom, and all, in general, who were attached to Romanism. Francis and the city of Paris heard the news of the massacre with joy, and congratulated Oppeda on the victory. The parliament of Aix also, actuated, like the French monarch and nobility, with enmity against Waldensianism, approved of the carnage, and felicitated the president on the triumph.

The rejoicing, on the occasion, was not confined to the French sovereign and people. The pope and his court exulted. The satisfaction which was felt at the extirpation of Waldensianism was, says Gaufrid, in proportion to the scandal caused by that heresy in the church, by which the historian means the popedom. The friends of the papacy, therefore, according to the same author, 'reckoned the fire and sword well employed, which extinguished Waldensianism, and forgot nothing that could immortalize the name of Oppeda. Paul the Fourth made the president Count Palatine and Knight of Saint John; while the partizans of Romanism styled the monster, 'the defender of the faith, the protector of the faithful, and the hero of Christianity.'[2]

The massacre of Orange, in 1562, was attended with the same horrors, as that of Merindol. This was perpetrated against the protestants, as the other had been against the Waldensians. Its horrifying transactions have been related with impartiality by the popish historians Varillas, Bruys, and Thuanus.[3] The Italian army, sent by pope Pius the Fourth,

[1] Fœminæ a furentibus violatæ, et satiata libidine tam crudeliter habitæ, ut pleræque, sive ex animi mœrore, sive fame et cruciatibus perierint. Thuan. 1. 227. Cruauté alla jusqu' à violer des femmes mourantes, et d'autres, à la veue desquelles on avoit egorgé leurs enfans. Gaufride, 2. 480.

Les troupes âpres avoir rempli tout les pais de crimes et de debauches. Paolo, 1. 190.

[2] Tous ceux de la cour feliciterent le premier President de sa victoire. Rome et la Cour du Pape y prirent leur part. Ceux-la trouverent le fer et le feu bien employés. Gaufrid. 2. 481. Ils le traiterent de deffenseur de la foi, de heros de Christianisme, et protecteur des fidèles. Gaufrid. 2. 494.

[3] Varillas, III. Bruy. 4. 654. Thuanus, XXXI. 11.

was commanded by Serbellon, and slew man, woman, and child in indiscriminate carnage. Infants, and even the sick, were assassinated in cold blood. Children were snatched from the embraces of their mothers, and killed with the blows of bludgeons.

The work of death was carried on by various modes of torture and brutality. Some were killed with the sword, and some precipitated from the rock on which the city was built. Some were hanged and others roasted over a slow fire. Many were thrown on the points of hooks and daggers. The soldiery mutilated the citizens in such a shameful manner as modesty forbids to name.[1] Women with child were suspended on posts and gates, and their bowels let out with knives. The blood, in the meantime, flowed in torrents through the streets.

Many of the boys were forced to become Ganymedes, and to commit the sin of Sodom. The women, old and young, were violated; the ladies of rank and accomplishments were abandoned to the will of the ruffian soldiery; and afterward exposed to the public laughter, with horns and stakes thrust into the body in such a manner as decency refuses to describe.[2]

The massacre of Paris, in 1572, on Bartholomew's day, equalled those of Merindol and Orange in barbarity, and excelled both in extent. The facts have been detailed with great impartiality by Bossuet, Daniel, Davila, Thuanus, and Mezeray.[3] The queen laid this plan, which had been two years preconcerted, for the extinction of heresy. The execution was entrusted to the Duke of Guise, who was distinguished by his inhumanity and hatred of the Reformation. The duke, on the occasion, was aided by the soldiery, the populace, and the king. The military and the people attached to Romanism thirsted for the blood of the Hugonots. His most Christian majesty, Charles the Ninth, attacked, in person, his unresisting subjects with a gun, and 'shouted with all his might, KILL, KILL.'[4] One man, if he deserve the name, boasted of having, in one night, killed a hundred and fifty, and another of having slain four hundred.

[1] Ils prirent plaisir à couper les parties secretes. Varillas, 1. 203.

[2] Pueri multi item rapti, et ad nefandam libidinem satiandam ad miseram captivitatem abducti. Thuan. 2. 228.

Les dames furent exposées nues à la risée publique, avec des cornes enfoncées dans les parties, que la pudeur defend de nommer. Varillas, 1. 203. Productis mulierum cadaveribus, et in eorum pudenda boum cornibus, et saxis, ac stipitibus ad ludibrium injectis. Thuan. 2. 228. Exudante passim per urbem cruore. Thuan. 31. 11.

[3] Bossuet, Abrég. XVII. Daniel, 8. 727—740. Mezeray, 5. 151—162. Davila, V. Mezeray, 5. 151—162.

[4] Il decharges sur les Calvinistes. Sully, 1. 34.

Le Roi tiroit sur eux lui-meme avec de longues arquebases, et crioit, de toute sa force, 'tuez, tuez.' Dan. 8. 731. Mezeray, 5. 155. Davila, V.

The tocsin, at midnight, tolled the signal of destruction. The assailants spared neither old nor young, man nor woman. The carnage lasted seven days. Mezeray reckons the killed, in Paris, during this time, at 5000, Bossuet at more than 6000, and Davila at 10,000, among whom were five or six hundred gentlemen. The Seine was covered with the dead which floated on its surface, and the city was one great butchery and flowed with human blood. The court was heaped with the slain, on which the king and queen gazed, not with horror, but with delight. Her majesty unblushingly feasted her eyes on the spectacle of thousands of men, exposed naked, and lying wounded and frightful in the pale livery of death.[1] The king went to see the body of Admiral Coligny, which was dragged by the populace through the streets; and remarked in unfeeling witticism, that the 'smell of a dead enemy was agreeable.,

The tragedy was not confined to Paris, but extended, in general, through the French nation. Special messengers were, on the preceding day, despatched in all directions, ordering a general massacre of the Hugonots. The carnage, in consequence, was made through nearly all the provinces, and especially in Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Nevers, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rouen. Twenty-five or thirty thousand according to Bossuet and Mezeray, perished in different places. Davila estimates the slain at 40,000, and Sully at 70,000. Many were thrown into the rivers, which, floated the corpses on the waves, carried horror and infection to all the country, which they watered with their streams.

The reason of this waste of life was enmity to heresy or protestantism. A few indeed suggested the pretence of a conspiracy. But this, even Bossuet grants, every person knew to be a mere pretence. The populace, tutored by the priesthood, accounted themselves, in shedding heretical blood, 'the agents of Divine justice,' and engaged 'in doing God service.'[2] The king accompanied with the queen and princes of the blood, and all the French court, went to the Parliament, and acknowledged that all these sanguinary transactions were done by his authority. 'The parliament publicly eulogised the king's wisdom,' which had effected the effusion of so much heretical blood. His

[1] Tout le quartier ruisseloit de sang. La cour etoit pleine de corps morts, que le Roi et la Reine regardoient, non seulement sans horreur, mais avec plaisir. Tout les rues de la ville n'etoient plus que boucheries. Bossuet, 4. 537. On exposa leurs corps tout nuds a la porte du Louvre, la Reine mere etant à une fenestre, qui repaisoit ses yeux de cet horrible spectacle. Mezeray, 5. 157. Davila, V. Thuan. II. 8.

Frequentes e gynœceo foeminæ, nequaquam crudeli spectaculo eas absterrente, curiosis oculis nudorum corpora inverecunde intuebantur. Thuan. 3. 131.

[2] Les Catholiques se regarderent comme les executeurs de la justice de Dieu. Daniel, 8 738. Thuan. 3. 149.

majesty also went to mass, and returned solemn thanks to God for the glorious victory obtained over heresy. He ordered medals to be coined to perpetuate its memory. A medal accordingly was struck for the purpose with this inscription, PIETY EXCITED JUSTICE.[1] Piety, forsooth, propelled to murder, and the immolation of forty thousand people was an act of justice. Piety and justice, it seems, aroused to deeds of cruelty, the idea of which afterwards, says Sully, caused even the inhuman perpetrator Charles, in spite of himself, to shudder.

The carnage, sanctioned in this manner by the French king, parliament, and people, was also approved by the pope and the Roman court. Rome 'from her hatred of heresy, received the news with unspeakable joy. The pope went in procession to the church of Saint Lewis, to render thanks to God for the happy victory.' His Legate in France felicitated his most Christian majesty in the pontiff's name, 'and praised the exploit, so long meditated and so happily executed, for the good of religion.' The massacre, says Mezeray, 'was extolled before the king as the triumph of the church.'[2]

Spain rejoiced also in the tragedy as the defeat of protestantism. This nation has ever shown itself the friend of the papacy, and the deadly enemy of the Reformation: and this spirit, on this occasion, appeared in the joy manifested by the Spanish people for the murder of the French Hugonots.

England, like Germany, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, was the scene of persecution and martyrdom. Philip and Mary, who exercised the royal authority in the British nation, issued a commission for 'the burning of heretics.' The queen, in this manifesto, 'professed her resolution to support justice and Catholicism, and to eradicate error and heresy: and ordered her heretical subjects, therefore, to be committed before the people to the flames.' This, her majesty alleged, would shew her detestation of heterodoxy, and serve as an example to other Christians, to shun the contagion of heresy.[3]

Orleans acknowledges Mary's rigour, and her execution of

[1] Pietas excitavit justitiam. Il fit frapper un medaille à l'occasion de la Saint Barthelemi. Daniel, 8 786. Apres avoir oui solemnellement la messe pour remercier Dieu de la belle victoire obtenue sur l'heresie, et commandé de fabriquer des medailles pour en conserver la memoire. Mezeray, 5. 160. Il fremissoit malgre lui, au recit de mille traits de cruauté. Sully, 1. 33.

[2] La haine de l' heresie les fit recevoir agréablement a Rome. On se rejouit aussi en Espagne. Bossuet, 4 545. La Cour de Rome et le Conseil d' Espagne eurent une joye indicible de la Saint Bartelemy. Le Pape alla en procession à l'eglise de Saint Louis, rendre graces a Dieu d'un si heureux succes, et l'on fit le panegyrique de cette action sous le nom de Triomphe de l' Eglise. Mezeray, 5. 162. Sully, 1. 27.

[3] Hæreticos juxta legem, ignis incendio comburi debere; præcipimus, quod præfatos coram populo igni committi, et in eodem igne realiter comburi facias. Wilkin, 4. 177.

many on account of their protestantism. In this, he discovers, the queen followed her own genius rather than the spirit of the church, by which he means the popedom. This historian, nevertheless, represents Mary as 'worthy of eternal remembrance for her zeal.'[1] Such is his character of a woman who was a modern Theodora, and never obliged the world but when she died. Her death was the only favour she ever conferred on her unfortunate and persecuted subjects.

Popish persecution raged, in this manner, from the commencement of the Reformation till its establishment. The flow of this overwhelming tide began at the accession of Constantine to the throne of the Roman empire: and, having prevailed for a long period, gradually ebbed after the era of protestantism. The popedom, on this topic, was compelled, though with reluctance and inconsistency, to vary its profession and practice. A change was effected in an unchangeable communion. Some symptoms of the old disease indeed still appear. The spirit, like latent heat, is inactive rather than extinguished. But the general cry is for liberality or even latitudinarianism. The shout, even among the advocates of Romanism, is in favor of religious liberty, unfettered conscience, and universal toleration. The inquisition of Spain and Portugal, with all its apparatus of racks, wheels, and gibbets, has lost its efficacy, and its palace at Goa is in ruins. The bright sun of India enlightens its late dungeons, which are now inhabited, not by the victim of popish persecution, but by 'the owl, the dragon, and the wild beast of the desert.'

This change has, in some measure, been influenced by the diffusion of literature and the Reformation. The darkness of the middle ages has fled before the light of modern science: and with it, in part, has disappeared priestcraft and superstition. Philosophy has improved, and its light continues to gain on the empire of darkness. Protestantism has circulated the Book of God, and shed its radiancy over a benighted world. The advances of literature and revelation have been unfavourable to the reign of intolerance and the inquisition.

But the chief causes of this change in the papacy are the preponderance of protestantism and the policy of popery. The Reformation, in its liberalizing principles, is established over a great part of Christendom. Its friends have become nearly equal to its opponents in number, and far superior in intelligence and activity. Rome, therefore, though she has not expressly disavowed her former claims, has according to her

[1] Reine digne d'une memoire eternelle, par son zele. On en fit, en effet, mourir un grand nombre. Orleans, VIII. P. 174, 175.

ancient policy, allowed these lofty pretensions to slumber for a time in inactivity, and yielded, though with reluctant and awkward submission, to the progress of science, the light of revelation, and the strength of protestantism.

A late discovery has shewn the deceitfulness of all popish pretences to liberality, both on the continent and in Ireland. Dens, a doctor of Louvain, published a system of theology in 1758, and in some of the succeeding years. This work, fraught with the most revolting principles of persecution, awards to the patrons of heresy, confiscation of goods, banishment from the country, confinement in prison, infliction of death, and deprivation of Christian burial. Falsifiers of the Faith, like forgers of money and disturbers of the state, this author would, according to the sainted Thomas, consign to death as the proper and merited penalty of their offence. This, he argues from the sentence of the Jewish false prophets, and from the condemnation of Huss in the general council of Constance.[1]

This production in all its horror and deformity, was dedicated to Cardinal Philippus, and recommended to Christendom by the approbation of the University of Louvain, which vouched for its 'orthodox faith and its Christian morality.' It was ushered into the world with the permission of superiors, and the full sanction of episcopal authority. Its circulation on the continent was, even in the nineteenth century, impeded by no Romish reclamation, nor by the appalling terrors of the expurgatorian index. The popish clergy and people, in silent consent or avowed approbation, acknowledged, in whole and in part, its Catholicism and morality.[2]

The University of Louvain, on this occasion, exhibited a beautiful specimen of Jesuitism. A few years after its approbation of Dens' Theology, Pitt, the British statesman, asked this same university, as well as those of Salamanca and Valladolid, whether persecution were a principle of Romanism. The astonished doctors, insulted at the question, and burning with ardour to obliterate the foul stain, branded the insinuation with a loud and deep negation. The former, in this case, copied the example of the latter. The divines of Salamanca and Valladolid, questioned on the same subject in 1603, in

[1] An hæretici recte puniantur morte? Respondet S. Thomas affirmative: quia falsarii pecuniæ vel alii rempublicam turbantes justè morte puniuntur: ergo etiam hæretici qui sunt falsarii fidei et rempublicam graviter perturbant.

Confirmatur ex eo quod Dens in veteri lege jusserit occidi falsos Prophetas.

Idem probatur ex condemnatione articuli 14, Joan. Huss in Concilio Constantiensi. Dens, 2. 88, 89.

Haeretici notorii privantur sepultura ecclesiastica. Bona. &c. Dens, 2. 88.

[2] Dens, 4. 3. Eas reperi nihil continere a fide orthodoxa et moribus Christianis alienum. Dens, 5. 1. Horne's Protest. Mem. 95, 96.

reference to the war waged by the Irish against the English in the reign of queen Elizabeth, patronized the principle of persecution, which, in their answer to Pitt, they proscribed.[1] Such, on the European continent, were the candour and consistency of the popish clergy, who, in this manner, adapted their movements, like skilful generals, to the evolutions of the enemy, and suited their tactics to the emergency of the occasion.

This complete body of theology, unconfined to the contment, was, in a special manner, extended to Ireland. The popish prelacy, in 1808, met, says Coyne and Wise, in Dublin, and unanimously agreed that this book was the best work, and safest guide in theology for the Irish clergy. Coyne, in consequence, was ordered to publish a large edition, for circulation among the prelacy and priesthood of the kingdom.'[2]

The work was dedicated to Doctor Murray, Titular Archbishop of Dublin. The same prelate also sanctioned an additional volume, which was afterwards annexed to the performance with his approbation. Murray, Doyle, Keating, and Kinsella made it the conference book for the Romish clergy of Leinster. The popish ordo or directory, for five successive years, had its questions for conference arranged as they occurred in Dens, and were, of course, to be decided by his high authority. The Romish episcopacy, in this way, made this author their standard of theology to direct the Irish prelacy and priesthood in casuistry and speculation.[3] Dens, therefore, possesses, with them, the same authority on popish theology as Blackstone with us, on the British Constitution, or the Bible on the principles of protestantism.

Accompanied with such powerful recommendations, the work, as might be expected, obtained extensive circulation. The college of Maynooth, indeed, did not raise Dens to a text-book. This honour was reserved for Bailly. But this seminary received Dens as a work of reference. His theology lay in the library, ready, at any time, for consultation. Doctor Murphy's academy in Cork had fifty or sixty copies for the use of the seminary and the diocesan clergy.[4] The precious production, indeed, has found its way into the nands of almost every priest in the kingdom, and forms the holy fountain from which he draws the pure waters of the sanctuary.

The days of persecution, notwithstanding, will, in all proba-

[1] Tanquam certum est accipiendum, posse Romanum Pontificem fidei desertores, et eos qui Catholicam religionem oppugnant, armis compellere. Mageogh. 3. 595. Slevin, 193.

[2] Coyne, Catal. 6, 7. Wyse, Hist. Cath. Ass. App. N. 7. Horne's Protest. Mem. 95.

[3] Reverendissimo in Deo, Patri ac Domino, Danieli Murray, &c. Dens, I. 1. Coyne, 7. Horne, 95, 96.

[4] Horne, 95, 96.

bility, never return to dishonor Christianity and curse mankind. The inquisition, with all its engines of torment and destruction, may rest for ever in inactivity. The Inquisitor may exercise his malevolence, and vent his ferocity in long and deep execrations against the growing light of philosophy and the reformation; but will never more regale his ears with the groans of the tortured victim, or feast his eyes in witnessing an Act of Faith. The popedom may regret its departed power. The Roman pontiff and hierarchy may indulge in dreams of future greatness, prefer vain prayers for the restoration of persecution, or, in bitter lamentation, weep over the ashes of the inquisition. But these hopes, supplications, and tears, in all likelihood, will, for ever, be unavailing. Rome's spiritual artillery is, in a great measure, become useless; and the secular arm no longer, as formerly, enforces ecclesiastical denunciations, or consigns the abettors of heresy to the flames.

CHAPTER VIII.

INVALIDATION OF OATHS.

VIOLATION OF FAITH—THEOLOGIANS, POPES, AND COUNCILS—PONTIFICAL MAXIMS PONTIFICAL ACTIONS—COUNCILS OF ROME AND DIAMPER—COUNCILS OF THE LATERAN, LYONS, PISA, CONSTANCE, AND BASIL.—ERA AND INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION.

THE Roman pontiffs, unsatisfied with the sovereignty over kings and heretics, aimed, with measureless ambition, at loftier pretensions and more extensive domination. These vice-gods extended their usurpation into the moral world and invaded the empire of heaven. The power of dissolving the obligation of vows, promises, oaths, and indeed all engagements, especially those injurious to the church and those made with the patrons of heresy, was, in daring blasphemy, arrogated by those vicegerents of God. This involves the shocking maxim, that faith, contrary to ecclesiastical utility, may be violated with heretics. The popedom, in challenging and exercising this authority, has disturbed the relations which the Deity established in His rational creation, and grasped at claims which tend to unhinge civil society and disorganize the moral world.

Christendom, on this topic, has witnessed three variations. The early Christians disclaimed, in loud indignation, the idea of perfidy. Fidelity to contracts constituted a distinguished trait in the Christianity of antiquity. A second era commenced with the dark ages. Faithlessness, accompanied with all its foul train, entered on the extinction of literature and philosophy, and became one of the filthy elements of Romish superstition. The abomination, under the patronage of the papacy, flourished till the rise of protestantism. The reformation formed a third era, and poured a flood of light, which detected the demon of insincerity and exposed it to the detestation of the world.

Fidelity to all engagements constituted one grand characteristic of primeval Christianity. Violation of oaths and promises is, beyond all question, an innovation on the Christianity of antiquity, and forms one of the variations of Romanism. The attachment to truth and the faithfulness to compacts, evinced

by the ancient Christians, were proverbial. The Christian profession, in the days of antiquity, was marked by a lofty sincerity, which disdained all falsehood, dissimulation, subterfuge, and chicanery. Death, say Justin and Tertullian, would have been more welcome than the violation of a solemn promise. A Roman bishop, in those days of purity, would have met an application for absolution from an oath with holy indignation; and the humblest of his flock, who should have been supposed capable of desiring such a dispensation, would have viewed the imputation as an insult on his understanding and profession.

But the period of purity passed, and the days of degeneracy, at the era of the dark ages, entered. The mystery of iniquity, in process of time, and as Paul of Tarsus had foretold, began to work. Christianity, by adulteration, degenerated into Romanism, and the popedom became the hot-bed of all abomination. Dispensations for violating the sanctity of oaths formed perhaps the most frightful feature in the moral deformity of popery. This shocking maxim was, for many ages, sanctioned by theologians, canonists, popes, councils, and the whole Romish communion.

The theologians and canonists, who have inculcated this frightful maxim, are many. A few may be selected as a specimen. Such were Bailly, Dens, Cajetan, Aquinas, Bernard, the Parisian university, and the French clergy.

Bailly, in the class-book used in the Maynooth seminary, ascribes to 'the church a power of dispensing in vows and oaths.'[1] This the author attempts to shew from the words of Revelation, which confer the prerogative of the keys in binding and loosing, and which, he concludes, being general, signify not only the power of absolving from sin, but also from promises and oaths. The moral theologian, in this manner, abuses the inspired language for the vilest purpose, and represents his shocking assumption as taught in the Bible and as an article of faith. The church, in this hopeful proposition, means the Roman pontiff, whom the canon law characterizes as the interpreter of an oath.

Dens, in his theology, the modern standard of catholicism in Ireland, authorizes this maxim.[2] The dispensation of a vow,

[1] Existit in ecclesia potestas dispensandi in votis et juramentis. Bailly, 2. 140. Maynooth Report, 283.

Declaratio juramenti seu interpretatio, cum de ipso dubitatur, pertinet ad Papam. Gibert, 3. 512.

[2] Superior, tanquam vicarius Dei, vice et nomine Dei, remittit homini debitum promissionis factæ. Dens, 4. 134, 135.

Debet respondere se nescire eam, et, si opus est, idem juramento confirmare. Talis confessarius interrogatur ut homo, et respondet ut homo. Jam autem non scit ut homo illam veritatem, quamvis sciat ut Deus. Dens, 6. 219.

says this criterion of truth, 'is its relaxation by a lawful superior in the place of God, from a just cause. The superior, as the vicar of God in the place of God, remits to a man the debt of a plighted promise. God's acceptance, by this dispensation, ceases: for it is dispensed in God's name.' The precious divine, in this manner, puts man in the stead of God, and enables a creature to dissolve the obligation of a vow.

A confessor, the same doctor avers, 'should assert his ignorance of the truths which he knows only by sacramental confession, and confirm his assertion, if necessary, by oath. Such facts he is to conceal, though the life or safety of a man or the destruction of the state, depended on the disclosure.' The reason, in this case, is as extraordinary as the doctrine. 'The confessor is questioned and answers as a man. This truth, however, he knows not as man, but as God;' and, therefore, which was to be proved—he is not guilty of falsehood or perjury.

Cajetan teaches the same maxim. According to the cardinal, 'the sentence of excommunication for apostacy from the faith is no sooner pronounced against a king, than, in fact, his subjects are freed from his dominion and oath.[1]

Aquinas, though a Saint, and worshipped in the popish communion on the bended knee, maintains the same shocking principle. He recommends the same Satanic maxim to subjects, whose sovereign becomes an advocate of heresy. According to his angelic saintship, "when a king is excommunicated for apostacy, his vassals are, in fact, immediately freed from his dominion and from their oath of fealty: for a heretic cannot govern the faithful." Such a prince is to be deprived of authority, and his subjects freed from the obligation of allegiance. This is the doctrine of a man adored by the patrons of Romanism for his sanctity. He enjoined the breach of faith and the violation of a sworn engagement: and is cited for authority on this point by Dens, the idol of the popish prelacy in Ireland.[2]

Bernard, the celebrated Glossator on the canon-law, advances the same principle. A debtor, says the canonist of Parma, "though sworn to pay, may refuse the claim of a creditor who falls into heresy or under excommunication." According to the same authority, "the debtor's oath implies the tacit condi-

[1] Quam cito aliquis per sententiam denunciatur excommunicatus propter apostasiam a fide, ipso facto ejus subditi sunt absoluti a dominio et juramento. Cajetan in Aquin. 2. 50.

[2] Quam cito aliquis per sententiam denunciatur excommunicatus, propter apostasiam a fide, ipso facto, ejus subditi a dominio et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt, quod subditis fidelibus dominari non possit. Aquinas, 2. 50.

tion that the creditor, to be entitled to payment, should remain in a state in which communication with him would be lawful."[1]

The Parisian University, in 1589, consisting of sixty doctors, declared the French entirely freed from their oath of allegiance to their king, Henry the Third, and authorized to take arms against their sovereign, on account of his opposition to Catholicism.[2]

The French clergy, in 1577, even after the reformation, taught the same infernal maxim. The Hugenots "insisted on the faith which the French nation had plighted in a solemn treaty. The Romish theologians, on the contrary, rejected the plea, and contended in their sermons and public writings, that a prince is not bound to keep faith with the partizans of heresy." These advocates of treachery and perjury pleaded on the occasion, the precedent of the Constantian council, which, in opposition to a safe-conduct, had sacrificed Huss and Jerome to the demon of popery.[3]

This atrocious maxim was taught by popes, as well as by theologians. A numerous train of pontiffs might be named, who, in word and in deed, disseminated this principle. These viceroys of heaven, indeed, for many ages, engaged, with hardly an exception, in violating faith both in theory and in practice. From this mass may, for the sake of exemplifying the theory, be selected Gregory, Urban, Paul, Alexander, Clement, Benedict, and Innocent.

Gregory, in 1080, asserted his authority to dissolve the oath of fealty.[4] His infallibility supported his assertion by proofs, or pretended proofs, from scripture and tradition. This authority, his holiness alleged, was conveyed in the power of the keys, consisting in binding and loosing, and confirmed by the unanimous consent of the fathers. The contrary opinion he represented as madness and idolatry.

Urban, in 1090, followed the example of Gregory. Subjects, he declared, 'are by no authority bound to observe the fealty which they swear to a Christian prince, who withstands God

[1] Licet non solvat, non incidit in pœnam, et in eodem modo, si per juramentum: in illa obligatione et juramento tacite subintelligetur, si talis permanserit, cui communicare liceat. Greg. 9. Decret. L. 5. Tit. 7. c. 16. Maynooth Report, 261.

[2] Populum jurejurando solutum esse. Thuan. 4. 690. Les Francois etoient effectivement delié du serment de fidelité. Maimburg, 299. Daniel, 2. 349.

[3] Protestantes fidem datam urgerent. Contra theologi nostri disputabant, et jam aperto capite, in concionibus et evulgatis scriptis, ad fidem sectariis servandam non obligare principem contendebant. Thuan. 3. 524.

[4] Contra illorum insaniam, qui, nefando ore, garriunt, auctoritatem sanctæ et Apostolicæ sedis non potuisse quemquam a sacramento fidelitatis ejus absolvere Labb. 12. 380, 439, 497

and the saints and contemns their precepts."[1] The pontiff accordingly prohibited Count Hugo's soldiery, though under the obligation of an oath, to obey their sovereign.

Gregory, the Ninth, in 1229, followed the footsteps of his predecessors. According to his infallibility, 'none should keep faith with the person who opposes God and the saints."[2] Gregory, on this account, declared the emperor Frederic's vassals freed from their oath of fidelity.

Urban the Sixth imitated Gregory the Ninth. This pontiff, in 1378, declared that 'engagements of any kind, even when confirmed by oath with persons guilty of schism or heresy, though made before their apostacy, are in themselves unlawful and void."[3]

Paul the Fourth, in 1555, absolved himself from an oath which he had taken in the Conclave. His holiness had sworn to make only four cardinals; but violated his obligation. His supremacy declared, that the pontiff could not be bound, or his authority limited, even by an oath. The contrary, he characterized, 'as a manifest heresy."[4]

Paul the Fifth canonized Gregory the Seventh, and inserted an office in the Roman breviary, praising his holiness for freeing the emperor Henry's subjects from the oath of fidelity."[5] His absolution, as well as the deposition of the emperor, the pontiff represents as an act of piety and heroism. Paul's enactment, in this transaction, was sanctioned by Alexander, Clement, and Benedict.

Innocent the Tenth declared that 'the Roman pontiff could invalidate civil contracts, promises, or oaths, made by the friends of Catholicism with the patrons of heresy."[6] A denial of this proposition, his infallibility styled heresy; and those who rejected the idea of papal dispensation, incurred, according to his holiness, the penalty prescribed by the sacred canons and apostolic constitutions against those who impugn the pontifical authority in questions of faith.

The Roman pontiffs taught this diabolical doctrine, not only by precept but also by example. The practice of annulling

[1] Fidelitatem quam Christiano principi jurant, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, et eorum præcepta calcanti, nullo cohibentur auctoritate persolvere. Pithou. 260. Decret. caus. 15. Quaest. 6.

[2] Personne ne doit garder fidelité à celui, qui s'oppose a Dieu et à ses saints. Bruy, 3. 183.

[3] Conventiones factæ cum hujusmodi hæreticis seu schismaticis, postquam tales effecti erant, sunt temerariæ, illicitæ, et ipso jure nullæ, (etsi forte ante ipsorum lapsum in schisma seu hæresim initæ) etiam si forent juramento vel fide data firmatæ. Rymer, 7. 352.

[4] Le contraire etoit une heresie manifeste. Paolo, 2. 27.

[5] Subditos populos fide ei data liberavit. Bruy. 2. 492. Crotty, 35.

[6] Contractus civiles, promissa, vel juramenta catholicorum cum hæreticis eo quod hæretici sint, per pontificem enervari possint. Caron, 14.

oaths and breaking faith was exemplified by Zachary, Gregory Innocent, Honorius, Clement, Urban, Eugenius, Clement, Paul, and Pius, as the theory had been taught by Gregory, Urban, Paul, Alexander, Clement, Benedict, and Innocent. Pope Zachary, in 745, annulled the French nation's oath of fealty to king Childeric, and Stephen, Zachary's successor, afterward dissolved Pepin's allegiance to the French monarch.[1]

Gregory, in 1078, 'absolved all from their fidelity, who were bound by oath to persons excommunicated.' This sweeping and infernal sentence, his holiness, according to his own account, pronounced 'in accordance with the statutes of his sacred predecessors and in virtue of his apostolic authority.'[2]

Innocent, in 1215, 'freed all that were bound to those who had fallen into heresy from all fealty, homage, and obedience.'[3] His infallibility's dispensation extended to the dissolution of obligation and security of all kinds.

Honorius, in 1220, freed the king of Hungary from all obligations in some alienations of his kingdom, which his majesty had made and which he had sworn to fulfil. These, it appears, were prejudicial to the state and dishonourable to the sovereign. His holiness, however, soon contrived a remedy, which was distinguished by its facility and efficiency. The vicar-general of God, in the fulness of apostolic authority, 'demolished the royal oath, and commanded the revocation of these alienations.'[4]

Clement, in 1306, emancipated Edward, king of England, from a solemn oath in confirmation of the great charter. 'The English monarch had taken this obligation in 1258 on the holy evangelists,' and the ceremony was performed with an affecting solemnity and awful imprecations of perdition in case of violation or infringement. The Roman viceroy of heaven however, soon removed these uneasy bonds, and furnished his British majesty with a ready licence for the breach of faith and the commission of perjury. The pontiff published a bull, 'granting the king absolution from his oath.'[5] The absolution,

[1] Zacharias omnes Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis absolvit. Labb. 12. 500 Pithou, 260. Pepinus a Stephano pape a fidelitatis sacramento absolvitur. Otho V. 23. Bossuet, 1. 49.

[2] Eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus. Pithou, 260. Caus. 15. Q. 6.

[3] Absolutos se noverint a debito fidelitatis, hominii, et totius obsequii, quicunque lapsis manifeste in hæresim, aliquo pacto, quacunque firmitate vallato, tenebantur adstricti. Pithou, 241. L. 5. T. 7.

[4] Nos eidem regi dirigimus scripta nostra, ut alienationes prædictas, non obstante juramento, studeat revocare. Greg. 9. L. 2. Tit. 24. c. 33. Pithou. 111.

[5] Henri et Edouard jurerent l'observation sur les evangiles. Orleans, 5. 163. Le Pape lui donnoit l'absolution du serment. Bruy. 3. 358. Collier, 1. 400.

Rex coactus est præstare sacramentum. Trivettus, Ann. 1258. Obtinebat rex a Domino papa absolutionem a juramento. Trivettus, Ann. 1306. Dachery, 3. 196. 230

for greater comfort, was supported in the rear by an excommunication pronounced against all who should observe such an oath.

Urban imitated Clement. This plenipotentiary of heaven, in 1367, in the administration of his spiritual vicegerency, transmitted absolution to some Frenchmen, who had been taken prisoners by a gang of marauders who invested the French nation, and had sworn all whom they released, to remit a sum of money as the price of their liberation.[1] His holiness, however, having heard of the transaction, not only repealed the treaty; but with the whole weight of his pontifical authority, 'dissolved the oath and interdicted the payment of the ransom.'

Eugenius the Fourth reaped laurels in this field, and outshone many of his rivals in the skilful management of the oath-annulling process. His holiness, who wielded his prerogative in this way toward Piccinino and in nullifying the Bohemian compacts, was followed in this latter transaction, by Pope Pius. Eugenius, in 1444, also induced Ladislaus king of Hungary, to break his treaty with the sultan Amurath, though confirmed by the solemn oaths of the king and the sultan on the gospel and the koran. His holiness, on this occasion, introduced a variety into the system established for the encouragement of perjury, by executing his plan by proxy. Julian, clothed with legatine authority, mustered all his eloquence to effect the design; and represented, in strong colours, the criminality of observing a treaty, so prejudicial to the public safety and so inimical to the holy faith. The pontiff's vicegerent, in solemn mockery, dispensed with the oath, which, being sworn with infidels, was, like those with heretics, a mere nullity. 'I absolve you,' said the representative of the representative of God, 'from perjury, and I sanctify your arms. Follow my footsteps in the path of glory and salvation. Dismiss your scrupulosity, and devolve on my head the sin and the punishment.' The sultan, it is said, displayed a copy of the violated treaty, the monument of papal perfidy, in the front of battle, implored the protection of the God of truth, and called aloud on the prophet Jesus to avenge the mockery of his religion and authority. The faith of Islamism excelled the casuistry of popery. The perjurers, whom Moreri calls Christians, 'falsified their oath,' took arms against the Turks, and were defeated on the plains of Varna.[2]

[1] Le Pape envoia aux prisonniers l'absolution du serment. Daniel, 5. 145.

[2] Les Chretiens sollicites par Julien, Legat du Pape Eugene IV. fausserent leur foi. Moreri, 1. 390. Sismond. 9. 196. Canisius, 4. 462. Lenfant, 2. 164. Le Cardinal l'en dispensoit par l'authorité du siege Apostolique. Amurath s' escria au milieu du combat, Christ, Christ, voy ton peuple desloyal qui a faulcé sa foy. Vigorien, 3. 692.

Clement, in 1526, absolved Francis II. the French king from a treaty which he had formed in Spain.[1] The emperor of Germany had taken his Christian majesty a prisoner in the battle of Pavia, and carried him to Madrid. The conditions of his engagement, which were disadvantageous, Francis confirmed by an oath. This engagement, however, the pontiff, by his apostolic power, soon dissolved, for the purpose of gaining the French king as an ally in a holy confederacy, which his infallibility had organized against the German emperor. The convention, though ratified by a solemn oath, soon yielded to apostolic power, and, more especially, as its annihilation conduced to ecclesiastical utility.

Pope Paul III. in 1535, 'forbade all sovereigns, on pain of excommunication, to lend any aid, under pretext of any obligation or oath, to Henry VIII. king of England.' His holiness also 'absolved all princes from all such promises and engagements.'[2] Pius IV. treated Elizabeth as Paul had treated Henry. 'His holiness annulled the oath of allegiance, which had been sworn to her majesty, by her subjects.' This constitution Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. renewed and confirmed.[3] Henry and Elizabeth had patronized schism or heresy, and therefore forfeited all claim to enjoy the conditions of plighted faith.

Councils, as well as pontiffs, encouraged this principle of faithlessness. Some of these synods were provincial and some general. Among the provincial councils, which countenanced or practised this maxim were those of Rome, Lateran, and Diamper.

A Roman Council, in 1036, absolved Edward the Confessor, king of England, from a vow which he had made to visit the city of Rome and the tombs of the holy apostles. The fulfilment of his engagement, it seems, was inconvenient to his sainted majesty, and contrary to the wish of the British nation. But Leo the Ninth and a Roman council soon supplied a remedy. His holiness presided in this assembly, which eulogized Edward's piety, and in a few moments and with great facility, disannulled his majesty's troublesome vow.[4]

Gregory VII. in 1076, in a Roman synod, absolved all Christians from their oath of fealty to the Emperor Henry, who, in his infallibility's elegant language, had become a member of the

[1] Le Pape delivera le roi du serment qu'il avoit preté en Espagne. Paol. 1. 63.

[2] Henrici vassalos et subditos a juramento fidelitatis absolvit. Cum Henrico, confoederationes, contractus, pacta, et conventa omnia, quovis modo stabilita, irrita facit et nulla. Alex. 24. 420.

[3] Omnes ac singulos ejus subditos a juramento fidelitatis absolvit, lato in eos, qui illius legibus ac mandatis parerent, anathemate. Alexander, 23. 425. Bruy. 4 502.

[4] Sa Saintete, qui y presidoit, lui donna l'absolution de son voeu. Andilly, 558.

devil, and an enemy to the vicar-general of God.[1] He also interdicted all persons from obeying Henry, as king, notwithstanding their oath. This sentence the pontiff, with the approbation of the council, pronounced as the plenipotentiary of heaven, 'who possessed the power of binding and loosing, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'

A council of the Lateran, in 1112, freed Pascal the Roman pontiff from an oath which he had sworn on the consecrated host, on the subject of investitures and excommunication. This obligation, in all its terrors, the holy assembly, with the utmost unanimity, 'condemned and annulled.'[2] This decision, the sacred synod, in their own statement, 'pronounced by canonical authority and by the judgment of the Holy Spirit.' These patrons of perjury, in the annunciation of this infernal sentence, pretended, in the language of blasphemy, to the inspiration of heaven.

Gregory the Ninth, in 1228, convened a Roman council, consisting of the bishops of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Apulia, and, with the approbation of this assembly, absolved, from their oath, all who had sworn fealty to Frederic the Roman Emperor. The sacred synod issued this sentence, because, according to its own statement, no person is obliged to keep faith with a Christian prince when he gainsays God and the saints.[3] The pontiff, on this occasion, declared, in council, that 'he proceeded against the emperor, as against one who was guilty of heresy and who despised the keys of the church.' The synodal decision contains a direct and unmitigated avowal of the diabolical maxim, that no faith should be kept with persons guilty of heresy or of rebellion against the popedom.

The synod of Diamper, in India, issued a decision of the same kind. This assembly, in 1599, under the presidency of Menez, invalidated the oaths that those Indian Christians had taken against changing Syrianism for Popery, or receiving their clergy from the Roman pontiff instead of the Babylonian patriarch. Such obligations, the holy council pronounced pestilential and void, and the keeping of them an impiety and temerity.[4] The sacred synod, in this manner, could, by a skilful use of their spiritual artillery, exterminate obligations and oaths by wholesale.

The encouragement to faithlessness and perjury was not

[1] Omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti absolvo. Labb. 12. 600

[2] Judicio Sancti Spiritus damnamus. Irritum esse judicamus, atque omnino castramus. Labb. 12. 1165. Bruy. 2. 580. Platina, in Pascal.

[3] On n'est point obligé de garder la foi, que l'on a juré à un prince Chrestien, quand il s'oppose à Dieu et à ses saints. Bruy. 3. 179. Labb. 13. 114, 1223.

[4] Declarat Synodus juramenta hujusmodi nulla prorsus et irrita. Cossart, 6, 51

confined to provincial synods, but extended to universal councils. Six of these general ecclesiastical conventions patronized, in word or deed, by precept or example, violation of engagements and breach of trust. These were the universal councils of the Lateran, Lyons, Pisa, Constance, and Basil.

The third general council of the Lateran, superintended by Alexander and clothed with infallibility, taught this principle in word and deed. The unerring fathers, in the sixteenth canon, styled 'an oath contrary to ecclesiastical utility, not an oath, but perjury.'[1] The pontiffs, whose province it is to explain oaths and vows, always confounded ecclesiastical utility with pontifical aggrandizement. Obligations, therefore, which militated against the interest or grandeur of the papacy, soon hastened to their dissolution. The Lateran convention, in its twenty-seventh canon, exemplified its own theory, and disengaged, from their oath of fidelity, the vassals of the barons and lords who embraced or protected the heresy of Albigensianism.[2] These princes patronized heresy, and their subjects, therefore, were not bound to keep faith with such sovereigns, or to yield them fealty or obedience. This language is unequivocal, and supersedes, by its perspicuity and precision, the necessity of any comment.

The fourth general council of the Lateran, in 1215, issued an enactment of the same kind. This infallible assembly, in its third canon, 'freed the subjects of such sovereigns as embraced heresy from their fealty.'[3] The temporal lord, who refused to purify his dominions from heretical pollution, not only forfeited the allegiance of his vassals, but his title to his estate, which, in consequence, might be seized by any orthodox adventurer. Heresy, therefore, according to this unerring congress, rescinds the obligation of fidelity, cancels the right of property, and warrants the violation of faith.

The general council of Lyons absolved the Emperor Frederic's vassals from their oath of fealty.[4] The synod in their own way, convicted the emperor of schism, heresy, and church-robbery. His criminality, therefore, according to the unerring council, warranted a breach of faith, and a dissolution of the subject's oath of obedience. Innocent, who presided on the occasion, represented himself as the viceroy of heaven, on whom God,

[1] Non juramenta, sed perjuria potius sunt dicenda, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam attentantur. Pith. 110. Labb. 13. 426. Gibert, 3. 504.

[2] Relaxatos se noverint a debito fidelitatis et hominii, et totius obsequii. Labb. 13. 431.

[3] Vassalos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos. Bin. 8. 807. Labb. 13. 934.

[4] Omnes qui ei juramento fidelitatis tenentur adstricti a juramento hujusmodi perpetuo absolventes. Labb. 14 52. Binn. 8. 852. Paris, 651, 652. Giannon, XVIII. 3.

in the person of the Galilean fisherman, had conferred the keys of his kingdom, and vested with the power of binding and loosing. The council concurred with the pontiff. The pope and the prelacy, says Paris, 'lighted tapers and thundered, in frightful fulminations, against his imperial majesty.' The testimony of Paris is corroborated by Nangis and pope Martin.[1]

The general council of Pisa imitated those of the Lateran and Lyons. This assembly, in its fifteenth session, released all Christians from their oath of fidelity to Benedict and Gregory, and forbade all men, notwithstanding any obligation, to obey the rival pontiffs, whom the holy fathers, by a summary process, convicted of perjury, contumacy, incorrigibility, schism, and heresy.[2] The sacred synod, in this instance, assumed the power of dissolving sworn engagements, and of warranting all Christendom to break faith with two viceroys of heaven, who, according to the synodal sentence, were guilty of schism and heresy.

The general council of Constance, on this topic, outstripped all competition, and gained an infamous celebrity, in recommending and exemplifying treachery, the demolition of oaths, and unfaithfulness to engagements. The holy assembly having convicted John, though a lawful pope, of simony, schism, heresy, infidelity, murder, perjury, fornication, adultery, rape, incest, sodomy, and a few other trifling frailties of a similar kind, deposed his holiness, and emancipated all Christians from their oath of obedience to his supremacy.[3] His infallibility, in the mean time, notwithstanding his simony, schism, heresy, perjury, murder, incest, and sodomy, exercised his prerogative of dissolving oaths as well as the council. The holy fathers had sworn to conceal from the pontiff their plans for his degradation. The trusty prelacy, however, notwithstanding their obligation to secrecy, revealed all, during the night, to his holiness. John, by this means, had the satisfaction of discovering the machinations of his judges, and of inducing the infallible bishops to perjury. The pontiff, however, by his sovereign authority, and by the power of the keys, soon disannulled these obligations, and delivered the perjured traitors, who composed the sacred synod, from their oath of secrecy.[4]

[1] Diligenti deliberatione præhabita cum prælatis ibidem congregatus super nefandis Frederici. Nangis, Ann. 1045. Dachery, 3. 35.

Innocentius, memoratum Fredericum in concilio Lugdunensi, eodem approbante concilio denunciavit. Dachery, 3. 684.

[2] Nonobstante quocunque fidelitatis juramento. Labb. 15. 1138. Alex. 24. 573 Dachery, 1. 847.

[3] Universos et singulos Christianos ab ejus obedientia, fidelitate, et juramento absolutos declarans. Alex. 24. 620.

[4] Les degageant par son autorité souveraine des sermens, qu'ils avoient faits de ne rien revéler Bruy. 4. 40. Labb. 16. 233

The pontiff shewed the council, that he could demolish oaths as well as his faithless accusers, who 'represented the whole church and had met in the spirit of God.'

The Constantians, in the twentieth session, freed the vassals of Frederic, Duke of Austria, from their oath of fealty. The thirty-seventh session was distinguished by disentangling all Christians from their oath of fidelity, however taken, to Pope Benedict, and forbidding any to obey him on pain of the penalty annexed to schism and heresy.[1] The sacred synod, in its forty-first session, annulled and execrated all conventions and oaths, which might militate against the freedom and efficiency of the pending election.

This council's treatment of Huss and Jerome constituted the most revolting instance of its treachery. The martyrdom of these celebrated friends, indeed, was one of the most glaring, undisguised, and disgusting specimens of perfidy ever exhibited to the gaze of an astonished world or recorded for the execration of posterity. John Huss was summoned to the city of Constance on a charge of heresy. His safety, during his journey, his stay, and his RETURN, was guaranteed by a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, addressed to all civil and ecclesiastical governors in his dominions. Huss obeyed the summons. Plighted faith, however, could, in those days, confer no security on a man accused of heresy. Huss was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal, which, in its holy zeal, 'devoted his soul to the infernal devils,' and delivered his body to the secular arm; which, notwithstanding the imperial promise of protection and in defiance of all justice and humanity, committed the victim of its own perfidy to the flames.'[2] This harbinger of the reformation suffered martyrdom with the emperor's safe-conduct in his hand. He died as he had lived, like a Christian hero. He endured the punishment with unparalleled magnanimity, and, in the triumph of faith and the extacy of divine love, 'sung hymns to God,' while the mouldering flesh was consumed from his bones, till the immortal spirit ascended from the funeral pile and soared to heaven.[3]

Jerome, also, trepanned by the mockery of a safe-conduct from the faithless synod, shared the same destiny. This man,

[1] Omnes Christianos ab ejus obedientia atque juramentis absolvit. Coss. 4. 81. Labb. 16. 309, 681, 714.

[2] Animam tuam devovemus diabolis infernis. Lenfan. 1. 409.

[3] Hus monta sur le bucher, avec une grande intrepidité, et il mourut en chantant des Pseaumes. Moreri, 4. 221.

Aucun philosophe n'avoit enduré la mort avec une resolution si determinée. Il pratiqua le dehors de tous les actes que suggere la devotion la plus solide. Sa fervour redoubloit lors qu'il appercevt le flambeau. Hist. du Wiclef. 2. 127. 128.

distinguished for his friendship and eloquence, came to Constance, for the generous purpose of supporting his early companion, and died with heroism, in the fire which had consumed his friend. Huss and Jerome, says Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius the Second, 'discovered no symptom of weakness, went to punishment as to a festival, and sung hymns in the midst of the flames and without interruption till the last sigh.'[1]

Doctor Murray, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, has, in his examination before the British Commons, endeavoured, by his usual misrepresentations and sophistry, to exculpate Sigismund and the synod from the imputation of faithlessness. The task was Herculean, but the bishop's arguments are silly. Murray, like Phaeton, failed in a bold attempt. The imperial safe-conduct, says the doctor, following Becanus, Maimburg, and Alexander, was only a passport, like those granted to travellers on the European continent, to hinder interruption or molestation on the way: but, by no means, to prevent the execution of justice, in case of a legal conviction. The archbishop's statement is as faithless as the emperor's safe-conduct or the synod's sentence. The emperor's promised protection to Huss, 'extended, not only to his going and stay, but also to his RETURN.' The return of this victim of treachery was intercepted by the faggot and the stake, trying obstacles, indeed, but good enough for a heretic. The emperor's safe-conduct, says the Popish author of the history of Wickliffism, 'was, in its terms, clear, general, absolute, and without reserve.'[2]

The council was accessory to the emperor's treachery. The safe-conduct, indeed, was not binding on the Constantian clergy. These were not a party to the agreement, and possessed, at least a canonical and admitted power of pronouncing on the theology of the accused. An ecclesiastical court was the proper tribunal for deciding an ecclesiastical question. The Constantian fathers, therefore, according to the opinion of the age, might, with propriety, have tried the Catholicism of Huss, and, on evidence, declared him guilty of heresy and obstinacy. But this did not satisfy the holy synod, who advised

[1] Ils alloient au supplice comme à un festin. Il ne leur echappa jamais aucune parole, qui marquat la moindre foiblesse. Au milieu des flammes, ils chanterent des hymnes jusques au dernier soupir. Moreri, 4. 232. Sylv. c. 36.

Qui les avoient accompagnez leur avoient oui chanter jusqu' au dernier leur vie les louanges de Dieu. Hist. Du Wiclif. 2.

[2] Transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis. Alexander, 25, 258, 260.

De le laisser librement et surement passer, demeurer, s'arreter, et retourner. Moreri, 4. 232. Du Pin, 3. 92. Les termes etoient evidens, generaux, absolus, et sans aucune reserve. Histoire du Wickliffianisme, 98. Maimb. 215. Com. Rep 629.

and sanctioned Sigismund's breach of faith, and, by this means, became partakers in his perfidy.

But Huss, says Murray, suffered in Constance, a free city, over the laws of which Sigismund had no control. The emperor, he concludes, could not have prevented the Constantian Act of Faith. This is another shameful misrepresentation. The bishop, in his statement, breaks faith with history as much as the emperor did with Huss. The emperor made no attempt to oppose the synod. His majesty, on the contrary, protested, that rather than support the Heresiarch in his error and obstinacy, he would kindle the fire with his own hands. The sentence, accordingly, was executed by imperial authority. The council consigned the prisoner to the emperor, and the emperor to the Duke of Bavaria, who delivered him to the executioner.[1] Sigismund, it appears, possessed power; but instead of using it for the protection of Huss, he exerted it for his punishment. He could not, indeed, have annulled the prisoner's sentence of heresy; but he could have granted him life and liberty, till the expiration of his safe-conduct, as Charles V. did to Luther.

But the council's sanction of the oath annulling and faith-violating system depends, by no means, on the contents of the emperor's safe-conduct or his treatment of Huss. Murray, if he even could have vindicated Sigismund, would have effected just nothing with respect to the council, The holy ruffians, at Constance, avowed the shocking maxim with fearlessness and without disguise, both by their deputation to the emperor and by their declarations in council.

The deputation sent to the emperor, for the purpose of concerting a plan for the safety and convenience of the council's future deliberations, maintained this principle. These gave his majesty to understand, that the council had authority to disengage him from a legal promise, when pledged to a person guilty of heresy. This is attested by Dachery, an eye-witness, in his German history of the Constantian council. The deputation, says this historian, 'in a long speech, persuaded the emperor, that by decretal authority, he should not keep faith with a man accused of heresy.'[2] Nauclerus, who lived shortly after the council, testifies nearly the same thing. The emperor himself entertained this opinion of the deputation's sentiments. His majesty, addressing Huss at his last examination, declared 'that some thought he had no right to afford any protection to a man

[1] Lenfan. 1. 82, 318. Du Pin, 3. 94. Bruy. 4. 66. Hist. du Wicklif. 126.

[2] Cæsar, quasi tenore decretalium, Husso fidem datam præstare non tenaretur multis verbis persuasus, Husso et Bohemis Salvi Conductus fidem fregit. Lenfant 1. 82.

convicted or even suspected of heresy."[1] The deputation, on this occasion, must have known and represented the opinion of the synod, which acquiesced, without any contradiction, in this statement, and which, had the emperor been mistaken, should have corrected the error. Huss was a victim to the malevolent passions of the council, and the superstition and perfidy of the emperor.

The faith-violating maxim was avowed, not only by the deputation, but also by the council. The infallible assembly, boldly, roundly, and expressly declared, that 'no faith or promise, prejudicial to Catholicism, was to be kept with John Huss by natural, divine, or human law.'[2] Prejudicial to Catholicism, in this case, could signify no infraction on the faith of the church; but merely the permission of a man convicted of heresy, to escape with his life. Faith, therefore, according to the council, should be violated rather than allow a heretic to live. The synod of Basil, however, and the diet of Worms thought otherwise, when they suffered the Bohemians and Luther, under the protection of a safe-conduct, to withdraw from the council and the diet, and returned in safety to their own country.

The sacred synod, unsatisfied with this frightful declaration, issued, in its nineteenth session, another enactment of a similar kind, but expressed in more general terms and capable of more extensive application. According to these patrons of perfidy, 'no safe-conduct, disadvantageous to the faith or jurisdiction of the church, though granted by emperor or king, and ratified by the most solemn obligations, can be any protection to persons convicted of heresy. Persons, suspected of defection from the faith, may be tried by the proper ecclesiastical judges, and, if convicted and persisting in error, may be punished, though they attended the tribunal relying on a safe-conduct, and otherwise would not have appeared.'[3] This declaration, it is plain, contains a formal sanction of the atrocious principle.

Alexander, followed by Murray, Crotty, and Higgins, endeavours to vindicate the council and the emperor, by distributing the condemnation and execution of Huss between the synodal and royal authority.[4] The council, in the exercise of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, convicted the accused of heresy,

[1] Nonnulli dicant, non de jure ei non posse patrocinari, qui aut haereticus aut de haeresi aliqua suspectus. Hard. 4. 397. Lenfant, I. 492.

[2] Nec aliqua sibi fides, aut promissio de jure naturali, Divino, aut humano, fuerit in praejudicium Catholicae fidei observanda. Labbeus, 16. 292.

[3] Salvo dicto conductu non obstante, liceat judici competenti ecclesiastico de ejusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eos debite procedere, eosdemque punire. Labbeus, 16. 301. Alex. 25. 255. Crabb. 2. 1111.

[4] Alex. 25. 256. Murray, 660. Crotty, 88. Higgins, 271.

and the emperor, according to the laws of the state, executed the sentence. Both, therefore, were clear of all imputation of perfidy.

This is a beautiful specimen of Shandian logic and casuistry. The learned doctors had studied dialectics in the above-mentioned celebrated school. An action, according to Tristrim, which, when committed entirely by one, is sinful, does, when divided between two, and perpetrated partly by one, and partly by the other, become sinless. Two ladies, accordingly, an abbess and Margarita, wished to name a word of two syllables, the pronunciation of which by one person would have been a crime. The abbess, therefore, repeated the first, and Margarita, by her direction, the last syllable; and by this means, both evaded all criminality.[1] Alexander, Murray, Crotty, and Higgins, in like manner, partition the breach of faith between the council and the emperor, the church and state, the ecclesiastical and civil law, and by this simple and easy process, exculpate both from all blame or violation of faith. Breach of trust, it seems, loses, in this way, its immorality, and is transformed into duty. Some people, however, unacquainted with the new system of Shandian dialectics, may suppose that this learned distinction, instead of excriminating each, only rendered both guilty.

The faithlessness of the council and the emperor has been admitted by Sigismund, the French clergy, the Diet of Worms, and the infallible councils of Basil and Trent. Sigismund, on one occasion, seemed sensible of his own infamy. His majesty accordingly blushed in the council, when Huss appealed to the imperial pledge of protection. I came to this city, said the accused, to the assembled Fathers, 'relying on the public faith of the emperor, who is now present;' and, whilst he uttered these words, 'he looked steadfastly in the face of Sigismund, who, feeling the truth of the reproach, blushed for his own baseness.'[2] Conscious guilt and shame crimsoned his countenance, and betrayed the inward emotions of his self-condemned soul. His blush was an extorted and unwilling acknowledgment of his perfidy. The emperor, it is plain, notwithstanding modern advocacy, thought himself guilty.

The French clergy, according to De Thou, urged the Constantian decision as a precedent for a similar act of treachery.[3] The French, according to Gibert, afterward, in temporizing

[1] Tristram Shan. c. 25.

[2] Il regarda fixement Sigismond, qui ne put s'empecher de rougir. Lenfan. 1. 403.

[3] Allato in eam rem Concilii Constantiensis decreto. Thuanus, 3. 524. Gibert, 1. 106.

inconsistency, deprecated the infringement of the imperial safeguard, by which capital punishment was inflicted on a man, to whom had been promised safety and impunity. The French, in these instances, varied indeed with the times on the subject of breaking trust, and exemplified the fluctuations which occur even in an infallible communion. The French clergy, however, in both cases, both in their urgency and deprecation, concurred in ascribing perfidy to the Constantian congress.

The Diet of Worms, or, at least, a party in that assembly, pleaded the precedent of synodal and imperial treachery at the Constantian assembly, in favour of breaking faith with Luther.[1] This showed their opinion of the council. Charles V. however, possessed more integrity than Sigismund, 'and was resolved not to blush with his predecessor.'[2] The Elector Palatine supported the emperor; and their united authority defeated the intended design of treachery.

The councils of Basil and Trent, in the safe-conducts granted to the Bohemians and Germans, admitted the same fact. The Basilians, in their safe-conduct to the Bohemians, disclaimed all intention of fallacy or deception, open or concealed, prejudicial to the public faith, founded on any authority, power, right, law, canon, or council, especially those of Constance or Sienna. The Trentine safe-conduct to the German Protestants is to the same effect.[3] Both these documents, proceeding from general councils, reject, for themselves, the Constantian precedent of treachery, and, in so doing, grant its existence.

The general council of Basil copied the bad example, issued at the Lateran, at Lyons, Pisa, and Constance. This unerring assembly, in its fourth session, invalidated all oaths and obligations, which might prevent any person from coming to the council.[4] Attendance, at Basil, it was alleged, would tend to ecclesiastical utility, and to this end, even at the expense of perjury, every sacred and sworn engagement had to yield. The sacred synod, in its thirty-fourth session, deposed Eugenius for simony, perjury, schism, and heresy, and absolved all

[1] Qui approuvant ce qui c'etoit fait à Constance, disoient qu'on ne devoit point lui garder la foi. Paolo, 1. 28.

[2] Je ne veux pas rougir avec Sigismond, mon predecesseur. Lenfant, 1. 404.

[3] Promittentes sine fraude et quolibet dolo, quod nolumus uti aliqua authoritate, vel potentia, jure, statuto, vel privilegio legum vel canonum et quorumcumque conciliorum, specialiter Constantiensis in aliquod præjudicium salvo conductui Bin. 8. 25. et 9. 398. Crabb. 3. 17. Labb. 17. 244. et 20. 120.

[4] Ne quis, prætextu cujuscunque juramenti, vel obligationis, aut promissionis, se ab accessu ad concilium dispensatum existimaret. Alex. 25, 321. Crabb. 3. 19.

Christians from their sworn obedience to his Supremacy. The pontiff was guilty of heterodoxy, and, therefore, unworthy of good faith, and became a proper object of treachery. The holy fathers, in the thirty-seventh session, condemned and annulled all compacts and oaths, which might obstruct the election of a sovereign pontiff.[2] This was clever, and like men determined to do business.

This maxim, in this manner, prior to the reformation, obtained general reception in the popish communion. The Roman hierarchs, as the viceroys of heaven, continued, according to interest or fancy, and especially with persons convicted or suspected of schism or apostacy, to invalidate oaths or vows of all descriptions. General councils arrogated the same authority, and practised the same infernal principle. Universal harmony, without a breath of opposition, prevailed on this topic through papal Christendom. This abomination, therefore, in all its frightful deformity, constituted an integral part of popery.

The reformation, on this subject, commenced a new era. The deformity of the papal system remained, in a great measure, unnoticed amid the starless night of the dark ages, and even in the dim twilight which dawned on the world at the revival of letters. The hideous spectre, associated with kindred horrors and concealed in congenial obscurity, escaped for a long time, the execration of man. But the light of the reformation exposed the monster in all its frightfulness. The Bible began to shed its lustre through the world. The beams of the Sun of Righteousness, reflected from the book of God, poured a flood of moral radiance over the earth. Man opened his eyes, and the foul spirits of darkness fled. Intellectual light shed its rays through the mental gloom of the votary of Popery, as well as the patron of Protestantism.

The abettors of Romanism, in the general diffusion of scriptural information and rational philosophy, felt ashamed of ancient absurdity; and have, in consequence, disowned or modified several tenets of their religion, which were embraced, with unshaken fidelity, by their orthodox ancestors. The six universities of Louvain, Douay, Paris, Alcala, Valladolid, and Salamanca, which, in their reply to Pitt's questions, disowned the king-deposing power, disavowed also the oath-annulling and faith violating maxim. The Romish Committee of Ireland, in 1792, in the name of all their popish countrymen, represen-

[1] Omnes Christicolas ab ipsius obedientia, fidelitate, ac juramentis absolvit. Labb. 17. 391. Crabb. 3. 107.

[2] Promissiones, obligationes, juramenta, in adversum hujus electionis, damnat, reprobat et annullat. Crabb. 3. 199. Labb. 17. 395.

ted the latter principle, as worthy of unqualified reprobation and destructive of all morality and religion. The Irish bishops, Murray, Doyle, and Kelly, in their examination before the British Commons in 1826, disclaimed all such sentiments with becoming and utter indignation, which was followed at the Maynooth examination by the deprecation of Crotty, Slevin, and M'Hale.[1] This, at the present day, seems to be the avowal of all, even those of the Romish communion, except perhaps a few apostles of Jesuitism.

This change is an edifying specimen of the boasted immutability of Romanism, and one of the triumphs of the Reformation, by which it was produced. The universal renunciation of the hateful maxim is a trophy of the great revolution, which Doyle, in a late publication, has denominated the grand apostacy.

[1] Com. Report, 175, 227, 243, 659. Crotty, 89. Slevin, 258. M'Hale, 288 O'Leary, 77, 85.

CHAPTER IX.

ARIANISM.

TRINITARIANISM OF ANTIQUITY—ORIGIN OF THE ARIAN SYSTEM—ALEXANDRIAN AND BITHYNIAN COUNCILS—NICENE AND TYRIAN COUNCILS—SEMI-ARIANISM—ANTIOCHIAN AND ROMAN COUNCILS—SARDICAN, ARLESIAN, MILAN, AND SIRMIAN COUNCILS—LIBERIUS—FELIX—ARMENIAN, SELEUCIAN, AND BYZANTINE COUNCILS—STATE OF CHRISTENDOM—VARIETY OF CONFESSIONS.

TRINITARIANISM, though without system or settled phraseology, was the faith of Christian antiquity. This doctrine indeed was not confined to Judaism or Christianity; but may, in a disfigured and uncouth semblance, be discovered in the annals of gentilism and philosophy. The Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Scandinavian mythology exhibits some faint traces, some distorted features of this mystery, conveyed, no doubt, through the defective and muddy channels of tradition. The same, in a mis-shapen form, appears in the Orphic theology, aud in the Zoroastrian, Pythagorean, and Platonic philosophy. The system which tradition in broken hints and caricatured representation insinuated, was declared, in plain language, by revelation, and received, in full confidence, by Christian faith.

The early Christians, however, unpractised in speculation, were satisfied with acknowledging the essential unity and personal distinctions of the Supreme Being. The manner of the identity and personality, the unity and distinction of Father, Son, and Spirit, had, in a great measure, escaped the vain research of refinement and presumption. Philosophy, during the lapse of three ages after the introduction of Christianity, had not, to any considerable extent, dared, on this subject, to theorize or define. The confidence of man, in those days of simplicity, had not attempted to obtrude on the arcana of heaven. The relations of paternal, filial, and processional deity escaped, in this manner, the eye of vain curiosity, and remained, in consequence, undefined, undisputed, and unexplained. No determined or dictatorial expressions being prescribed by synodal or imperial authority, the unfettered freedom of antiquity ascribed to the several divine persons in the Godhead, all the perfections

of Deity. This liberty, indeed, was unfriendly to precision of language: and many phrases, accordingly, were used by the ancients on this subject, which are unmarked with accuracy. The hostility of heresiarchs first taught the necessity of discrimination and exactness of diction, on this as on other topics of theology.

Arius, about the year 317, was, on this question, the first innovator on the faith of antiquity, whose error obtained extensive circulation or was attended with important consequences. Artemon, Paul, Ebion, and a few other speculators, indeed, had, on this topic, broached some novel opinions. These, however, were local and soon checked. But Arianism, like contagion, spread through Christendom: and was malignant in its nature and lasting in its consequences.

This heresy originated in Alexandria. The patriarch of that city, whose name was Alexander, discoursing, perhaps with ostentation on the trinity, ascribed consubstantiality and equality to the Son. Arius, actuated, says Theodoret, with envy and ambition, opposed this theory. Epiphanius represents Arius, in this attempt, as influenced by Satan and inspired by the afflatus of the Devil. Alexander's theology seemed to Arius, to destroy the unity of God and the distinction of Father and Son.[1]

Epiphanius has drawn a masterly and striking portrait of Arius. His stature was tall and his aspect melancholy. His whole person, like the wily serpent, seemed formed for deception. His dress was simple and pleasing; whilst his address and conversation, on the first interview, were mild and winning. His prepossessing manner was calculated to captivate the mind, by the fascinations of gentleness and insinuation. Sozomen and Socrates represent Arius as an able dialectician, and a formidable champion in the thorny field of controversy.[2]

His opinions, on the topic of the trinity, differed widely from the generality of his fellow-Christians. The Son, according to his view, was a created being, formed in time out of nothing by the plastic power of the Almighty. Emmanuel, in this system, does not possess eternity. A time was in which he did not exist. He was, according to this statement, unlike the Father in substance, subject to mutability, and liable to pain.[3]

The Heresiarch's impiety prevented not his success in proselytism, which he obtained, in a great measure, by his extraordinary zeal and activity. His system was soon embraced by

[1] Epiph. 1. 728. Socrates, I. 6. Theodoret, I. 2. Alex. 7. 87.
[2] Epiph. 1. 729. Socrates, I. 5. Sozomen, I. 15. Alex. 7. 86. Godeau, 2. 101
[3] Theodor. I. 2. Sozomen, I. 15. Socrat. I. 6. Augustin, 8. 621. Alex. 7. 38. Godeau, 2. 121.

two Egyptian bishops, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and what is more extraordinary, by 700 devoted virgins. He boasted, at one time, of being followed by all the oriental clergy, except Philogonus, Hellenicus, and Macarius, of Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem.[1]

The patriarch of Alexandria, in the mean time, having admonished the innovator and found him obstinate, convened a council in 320, consisting of about 100 Egyptian and Lybian bishops, who condemned Arianism, expelled its author, with the clergy and laity of his faction, from the church and from the city. Arius went to Palestine, where some, says Epiphanius, received, and some rejected his system.[2] His party, however, soon became formidable. The Arians, accordingly, assembled a synod, and exhibited a noble display of their unity with the Egyptians. The former in the council of Bithynia, reversed all that had been done at Alexandria. Arius was declared orthodox and admitted to their communion. Circular letters were transmitted to the several bishops of the church, for the purpose of inducing them to follow the Bithynian example, and of enjoining the same on the patriarch of Alexandria.

The Tyrian, some time after, counteracted the Nicene council, as the Bithynian had the Alexandrian. The council of Nicæa, the first general council, convoked by the emperor Constantine, was assembled to settle the Trinitarian controversy, and was the most celebrated ecclesiastical congress of antiquity. The clergy were summoned from the several parts of Christendom, and about 318 attended. Hosius, in the general opinion, was honoured with the presidency. The assembled fathers, for the establishment of Trinitarianism and the extermination of Arianism, declared the CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the Son. This celebrated term, indeed, had, about sixty years before, been rejected by the synod of Antioch and by Dionysius of Alexandria, in opposition to Sabellianism. Dionysius, however, had rejected it merely because unscriptural; but afterward used it in an epistle to the Roman hierarch. The Antiochian fathers omitted it, because it seemed, in the perverted explanation of the Paulicians, to favour Sabellianism, and militate against the distinct personality of the Son. The word, however, came into use soon after the apostolic age. Tertullian, arguing against Praxeas, employs an expression of the same import. The term, according to Ruffinus, was found in the works of Origen.[3] The Arians, only three in number,

[1] Epiph. II. 69. P. 729. Sozomen, I. 15. Godea. 2. 120.
[2] Epiph. I. 729. Euseb. III. 6, 7. Sozomen, I. 15. Alex. 7. 91.
[3] Epiph. 1. 735. Socrat. 1. 8. Tertullian, 502. c. 4. Alex. 7. 122. Juenin, 3. 60

who refused subscription, were, according to the unchristian custom of the age, anathematized and banished.

The Tyrian synod, though only provincial, endeavoured to counteract the supreme authority of the general Nicene council. This assembly, which was convened by the emperor in 335, consisted of about sixty of the eastern episcopacy. Athanasius, who was compelled to appear as a criminal, accused of the foulest but most unfounded imputations, attended with about forty Egyptians. Dionysius, with the imperial guards, was commissioned to prevent commotion or disorder. The Arian faction was led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, with passion and tyranny. The whole scene combined the noisy fury of a mob, and the appalling horrors of an inquisition. Athanasius, notwithstanding, with admirable dexterity, exposed the injustice of the council and vindicated his own innocence. The champion of Trinitarianism, however, would have been murdered by the bravoes of Arianism, had not the soldiery rescued the intended victim from assassination. He embarked in a ship and escaped their holy vengeance.[1] But the sacred synod, in his absence, did not forget to pronounce sentence of excommunication and banishment.

The Antitrinitarians, soon after the Nicene council, split into several factions, distinguished by different names. The Arians and Semi-Arians, however, predominated. The Arians followed the system of their founder, and continued to maintain the DISSIMILARITY of the Son. The Semi-Arians, approximating to the Nicenians, asserted his SIMILARITY.[2] Arianism, indeed, in the multiplicity of its several forms, occupies all the immense space between Socinianism, which holds the Son's mere humanity, and Trinitarianism, which maintains his true deity. This intermediate distance seems to have been filled by the Antitrinitarian systems of the fourth century, as they ascribed more or less perfection to the second person of the Godhead. The Arians and Semi-Arians, however, wrangling about the similarity and dissimilarity, showed the utmost opposition and hatred to each other, as well as to the Nicenians who contended for the consubstantiality.

The Semi-Arians and Trinitarians soon came to action, in the Antiochian and Roman synods. Julius, the Roman pontiff, assembled a Roman council of fifty Italian bishops, in which Athanasius was acquitted and admitted to communion. The Greeks, in the mean time, assembled at Antioch, and opened

[1] Socrat. 1. 28–34. Sozom. II. 25–28. Theod. I. 30. Alex. 7. 132. Godeau, 2. 182.
[2] Epiph. II. 73. P. 485. Alex. 7. 95.

a battery against the enemy.[1] These, amounting to ninety, degraded Athanasius, and issued three Semi-Arian creeds, which differing in other particulars, concurred in rejecting the consubstantiality.

The council of Sardica in 347, declared for Athanasius and Trinitarianism, and was opposed by that of Philippopolis in Thracia. The Sardican assembly consisted of about 300 of the Latins, and the other of about seventy of the Greeks. The hostile councils encountered each other with their spiritual artillery, and hurled the thunders of mutual excommunication. The Latins at Sardica cursed and degraded the Arians with great devotion. The Greeks at Philippopolis, retorting the imprecations with equal piety, condemned the consubstantiality, and excommunicated Athanasius the Alexandrian patriarch, Julius the Roman pontiff, and their whole party. Athanasius, in this manner, stigmatised in the east as a sinner, was revered in the west as a saint. Accounted the patron of heresy among the Greeks, he was reckoned, among the Latins, the champion of catholicism. Having devoted each other to Satan with mutual satisfaction, the pious episcopacy proceeded to the secondary task of enacting forms of faith. The western prelacy were content with the Nicene confession. The oriental clergy published an ambiguous creed faintly tinged with Semi-Arianism.[2]

The Sardican council was the last stand which the Latins, during the reign of Constantius, made for Athanasius and Trinitarianism. The Greeks, who were mostly Arians, were joined by the Latins, and both in concert, in the councils of Arles, Milan, Sirmium, Ariminum, Seleucia, and Constantinople, condemned Athanasius and supported Arianism.

The Synod of Arles, in 353, commenced hostilities against Consubstantiality and its Alexandrian champion. Constantius had long, with the utmost anxiety, wished the western prelacy to condemn the Alexandrian metropolitan. But the emperor, on account of his enemy's popularity, and the reviving freedom of the Roman government, proceeded with caution and difficulty. The Latins met at Arles, where Marcellus and Vincent, who, from their capacity and experience, were expected to maintain the dignity of their legation, represented the Roman hierarch. Valens and Ursacius, who were veterans in faction, led the Arian and Imperial party; and succeeded by the superiority of their tactics and the influence of their sovereign, in procuring the condemnation of Athanasius.[3]

[1] Socrat. 11. 7. Bin. 1. 519. Alex. 7. 151. Godeau, 2. 20.
[2] Theod. 11. 8. Socrat. 11. 20. Bin. 1. 558. Alex. 7 153. Bruys, 1. 112.
[3] Bin. 1. 589. Labb. 2. 823. Bruys, 1. 115.

The Synod of Arles was, in 355, succeeded by that of Milan, and attended with similar consequences. This convention, summoned by Constantius, consisted of about 300 of the western and a few of the oriental clergy. The assembly which, in number appears to have equalled the Nicene council, seemed, at first, to favour the Nicene faith and its intrepid defender. Dionysius, Eusebius, Lucifer, and Hilary made a vigorous, though an unsuccessful stand. But the integrity of the bishops was gradually undermined by the sophistry of the Arians and the solicitation of the emperor, who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity, and exposed his own passions while he influenced those of the clergy. Reason and truth were silenced by the clamours of a venal majority. The Arians were admitted to communion, and the hero of trinitarianism was, with all due solemnity, condemned by the formal judgment of western as well as eastern christendom.

The decisions of Arles and Milan were corroborated by those of Sirmium. The Sirmian assembly, convoked by the emperor and celebrated in the annals of antiquity, consisted, says Sozomen,[1] of both Greeks and Latins; and, therefore, in the usual acceptation of the term, was a general council. The westerns, according to Binius, amounted to more than three hundred, and the easterns, in all probability, were equally numerous. The fathers of Sirmium must have been about double those of Nicæa.[2] The assembly seems to have had several sessions at considerable intervals, and its chronology has been adjusted by Petavius and Valesius.

The Sirmians emitted three forms of faith. The first, in 351, omits the consubstantiality, but contains no express declaration against the divinity of the Son. This exposition, which Athanasius accounted Arian, Gelasius, Hilary, and Facundus reckoned Trinitarian.[3] The eastern and western champions of the faith differed, in this manner, on the orthodoxy of a creed, issued by a numerous council and confirmed by a Roman pontiff. Athanasius condemned, as heresy, a confession which Hilary, supported in the rear by his infallibility Pope Gelasius, approved as Catholicism. This was an admirable display of unity. The second formulary of Sirmium, in 357, contains pure Arianism. The consubstantiality and similarity, in this celebrated confession, are rejected, and the Son, in honour and glory, represented as inferior to the Father

[1] Soz. IV. 9. Socrat. 2. 36 Bin. 1. 289. Labb. 2. 827.
[2] Socrat. II. 30. Sozomen, IV. 6. Bin. 1. 593, 594, 595.
[3] Hilarius illam formulam non improbat, imo censet Catholicam. Sed ab Athanasio rejicitur tanquam opus, quo Ariana impietas, implicite saltem, contineretur Juenin, 3. 70. Alex. 7. 170. Labb. 2. 846. Godeau, 2. 282.

who alone possesses the attributes of eternity, invisibility, and immortality. The third, which was afterward adopted in the Armenian synod, is Semi-Arian. Rejecting the consubstantiality, as unscriptural, it asserts the similarity of the Son.

The second Sirmian confession was confirmed by Pope Liberius. Baronius, Alexander, Binius, and Juenin indeed have laboured hard to show that the creed which Liberius signed, was not the second, but the first of Sirmium, which, according to Hilary, was orthodox.[1] But the unanimous testimony of history is against this opinion. Du Pin has stated the transactions, on this occasion, with his usual candour and accuracy. The Roman bishop, according to this author, subscribed the second of Sirmium, which was Arian, while an exile at Berea, and the first of the same city, which was Semi-Arian, afterwards at the place in which it was issued. 'All antiquity, with one consent, admits the certainty of this Pontiff's subscription to an Arian creed, and speaks of his fall as an apostacy from the faith.'[2] Du Pin's statement and the Arianism of the Sirmian confession, which Liberius signed, has been attested by Liberius, Hilary, Athanasius, Jerom, Philostorgius, Damasus, Anastasius, and Sozomen.

Liberius himself, in his epistle to his oriental clergy, declared, that he signed, at Berea, the confession which was presented to him by Demophilus, a decided and zealous partizan of Arianism. Demophilus, the Roman pontiff writes, 'explained the Sirmian faith, which Liberius, with a willing mind, afterward subscribed.' He avers, in the same production, that 'he agreed with the oriental bishops,' who were notoriously Arian, 'in all things.'[3]

The sainted Hilary calls Liberius a prevaricator, designates the confession issued at Sirmium, proposed by Demophilus, and signed by the pontiff, 'the Arian perfidy,' and launches 'three anathemas against his holiness and his companions, who were all heretics.'[4] Hilary's account shows, in the clearest terms, that it was not the first Sirmian formulary which Liberius signed. This, Hilary accounted orthodox, and therefore would not denominate it a perfidy.

Athanasius confirms the relation of Hilary and the apostacy of Liberius, 'who, through fear of death, subscribed.' Jerome

[1] Spon. 357. XIII. Alex. 7. 117. Bin. 1. 576.

[2] Omnes antiqui, uno ore, de lapsu Liberii, velut de apostasia a fide loquuntur Du Pin, 347.

[3] Videtis in omnibus me vobis consentaneum esse. Hanc ego libenti animo, suscepi. Bin. 1. 582. Hilary, Fragm. 426. Juenin, 3. 75. Maimburg, 103.

[4] Haec est perfidia Ariana. Anathema, tibi a me dictum, Liberi, et sociis tuis, Iterum tibi anathema et tertio prævaricator, Liberi. Hilary, in Fragm. 426, 427 Maimburg, 104.

of sainted memory has, in his catalogue and chronicon, related the same fact. Fortunatian, says the saint, 'urged, and subdued, and constrained Liberius to the subscription of heresy.' Liberius, says the same author, 'weary of banishment, signed heretical depravity.' Liberius according to Philostorgius, 'subscribed against Athanasius and the Consubstantiality.' This pontiff, says Damasus in his pontifical, and Anastasius in his history, 'consented to the heretic Constantius.' The emperor, says Sozomen, 'forced Liberius to deny the consubstantiality.'[1]

Liberius, Hilary, Athanasius, Jerome, Philostorgius, Damasus, and Anastasius, in this statement, have, in more modern times, been followed by Platina, Auxilius, Eusebius, Cusan, Areolus, Mezeray, Bruys, Petavius, Avocat, Gerson, Vignier, Marian, Alvarius, Bede, Sabellicus, Gerson, Regino, Alphonsus, Caron, Tostatus, Godeau, Du Pin, and Maimbourg. Liberius, says Platina, 'agreed in all things with the heretics or Arians.' Auxilius, Eusebius, Cusan, Areolus, Mezeray, Bruys, Petavius, Avocat, Gerson, Vignier, Marian, and Alvarius represent Liberius, as subscribing or consenting to an Arian confession. Bede, the English historian in his martyrology, characterizes this pontiff, like the Emperor Constantius, as a partizan of Arianism. Liberius, according to Sabellicus, Gerson, Regino, Alphonsus, Caron and Tostatus, was an Arian. This pontiff, says Godeau, 'subscribed the Sirmian confession and concurred with the oriential clergy, who were the patrons of heresy. His condemnation of Athanasius, at this time, was the condemnation of Catholicism.' Du Pin bears testimony of this pontiff's apostacy, in signing the second confession of Sirmium. The Roman hierarch, says this author in his History and Dissertations, subscribed both to Arianism and Semi-Arianism; while all the ancients, with the utmost unanimity, testify his defection from Trinitarianism. Maimbourg, though a Jesuit, admits the pontiff's solemn approbation of Arianism, and his fall into the abyss of heresy.[2]

[1] Φοβηθεις τον απειλουμενον θανατον, υπεγραψεν. Athanasius, ad Sol.—Solicitavit ac fregit et ad subscriptionem hæresios compulit. Jerom. 4. 124. Liberius tædio victus exilii et in hæretica pravitate subscribens. Jerom in Chron. Λιβεριον κατα του ομοουσιου και μην και κατα γε του Αθανασιου υπογραψαι. Philos. IV. 3. Liberius consensit Constantio hæretico. Anastasius, 11. Bin. 1. 576 Εβιαζετο αυτο ομολογειν μη ειναι τω Πατρι τον υιον ομοουσιον. Sozomen, IV. 5.

[2] In rebus omnibus sensit cum hæreticis. Pontifex cum Arianis sentiebat. Platina in Liber. Quis nesciat quod Liberius, proh dolor, Arianæ hæresi subscripserit. Auxilius, 1. 25. Alex. 9. 17.

Doleret Liberium Papam Arianae perfidiae consensisse. Euseb. in Brev. Rom Launoy, 1. 126.

Liberius consensit errori Arianorum. Cusan, II. 5. Caron, 87.

Liberius in illam pravitatem subscripsissit. Areolus in Caron, 96.

His supremacy's fall from Trinitarianism, indeed, is attested by all antiquity and by all the moderns, who have any pretensions to candour or honesty. The relation has been denied only by a few men, such as Baronius and Bellarmine, whose days were spent in the worthy task of concealing or perverting the truth. These, utterly destitute of historical authority, have endeavoured to puzzle the subject by misrepresentation and chicanery. Baronius maintains the orthodoxy of the Sirmian confession signed by the Roman pontiff. The annalist, on this topic, has the honour to differ from the saints and historians of antiquity, such as Hilary, Athanasius, Jerome, Damasus, and Sozomen. His infallibility, according to Bellarmine, encouraged Arianism only in external action; while his mind, 'that noble seat of thought,' remained the unspotted citadel of genuine Catholicism. This was very clear and sensible in the Jesuit, who seems to have been nearly as good at distinctions as Walter Shandy.

The pontiff's vindicators, such as Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Juenin, Faber, Dens, and Bossuet, who deny his Arianism, admit his condemnation of Athanasius, his communion with the Arians, and his omission of the consubstantiality. These errors, which are acknowledged, amount, in reality, to a profession of Arianism and an immolation of the truth. The cause of Athanasius, says Maimbourg, 'was inseparable from the faith which he defended' The condemnation of the Trinita-

Liberius etant tombé en herésie. Mezeray, 561

Concile de Sirmium aiant dressé une profession de foi en faveur de l'arianisme Libere y souscrivit. Bruys, 1. 118.

Liberius subscripsit Arianorum fidei professioni. Petavius, 2. 134.

Liberius eut la foiblesse de souscrire à une formule de fai dressée a Sirmich avec beaucoup d'artifice par les Ariens. Avocat, 2. 67.

Legimus Liberium Arianæ pravitati subscripsisse. Gerson in Cossant, 3. 1156.

Liberius souscrivit a la doctrine des Ariens. Vignier, 3. 879.

Liberius taedio victus exilii, in hæretica privitate subscribens, Marian, in Crabb 1. 347. Liberius Papa Arianæ perfidiae consensit. Alvarus, II. 10.

Sub Constantio Imperatore Ariano machinante, Liberio præsule similiter hæretico. Beda, 3. 326. Marty. 19. Calend. Sept.

Arianus, ut quidam scribunt, est factus. Sabell. Enn. 7. L. 8.

Libère souscrivit l'Arianisme. Gerson in Lenfan. Pisa, 1. 286.

Liberius reversus ab exilio, haereticis favet. Regin. 1.

De Liberio Pape, constat fuisse Arianum. Alphonsus, I. 4. Caron. 96.
Vere Arianus fuit. Caron. c. 18.

Quilibet homo potest errare in fide, et effici haereticus: sicut de multis summis Pontificibus legimus ut de Liberio. Tostatus, in Laun. ad Metay. 16.

On ne peut nier qu'ils ne fussent heretiques. Godeau, 2. 286.

Liberius fidei formulæ haereticæ subscripsit. Du Pin, 347.

Liberius approuva solennellement l'Arianisme tomber dans l'abime de l'heresie. Maimburg, c. 10.

rian chief, according to Godeau and Moreri, 'was tantamount to the condemnation of Catholicism.'[1]

The Papal church, therefore, in its representation at Sirmium, through the oriental and occidental communion, was, in this manner, guilty of general apostacy. Its head and its members, or the Roman pontiff and his clergy, conspired, through eastern and western christendom, against Catholicism, and fell into heresy. The defection extended to the Greeks and Latins, and was sanctioned by the pope. No fact, in all antiquity, is better attested than this event, in which all the cotemporary historians concur, without a single discord to interrupt the general harmony.

The world, on this occasion, was blessed with two cotemporary Arian Pontiffs. During the expatriation of Liberius, Felix was raised to the papacy, and remains to the present day a saint and a martyr of Romanism. This Hierarch notwithstanding, was, without any lawful election, ordained by Arian bishops, communicated with the Arian party, embraced, say Socrates and Jerome, the Arian heresy, and violated a solemn oath, which, with the rest of the Roman clergy, he had taken, to acknowledge no other bishop while Liberius lived. Athanasius, the champion of Trinitarianism, was so ungenteel as to style this saint, 'a monster, raised to the Papacy by the malice of Antichrist.'[2] The church, at this time, had two Arian heads, and God had two heretical vicars-general. One viceroy of heaven was guilty of Arianism, and the other, both of Arianism and perjury. Baronius and Bellarmine should have informed Christendom, which of these vice-gods, or whether both, possessed the attribute of infallibility.

The councils of Ariminum, Seleucia, and Constantinople followed the defection of Liberius, and displayed, in a striking point of view, the versatility of the Papal communion and the triumph of the Arian heresy. Constantius had designed to call a general council, for the great, but impracticable purpose of effecting unanimity of faith through all the precincts of eastern and western Christendom; and Arianism, in the emperor's intention, was to be the standard of uniformity. His majesty, however, was diverted, probably by the intrigues of the Arians, from the resolution of convening the Greeks and Latins in one assembly. Two councils, therefore, one in the east and the

[1] On ne peut nier que condamner Athanase, ne fut condemner la foi Catholique. Godeau, 5. 286. Moreri, 5. 154. Maimburg, IV. Bellarmin, IV. 9. Bin. 1. 593.
Verum est Liberium cum Arianis communicasse et subscripsisse damnationi Athanasii. Dens, 2. 163.
Liberius rejetta la communion d'Athanase, communia avec les Ariens, et suscrivit une confession de foi, ou la foi de Nicée etoit supprimée. Bossuet, Opus. 2. 545

[2] Athan. ad Sol. Theod. II. 17. Socrat. II. 37. Sozomen, IV. 11.

other in the west, were appointed to meet at the same time. The westerns were instructed to meet at Ariminum and the easterns at Seleucia. The Ariminian council, which met in 359, consisted of 400, or, as some say, 600 western bishops, from Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum.[1] The Arian party, in this convention, was small, amounting only to about 80; but was led by Valens and Ursacius, who trained under the Eusebian banners in the ecclesiastical wars of the east, had been practised in faction and popular discussion, which gave them a superiority over the undisciplined ecclesiastical soldiery of the west.

The council, at first, assumed a high tone of orthodoxy. The consubstantiality was retained, the Nicene faith confirmed, and the Arian heresy condemned with the usual anathemas. The Ariminians, unsatisfied with the condemnation of Arianism, proceeded next to point their spiritual artillery against his partizans.[2] These were sacrificed to the interests of the Nicene theology, and hurled from their episcopal thrones, as an immolation to the offended genius of Trintarianism.

But the end of this assembly disgraced the beginning. Ursacius and Valens, experienced in wordy war and skilled in synodal tactics, rallied their flying forces, and charged the victorious enemy with menace and sophistry. These veterans summoned to their aid, the authority of the emperor and the control of the Prefect, who was commissioned to banish the refractory, if they did not exceed fifteen. The chicanery of the Semi-Arian faction embarrassed, confounded, and, at last, deceived the ignorance or simplicity of the Latin prelacy, who, by fraud and intimidation, yielded to the enemy, and surrendered the palladium of the Nicenian faith. The authority of Constantius, the influence of Taurus, the stratagems of Ursacius and Valens, the dread of banishment, the distress of hunger and cold, extorted the reluctant subscription of the Ariminian Fathers to a Semi-Arian form of faith, which established the similarity of the Son, but suppressed the consubstantiality. The suppression, however, did not satisfy the Semi-Arian party. An addition was subjoined, declaring 'the son unlike other creatures.' This plainly implied that the Son is a created being, though of a superior order and of a peculiar kind. The western clergy, in this manner were bubbled out of their religion. All, says Prosper, 'condemned, through treachery, the ancient faith, and subscribed the perfidy of Ariminum.'[3] The crafty dexterity of

[1] Theod. II. 18. Epiph. 1. 870. Hilary, 428. Alex. 7. 180. Godeau, 2. 296
[2] Theod. II. 16 Labbeus, 2. 896, 912. Paolo, 2. 106. Juenin, 3. 71.
[3] Synodus apud Ariminum et Seleuciam Isauriæ facta, in qua antiqua patrum fides decem primo legatorum dehinc omnium proditione damnata est. Prosper, 1. 423. Socrat. II. 37. Sozomen, IV. 19.

the Semi-Arians gulled the silly simplicity or gross ignorance of the Trinitarians, who, according to their own story, soon repented. Arianism, said the French chancellor at Poissy, was established by the general council of Ariminum.

The eastern clergy, in the mean time, met at Seleucia, and exhibited a scene of confusion, fury, tumult, animosity, and nonsense, calculated to excite the scorn of the infidel and the pity of the wise. Nazianzen calls this assembly 'the tower of Babel and the council of Caiaphas.' An hundred and sixty bishops attended. The Semi-Arians amounted to about one hundred and five, the Arians to forty, and the Trinitarians to fifteen, Leonas, the Quæstor, attended, as the Emperor's deputy, to prevent tumult. The Arians and Semi-Arians commenced furious debates on the Son's similarity, dissimilarity, and consubstantiality. Dissension and animosity arose to such a height, that Leonas withdrew, telling the noisy ecclesiastics, that his presence was not necessary to enable them to wrangle and scold. The Semi-Arian creed of Antioch, however, was, on the motion of Sylvan, recognized and subscribed; and the Arians withdrew from the assembly. The Arians and a deputation from the Semi-Arians afterwards appeared at court, to plead their cause before the emperor, who obliged both to sign the last Sirmian confession, which, dropping the consubstantiality, established the similarity of the Son in all things.[1]

The Byzantine synod, which met in 360, confirmed the last Sirmian confession. This assembly consisted of fifty bishops of Bythinia, who were the abettors of Arianism. All these, though Arians, adopted the Sirmian formulary, which sanctioned 'the similarity of the son in all things.' This, these dissemblers did to flatter the emperor, who patronized this system. All other forms of belief were condemned, the Acts of the Seleucian synod repealed, and the chief patrons of the Semi-Arian heresy deposed.[2]

The Arians, supported by the emperor, continued the persecution of the Nicene faith, till the world, in general, became Arian. The contagion of heresy, like a desolating pestilence, spread through the wide extent of eastern and western Christendom. The melancholy tale has, among others, been attested by Sozomen, Jerome, Basil, Augustine, Vincentius, Prosper, Beda, Baronius, and Labbeus.[3]

[1] Godeau, 2. 302. Nazianzen, Or. 21. Labbeus, 2. 915. Sozomen, IV. 22. Socrat. II. 39, 40. Alex. 7. 185.

[2] Socrat. II. 41. Labbeus, 3. 72. Juenin, 3. 72.

[3] Εδοκει τοτε δια τον του βασιλεως φοβον, ανατεθη πας δυσις ομοφρονειν περι το δογμα. Sozomen, IV. 16. Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est. Jerom. adv. Lucif. 4. 300. Πλην ολιγων αγαν. Nazian Or. 21. Ειρα πογεμενο

'The east and west,' says Sozomen, 'seemed, through fear of Constantius, to agree in faith.' Arianism, all know, was the faith produced by dread of the emperor. 'The whole world,' says the sainted Jerome, 'groaned and wondered to find itself become Arian.' Gregory's relation is still more circumstantial and melancholy. All, says this celebrated author, 'except a very few whom obscurity protected, or whose resolution, through divine strength, was proof against temptation and danger, temporised, yielded to the emperor, and betrayed the faith.' Some, he adds, 'were chiefs of the impiety, and some were circumvented by threats, gain, ignorance, or flattery. The rightful guardians of the faith, actuated by hope or fear, became its persecutors. Few were found, who did not sign with their hands what they condemned in their hearts; while many, who had been accounted invincible, were overcome. The faithful, without distinction, were degraded and banished.' The subscription of the Byzantine confession was an indispensable qualification for obtaining and retaining the episcopal dignity.

Basil, on the occasion, uses still stronger language than Gregory. He represents the church as reduced to that 'complete desperation, which he calls its dissolution.' According to Augustine, 'the church, as it were, perished from the earth. Nearly all the world fell from the apostolic faith. Among six hundred and fifty bishops, were found scarcely seven, who obeyed God rather than the emperor, and who would neither condemn Athanasius nor deny the Trinity. The Latins, according to Vincentius, 'yielded almost all to force or fraud, and the poison of Arianism contaminated, not merely a few, but nearly the whole world.'

'Nearly all the churches in the whole world,' says Prosper, 'were, in the name of peace and the emperor, polluted with the communion of the Arians.' The councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, which embraced the eastern and western prelacy. all,

σωτῶν ἐρχόμεθα. παντέλη λήλυται παρα ἐκκλησια. Basil, ep. 82. ad Athan. 3. 173. Tanquam perierit ecclesia de orbe terrarum. August. Ep. 93. L'eglise étoit perie. Apol. 1. 100. Dilapso a fide Apostolorum omni pene mundo. De sexcentis et quinquaginta, ut fertur, episcopis vix septem inventi sunt, quibus cariora essent Dei praecepta quam regis, videlicet ut nec in Athanasii damnationem convenirent, nec Trinitatis confessionem negarent. Augustin, contra Jul. 10. 919. Arianorum venenum non jam portiunculam quandam, sed pene orbem totum contaminaverat, adeo ut prope cunctis Latini sermonis episcopis, partim vi, partim fraude, caligo quædam mentibus offunderetur. Vincent. Com. 644. Omnes pene ecclesiae, toto orbe sub nomine pacis et regis, Arianorum consortio polluuntur. Prosper, Chron. 1. 423. Ariana vesania, corrupto orbe toto, hanc etiam insulam veneno sui infecit erroris. Non solum orbis totius, sed et insularum ecclesiis aspersit. Beda, 1. 8. Fere omnes episcopi in fraudem sunt inducti, ut Occidentales Ariminensi illi formulæ, ita Orientales subscriberent. Baron. in Bisciola, 230. Omnes pene totius orbis antistites metu exilii et tormentorum per vim, induxerunt. Labbeus, 2. 912.

through treachery, condemned the ancient faith. The Ariminian confession, the saint denominated 'the Ariminian perfidy.' The Arian madness, says the English historian Bede, 'corrupted the whole continent, opened a way for the pestilence beyond the ocean, and shed its poison on the British and other western islands.'

Baronius calls Arianism, in this age, 'the fallacy, into which were led almost all the eastern and western clergy, who subscribed the Ariminian confession.' Labbeus, in his statement, concurs with Baronius. He represents 'all the prelacy of the whole world, except a few, as yielding, on this occasion, to the fear of exile or torment.'

Arianism, in this manner, was sanctioned by the Papal church, virtual, representative, and dispersed, or, in other words, by the Roman pontiff, a general council, and the collective clergy of Christendom. Pope Liberius confirmed an Arian creed, issued by the general council of Sirmium. The synods of Ariminum and Seleucia, comprehending both the Greeks and the Latins, copied the example of Sirmium. The Constantinopolitan confession, which was the same as the Ariminian and Sirmian, which were both Semi-Arian, was circulated through the east and west, and signed by the clergy dispersed through the Roman empire. The Romish church professes to receive the doctrines, approved, in general, by the Episcopacy, assembled in council or scattered through the world. Arianism was established in both these ways, and the Romish communion therefore became Arian in its head and in its members, or, in other words, in the pope and in the clergy.

The boasted unity of Romanism was gloriously displayed, by the diversified councils and confessions of the fourth century. Popery, on that as on every other occasion, eclipsed Protestantism in the manufacture of creeds. Forty-five councils, says Jortin, were held in the fourth century.[1] Of these, thirteen were against Arianism, fifteen for that heresy, and seventeen for Semi-Arianism. The roads were crowded with bishops thronging to synods, and the travelling expenses, which were defrayed by the emperor, exhausted the public funds. These exhibitions became the sneer of the heathen, who were amused to behold men, who, from infancy, had been educated in Christianity, and appointed to instruct others in that religion, hastening, in this manner, to distant places and conventions for the purpose of ascertaining their belief.

Socrates reckons nine Arian creeds, which, in significan language, he calls a labyrinth. The Sirmian confession, which

[1] Jortin, 3. 106. Ammian. XXV. Athan. de Syn.

contained one of the nine, was signed by the Roman pontiff, and the majority of these innovations was subscribed by the western as well as by the eastern prelacy. Fleury makes the Arian confessions sixteen, and Tillemont eighteen. Petavius reckons the public creeds at eleven. Fourteen forms of faith, says Juenin, were published in fourteen years, by those who rejected the Nicene theology.[1] Eight of these are mentioned by Socrates, and the rest by Athanasius, Hilary, and Epiphanius.

Hilary seems to have been the severest satirist, in this age, on the variations of Popery. Our faith, says the Roman saint, 'varies as our wills, and our creeds are diversified as our manners. Confessions are formed and interpreted according to fancy. We publish annual and monthly creeds concerning God. We repent and defend our decisions, and pronounce anathemas on those whom we have defended. Our mutual dissensions have caused our mutual ruin.'[2] Hilary was surely an ungrateful son of canonization.

Gregory Nazianzen, who equalled Hilary in sanctity and surpassed him in moderation and genius, treats the jarring prelacy of his day with similar freedom and severity. The Byzantine patriarch lamented the misery of the Christian community, which, torn with divisions, contended about the most useless and trivial questions. He compared the contentions of the clergy in synods, 'to the noisy and discordant cackling of geese and cranes.'[3] He resigned his dignity and retired from the city and council of Constantinople, through an aversion to the altercations and enmity of the ecclesiastics who, by their discord, had dishonoured their profession, and 'changed the kingdom of heaven into an image of chaos.'

[1] Socrat. II. 41. Spon. 359. VIII. Fleury, XIV. Bisciola, 320. Tillem, 6. 477. Juenin, 3.72. Petav. VI. 4. Epiph. H. 73.

[2] Tot nunc fides existere, quot voluntates; et tot nobis doctrinas esse, quot mores. Fides scribuntur, ut volumus, aut ita ut volumes, intelliguntur. Incerto doctrinarum vento vagamur. Annuas atque menstruas de Deo Fides decernimus. Decretis pœnitemus, defendimus, defensos, anathematizamus. Mordentes invicem, jam absumpti sumus ab invicem. Hilary, ad Constan. 308.

[3] Greg. Or. 1. Carm. X. Orat. 32.

CHAPTER X.

EUTYCHIANISM.

EUTYCHIANISM A VERBAL HERESY—ITS PRIOR EXISTENCE—BYZANTINE COUNCIL—EPHESIAN COUNCIL—CHALCEDONIAN COUNCIL—STATE OF MONOPHYSITISM AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON—ZENO'S HENOTICON—VARIETY OF OPINIONS ON THAT EDICT—JACOBINISM—DISTRACTED STATE OF CHRISTENDOM.

THE Son of God, in the theology of Christian antiquity, united, in one person, both deity and humanity. The Christians, in the days of simplicity and prior to the introduction of refinement and speculation, accounted the Mediator perfect God and perfect man. His divinity was acknowledged in opposition to Arianism; and his humanity, consisting in a real body and a rational soul, in contradiction to Gnosticism and Apollinarianism, Godhead and manhood, according to the same faith and contrary to the alleged error of Nestorianism, subsisted in the unity of his person. The simplicity of the faithful, in the early ages, was satisfied with the plain untheorized fact, without vainly attempting to investigate the manner of the union between the divinity and humanity.

All human knowledge may be resolved into a few facts, evidenced by human or divine testimony. Reason, in a few instances, may discover their causes and consequences, which again are known to man only as facts. The manner, inscrutable to man, is removed beyond the ken of the human mind, and cognizable only by the boundlessness of divine omniscience. An acorn is evolved into an oak. But the mode of accomplishment is unknown to man. The human eye cannot trace the operation through all its curious and wonderful transformations in the mazy labyrinth of nature, and in the dark laboratory and hidden recesses of vegetation. The soul, unacquainted with the manner of its union with the body and the mutual action of matter and mind, may decline philosophizing on the incarnation of the Son and the union of Godhead and manhood in Immanuel. The ancients therefore showed their wisdom in avoiding speculation on a truth, the certainty of which, to their great joy, they had learned from revelation.

But the days of simplicity passed and the age of speculation arrived. Men, under the mask of devotion, differed and fought about what they did not understand. The Eutychian controversy, which exemplified these observations and which was the occasion of shocking animosity, began in the year 448. Eutyches, from whom this party took its name, was Abbot or Superior of a Byzantine convent of 300 monks, in which he had remained for seventy years. This recluse seems, in his cell, to have spent a life of sanctity; and he boasted of having grown hoary in combatting error and defending the truth. His understanding and literary attainments have been represented as below mediocrity. Leo, the Roman hierarch, calls Eutyches an old senseless dotard. Petavius reflects on his stupidity.[1] But these aspersions seem to have been the offspring of prepossession and enmity. The supposed Heresiarch, if a judgment may be formed from the records of history, showed no imbecility of mind either in word or action. He displayed, on the contrary, before the Byzantine and Chalcedonian councils, a fund of sense and modesty, which might have awakened the envy of his persecutors. He resolved indeed to rest his faith only on the Bible, as a firmer foundation than the fathers.[2] This was unpardonable, and evinced shocking and incurable stupidity.

This celebrated innovator, however, as he had been sometimes accounted, seemed to confound the natures of the Son, as Nestorius had appeared to divide his person. He was accused of denying our Lord's humanity, as Arius had denied his divinity, and of renewing the errors of Gnosticism and Apollinarianism. He believed, said some of his opponents, that the humanity was absorbed by the divinity as a drop is overwhelmed in the ocean. Godeau, unsatisfied with accusing the Heresiarch with other errors, has, by a curious process of reasoning, endeavoured to add Nestorianism, though this, in general, was accounted the opposite heresy. These statements, however, he rejected with indignation. He used language, indeed, which, from its inaccuracy, seemed to imply that the Son of God, after his incarnation, possessed but one nature; and that he was not consubstantial with man in his humanity, as he was consubstantial with God in his deity. Eutychianism, as refined and explained by Fullo and Xenias, was denominated Monophysitism. These, though they maintained the

[1] Qui sui nominis hæresim condidit. Victor, 321.
Leo. ad Flav. et ad Fast. Labb. 4. 790, 1214. Bin. 3. 10, 104. Godeau, 3 10, 405, 418. Petav. I. 14. Alex. 10. 321.
[2] Solas scripturas sectari, tanquam firmiores Patrum expositionibus. Alex. 10 325.

unity of the Son's nature, admitted that this unity was two-fold and compounded, and rejected the idea of change or confusion of his divinity and humanity.[1] This denomination, from Jacob or Zanzal, its restorer, the grandeur of whose views surpassed the obscurity of his station, was called Jacobites.

Eutychianism was only a nominal or verbal heresy. The controversy, through all its stages and in all its fury, was a mere logomacy, a miserable quibbling on the meaning of a word. Its author, though he said that Jesus before the hypostatical union, possessed two natures, and after it only one, admitted, at the same time, that he was perfect God and perfect man without confusion of the godhead and manhood; and anathematized the partizans of Manicheanism and Apollinarianism. Dioscorus, in the council of Chalcedon, anathematized all who admitted transmutation or commixion of divinity and humanity.[2]

These supposed innovators, therefore, were only guilty of confounding the words nature and person; and offended against the propriety of language rather than against the truth of Christianity. The diction of Catholicism, indeed, on this topic, far excels the phraseology of Monophysitism in precision and simplicity. But the disputation turned only on the terms of expression. This, at the present day, is the general opinion of Protestant critics, such as Basnage, La Croze, Mosheim, and Buchanan. Many Romish theologians also, all indeed who possess candour and moderation have entertained the same view. Gelasius, Thomassin, Tournefort, Simon, Petavius, Asseman, Bruys, Alphonsus, and Vasquesius, all the partizans of Romanism have declared in favor of this opinion.[3] The Jacobites or Monophysites, says Gelasius and after him Thomassin, are far from believing, that the godhead, in the Son, is blended or confounded with the manhood. Deity and humanity, says these authors, according to the Monophysite system, form one nature and person in Jesus as soul and body in man, while each retains its proper distinctions. The Armenians, who are a branch of the Jacobites, disclaim, says Tournefort, the imputation of confounding the divine and human nature, which are distinct, and ascribe the misunderstanding between themselves and the other Christian denominations to the poverty of their language. Eutychianism, says Simon, uses indeed too strong language. But the distinction arose from the various acceptations of the terms

[1] Evagrius, I. 9. Theoph. 69. Zonaras, 2. 34. Crabb. 1. 644. Godeau, 3. 406.

[2] Confitebatur perfectum Deum esse et perfectum hominem. Bin. 3. 104. Godeau, 3. 432. Dioscorus dixit, neque confusionem dicimus, neque divisionem, neque conversionem. Bin. 3. 93. Labb. 4. 954.

[3] Gelasius de Duab. Thomassin, I. 4. Tournefort, 2, 297. Simon, c. 9. Petav. I. 14. Asseman, 2, 297. Bruy. 1. 230. Alex. 11. 297, 300. Thom 2. 21 Du Pin, 694.

nature and person, and might easily be reconciled with Catholicism. The Monophysite expression, according to Petavius, may be understood in an orthodox sense. Alphonsus, Vasquesius, and Asseman, have delivered similar statements. Eutyches, says Bruys, differed from the orthodox only in his manner of expression, and was condemned only because he was misunderstood. Gregory, the Monophysite metropolitan, who was also a theologian, philosopher, poet, physician, and historian, accounted the Jacobite a mere verbal controversy. Gregory's view of this supposed heresy appears from the Byzantine conference between the Severians and Hypatius under Justinian; and again, in a still clearer light, from the confession of faith, which the Armenian patriarch sent to the emperor Manuel.

Monophysitism, however, whether real or verbal, was no novelty. Similar expressions, as Theorian, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Eustathius, Damascen, the Orientals, and Severians showed, had been used by Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory, Dionysius, and Nazianzen, who are Roman saints; and by Felix and Julius, who were Roman pontiffs.[1] Athanasius and Cyril, said Theorian, the advocate of Catholicism in 1169, used the expression 'one incarnated nature of the Word.' Eutyches, in the council of Chalcedon, said, 'I have read the works of Cyril, Athanasius, and other fathers, who ascribed two natures to the Son before the union, but after it only one.' Writing to Leo, he represented Julius saying, that divinity and humanity in Immanuel after the incarnation, formed, like soul and body in man, but one nature. The comparison of soul and body, on this question, seems to have been a favorite among the ancients. Nazianzen used it in nearly the same diction as Julius. Dioscorus, in the council of Chalcedon, said, 'I have the repeated attestations of Athanasius, Gregory, and Cyril for only one nature in Jesus after the union, and these kept, not in a negligent or careless manner, but in books. Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, on this topic, displayed signal confidence and resolution.

[1] Unam naturam sermonis incarnatam. Cossart, 2. 580, 581. Du Pin, 1. 659.

Eutyches dixit, ego legi scripta beati Cyrilli, et sanctorum patrum, et sancti Athanasii, quoniam ex duabus quidem naturis dixerunt ante adunationem, post adunationem, non jam duas naturis, sed unam naturam dixerunt. Bin. 3. 124 Labb. 6. 436. Alex. 10. 371. Liberatus, c. 11.

Naturæ quidem duæ, Deus et homo, quemadmodum et anima et corpus, Nazian. ad Cledon. Bin. 3. 182. Labb. 4. 954.

Verisimile est, non esse Cyrilli. Bell. III. 4. Damas. III. 6.

Beato Cyrillo et beato Athanasio Alexandrinæ civitatis episcopis, Felice etiam et Julio Romanæ ecclesiæ, Gregorio quin etiam et Dionysio, unam naturam Dei Verbi decernentibus post unitionem, hos omnes transgressi illi, post unitionem præsumpserunt duas naturas prædicare. Labb. 5. 912. Bin. 3. 93, 94, 97. Du Pin, 1 594

Cyril, said the bold Monophysite, declared in favor of 'one incarnated nature,' and confirmed his declaration by the testimony of Athanasius. The Judges were going to speak, when Eustathius interrupted them, and, passing into the middle of the assembly, said, 'if I am mistaken, behold Cyril's book Anathematize Cyril, and I am anathematized.' One incarnated nature, indeed, says Du Pin, was a favorite and frequent phrase with Cyril.

Damascen also, quoted by Bellarmine, ascribed language of the same kind to Athanasius, Cyril, and Nazianzen. This author, though an adherent of Romanism, admitted the use of Monophysite expressions in the above-named Grecian saints. Bellarmine, indeed, with respect to Cyril, hints a suspicion of forgery. The Cardinal, however, does not aver a certainty of falsification even in Cyril's works. He insinuates only a likelihood of interpolation in this author; and, at the same time, acknowledges the genuineness of the language attributed to Athanasius and Nazianzen.

The Orientals, Asians, Pontians, and Thracians at Chalcedon, represented Eutyches and Dioscorus as agreeing with Athanasius and Cyril in the belief of 'one incarnated nature of the Word.' The Severians, in the Byzantine conference in 533 under Justinian, convicted Athanasius, Cyril, Felix, Julius, Gregory, and Dionysius of Monophysitism from their own works in the face of Hypatius, who, on that occasion, was the advocate of Catholicism. These, according to their own writings, declared in favor of one nature in the Son after the union.

The antiquity or orthodoxy of Eutychianism, however, real or pretended, failed to protect the system from condemnation, or its supposed author from curses and excommunication. Eusebius of Dorylæum, who had been admitted into intimacy and friendship with the alleged Heresiarch, and in consequence had become acquainted with his opinions or expressions, expostulated and endeavoured to show him, says Godeau, his error and impiety. But these expostulations were useless and unavailing. He then arraigned him for heresy in a council at Constantinople, in which Flavian, patriarch of that city, presided. The Eutychian error, nominal as it was, excited the holy synod's zeal against heresy. The pious bishops, on its author's declaration of his opinion, rose in tumultuous uproar and cursed in full chorus. Their devotion evaporated in noisy and repeated anathemas against the shocking blasphemy and its impious author. The holy fathers, rising to assist their cursing and bellowing powers, twice, says Liberatus, imprecated anathemas on

the Heresiarch.[1] The sacred synod rose to their feet, to enable themselves, in an erect posture, to do justice to their devotion and to their lungs in uttering their pious ejaculations. Eutyches was declared guilty of heresy and blasphemy; and the sacred synod, in the excess of Christian charity and compassion, sighed and wept for his total apostacy. The holy men, in one breath, cursed, and sighed, and wept, and excommunicated. Their tune, it seems, exhibited sufficient variety. Sighs of pity mingled with yells of execration. The melody, which must have resembled the harmony of the spheres, could not fail to gratify all who had an ear for music. The holy council, after a reasonable expenditure of sighs, tears, lamentations, and anathemas, deprived the impious heresiarch of the sacerdotal dignity, ecclesiastical communion, and the government of his monastery. He was anathematized for holding the faith of the pontifical Felix and Julius, as well as of the sainted Cyril, Gregory, Athanasius, and Nazianzen.

The Ephesian council, in 449, completely reversed the Constantinopolitan decision. The second council of Ephesus was convened by the Emperor Theodosius, who favoured Monophysitism; and, according to the summons, consisted of ten Metropolitans, and ten suffragans from the six oriental dioceses of Egypt, Thracia, Pontus, Antioch, Asia, and Illyricum. A few others were admitted by special favour. Barsumas the Syrian was invited to represent the monks. Julian and Hilary sat as vicars of Leo the Roman hierarch. The whole assembly, in consequence, numbered about 150. Dioscorus, the Alexandrian patriarch, presided. Elpidius and Eulogius, as protectors and guardians of the convention, were commissioned by Theodosius to prevent uproar and confusion, and to induce the assembly to act with proper deliberation.[2]

This synod, from its total disregard of all justice and equity, has been called the Ephesian latrocinium or gang of felons. The application, indeed, has not been misplaced. The Ephesian cabal affords as distinguished a display of ruffianism as ever disgraced humanity. Villany, however, was not peculiar to this ecclesiastical convention. Many others possessed equal merit of the same kind, and are equally entitled to the same honourable distinction.

The battle and bloodshed, which afterwards ensued, did not commence during the preceding transactions of the assembly. The campaign did not open while faith was the topic of discus-

[1] Exurgens sancta synodus clamavit, dicens, anathema ipsi. Liberatus, c. 11 Theoph. 69. Zonaras, XIII. 23. Alex. 10. 322. Godea. 3. 407. Bin. 3. 125.
[1] Evag. 1. 9, 10. Bin. 3. 5. Alex. 10. 253. 346. Godea. 3. 415. Moreri, 3. 209

sion. The utmost unanimity prevailed on the subject of Monophysitism; and Dioscorus, on this question, found all intimidation and compulsion unnecessary. The sacred synod joined, with one consent and in holy fervour, in cursing the enemies of Eutychianism and the heresy of two natures: and piously praying that Eusebius, who had opposed their system, might be hewn asunder, burnt alive, and, as he would divide, be divided. Dioscorus desired those who could not roar, to hold up their hands in anathematizing the heresy of Flavian. All, as one man, yelled anathemas, and in loud execration and fury, vented their imprecations, that those who should divide the Son of God might be torn and massacred.[1] Dioscorus, even in the council of Chalcedon, proclaimed, without hesitation or dismay, the unanimity of the Ephesian assembly. The orientals, indeed, at Chalcedon, disclaimed, through fear, these exclamations which the Egyptians, with more consistency and resolution, even then avowed. These things, exclaimed the Egyptians, 'we then said and now say.' Eutyches, in the Ephesian synod, was declared orthodox, reinstated in the sacerdotal dignity, and restored to ecclesiastical communion; while his firmness and intrepidity, in support of the faith, were extolled in the highest strains of fulsome flattery. All this was transacted with acclamation and unanimity, and without force or intimidation. No objections were made even by Flavian, Julian, or Hilary. The Byzantine patriarch and the Roman legates viewed, with tacit or avowed consent, the establishment of Eutychianism and its author's restoration to the priesthood and ecclesiastical communion.

But the scene changed, when Dioscorus attempted to depose Flavian. Discord then succeeded to harmony, and compulsion to freedom. Many of the bishops, and especially those of Thracia, Pontus, and Asia, could not, wthout regret, witness the degradation of the Byzantine patriarch; and ventured, with the utmost submission, to supplicate Dioscorus in favour of Flavian. Julian and Hilary, say Victor and Theodoret, opposed the sentence of deposition with unshaken resolution. But Dioscorus, in reply to these supplications and expostulations, appealed to Elipidius and Eulogius. The doors, by their command, were opened, and the Proconsul of Asia entered, surrounded with a detachment of 300 soldiery armed with clubs and swords, followed by a crowd of monks, inaccessible to

[1] Sic sapit omnis synodus. Hæc universalis synodus sic sapit. Sancta synodus dixit, si quis dicit duo, sit anathema. Bin. 3. 121. Labb. 4. 931, 1012, 1018.

In duo separate eos qui dicunt duas naturas. Qui dicunt duas, dividite, interficite, ejicite. Alex. 11. 294.

Dioscorus dixit, consentimus his et nos omnes? Sancta synodus dixit consentimus. Bin. 3. 123. Godean, 3. 435

reason or mercy, and accoutred with bludgeons, the usual weapons of such militia. Hostilities soon commenced. Terror and confusion reigned. The trembling bishops, unambitious of martyrdom, hid behind the altar, crept under the benches, and, concealed in corners, seemed to envy the mouse the shelter of the wall. A few who refused to sign a blank paper, afterward filled with Flavian's condemnation, were inhumanly beaten.[1] These arguments, though perhaps not satisfactory, were tangible and convincing to the holy fathers, who, Julian and Hilary excepted, all subscribed.

Flavian, however, as might be expected, continued to object to his own condemnation, and, in consequence, was reviled and trampled. Dioscorus distinguished himself, according to Zonaras, Theophanes, Evagrius, and Binius, in cruelty to the aged patriarch. The president, on the occasion, shewed great science, and played his hands and feet with a precision, which, even in the days of modern improvement, would have delighted any amateur of the fancy. Dioscorus, says Zonaras, leaped, like a wild ass, on Flavian, and kicked the holy man's breast with his heels and struck his jaws with his fist.[2] Theophanes delivers a similar account, and describes the holy patriarch's dexterity in the belligerent application of his hands and feet. Flavian, says Evagrius, was beaten and assassinated, in a wretched manner, by Dioscorus. This, no doubt, was close reasoning, and afforded a specimen of warm and masterly discussion. The disputants certainly used hard arguments, though perhaps not strictly scriptural. Dioscorus, says Binius, from a bishop became a hangman, and thumped with both feet and fists.[3] Barsumas, who commanded the Syrian monks, was also very active in effecting the assassination of Flavian. He urged his men or rather monsters to murder. Kill, said the barbarian to his myrmidons, kill Flavian. Blows and kicks, knuckles and fists were, in this manner, applied with address and effect to the Byzantine patriarch by these holy men. His death, three days after, was the natural consequence. The Roman vicars, however, though they had betrayed the faith, made a noble stand for Flavian. These, in the face of danger, protested against the injustice of his sentence; and mindful, says Godeau, of the pontiff whom they represented, defied the fury of Dioscorus, contemned the insolence of Barsumas, and braved the terrors of death.

[1] Liberat. c. 12. Bin. 3. 60. Labb. 6. 438. Godea. 3. 435

[2] Ον τις αγριος ονος αναθορων ὁ Διοσκορος, λαξ τω στερνω ασεβοβε του ευσεβους γεροντος ανδρος, και πυξ αυτου παντα ροβρης τυπτων. Zonar. 2. 34. Theoph. 69 Evag. II. 2.

[3] Dioscorus factus ex episcopo carnifex, pugnis calcibusque contendit Bin. 3 6, 317. Labb. 4. 1413. Alex. 10. 355. Godea. 3. 434, 435.

The Ephesian council, though rejected by Baronius and Bellarmine, was general, lawful, and, on the doctrinal question, free and unanimous. Its meeting was called and its decisions confirmed, as usual, by the emperor. The summons was more general and the attendance more numerous than those of many other general councils, such as the fourth of Constantinople and the fifth of the Lateran. The Ephesian fathers, indeed, except Julian and Hilary, were easterns. But the same was the case with the second, third, fourth, and fifth general councils, except a few Egyptians at Ephesus, and two Africans and one Persian at Chalcedon. The second, third, and fifth wanted the Pope's legates, who sat at the second of Ephesus. Its decisions were sanctioned by Theodosius, who, by an edict, subjected all of the contrary system to banishment and their books to the flames. The Roman pontiff indeed did not confirm its acts. But this can be no reason for its rejection by those, who, like the French clergy and the synod of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, reckon a council above a Pope. Damasus, besides, rejected the third canon of Constantinople, and Leo, the twenty-eighth of Chalcedon; while Vigilius confirmed the fifth general council only by compulsion. The condemnation of Flavian, indeed, which was a question of discipline, was exacted by the tyranny of Dioscorus. But the decision in favor of Eutychianism, which was a point of faith, passed with freedom, unanimity, and deafening acclamation. Less liberty, if possible, was allowed in the preceding Ephesian convention, which, notwithstanding, remains, till this day, a general, apostolic, holy infallible council. Mirandula, an advocate of Romanism, admits the legality and, at the same time, the heresy of the second Ephesian congress.[1]

The Greek and Latin emperors, with the Alexandrian patriarch and Roman pontiff, were, after the council of Ephesus, placed in open hostility. Theodosius and Dioscorus, in the east, supported Monophysitism with imperial and patriarchal authority. Valentinian and Leo, in the west, patronised the theology, which, on account of its final success, and establishment, had been denominated Catholicism. The Roman and Alexandrian patriarchs, in genius, piety, and determination, were well matched. Both possessed splendid ability, pretended religion, and fearless resolution. Leo, at one time, had characterised Dioscorus as a man adorned with true faith and holiness; while Theodoret represented the patriarch as a person, who, fixing his affections on heaven, despised all worldly grandeur.[2]

[1] Mirandul. Th. 4. Godeau, 3. 436.

[2] Ουδε των θρονων το υψος βλεπεις, και τους θειους νομους ασπαζουθεις, ων η φυλακη προξενει των ουρανων την Βασιλειαν. Theod. 9. 935. Ep. 60. Leo ad Dioscor.

Leo, however, whatever may have been the case with Theodoret, began to alter his mind, and sung to another tune, as soon as his vicars, having escaped from threatened destruction, announced the decision of Ephesus. Hilary and Julian arrived to tell the melancholy tale of the tyranny of Dioscorus and the martyrdom of Flavian. Leo, on hearing the tragic intelligence immediately summoned a Roman synod, and, supported by a faithful troop of suffragans, disannulled the Ephesian enactments, and launched a red-hot anathema, which winged its fiery course across the Mediterranean, and rebounded from the head of Dioscorus at Alexandria. But Dioscorus was no trembler. He was not a man to be intimidated by the fulminations of Leo's spiritual artillery. He soon returned the compliment. He convened his suffragans in an Alexandrian council, and hurled the thunders of excommunication, with interest and without fear, against his infallibility.[1] But Leo was not to be frightened by the empty flash of an anathema. He had, without shrinking, encountered the hostility of Genseric and Attila, and was not to be dismayed by the spiritual artillery of Dioscorus. These ecclesiastical engines indeed possess one advantage. Their explosions, though they may sometimes stun, never slay. These campaigns may be followed with the loss of character, but are not attended with the loss of life.

Leo, feeling the inefficiency of excommunication, petitioned Theodosius, heretic as he was, to assemble a general council. The western emperor Valentinian, and the two empresses Placidia and Eudoxia with sighs and tears, joined in the request. But Theodosius was a Eutychian, and therefore satisfied with the faith of Ephesus. The heretical and hardened emperor, in consequence, rejected the application, regardless of the supplications of Valentinian and Leo, as well as the sighs which rose from the orthodox hearts, and the tears which fell from the fair eyes of Placidia and Eudoxia. He had even the obduracy, in a letter to Placidia, to call the blessed Flavian 'the prince of contention.' He represented the Byzantine patriarch, in a letter to Valentinian, as guilty of innovation, and suffering due punishment; and the church, in consequence of his removal, as enjoying peace and flourishing in truth and tranquillity. Theodosius, prior to the Ephesian synod, had begged Flavian to be satisfied with the Nicene faith, without perplexing his mind with hair-breadth distinctions, which no person could understand or explain. This was a good advice; and Flavian, had he

[1] Dioscorus, ponens in coelum os suum, excommunicationem in sanctum Leonem Papam dictavit. Labb. 9. 1328. Bin. 3. 6. Liberat. c. 12. Bisciola, 401. Theod. Ep. 125. Godea. 3. 440, 442.

enjoyed the liberty of thinking for himself, would have followed it.[1] But the mild patriarch was influenced by more ardent spirits, who were unacquainted with moderation and drove every thing to extremity.

But Theodosius, in the mean time, died, and Marcian, who was attached to Leo and his system, succeeded. This emperor, urged by the pontiff, convened the general council of Chalcedon. This grand assembly contained, say historians, six hundred and thirty bishops. All these, however, six only excepted, were Greeks. Pascasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface represented Leo the Roman hierarch. Twenty laymen of consular or senatorial dignity, as royal commissioners, represented the emperor. The gospels, which the good bishops neither understood nor regarded, were, with affected ostentation, placed on a lofty throne in the centre.[2]

The Chalcedonian resembled the Ephesian council in confusion, noise, tumult, and a total want of all liberty. Its acts, like its predecessor's, were scenes of uproar and vociferation, which degraced the Christian religion and degraded the episcopal dignity. A bear-garden, a cock-pit, or a noisy bedlam would afford a modern some faint idea of the general, infallible, apostolic, holy, Roman, council of Chalcedon. Nothing was heard, on any particular occasion of excitement, but vociferation, anathemas, execration, cursing, and imprecation, bellowed by the several factions or by the whole synod in mutual or contending fury. A specimen of these denunciations and insults was displayed in the first session, when Theodoret, who was accounted friendly to Nestorianism, and Dioscorus, who had caused the assassination of Flavian, entered the assembly. The Egyptians, Illyrians, and Palestinians shouted till the roof reechoed, 'put out Theodoret. Put out the master of Nestorius. Out with the enemy of God and the blasphemer of His Son. Put out the Jew. Long life to the Emperor and Empress.' The Orientals, Asians, Pontians, and Thracians replied with equal uproar, 'put out Dioscorus. Put out the assassin. Put out the Manichean. Out with the enemy of heaven and the adversary of the faith.'[3]

The Imperial commissioners, on these occasions, had to interfere for the purpose of keeping the peace. These, in strong terms, represented such acclamations as unbecoming the episcopal dignity and useless to each party. Du Pin admits, that the authority of the commissioners was necessary to prevent the

[1] Bin. 3. 6. 29. Liberatus, c. 12. Labb. 6. 439.
[2] Evag. II. 4. Crabb. 1. 740. Bin. 3. 49. Labb. 4. 1358.
[3] Evag. II. 18. Crabb. I. 743 Bin. 3. 55. Labb. 4. 886. Godea. 3. 461

infallible council from degenerating into a confused and noisy mob. The judges, says Alexander, repressed the tumultuary clamours by their prudence and authority.[1] The pontifical and especially the imperial authority destroyed all freedom of suffrage. Marcian influenced the decisions of Chalcedon, with more decency indeed, but with no less certainty than Dioscorus did those of Ephesus.

The Chalcedonian council, as a proof of its unity, passed three distinct creeds on the subject of Monophysitism; and all by acclamation. Leo's letter, which he had addressed to Flavian, was passed in the second session. The Roman hierarch had transmitted an epistle, on the pending question, to the Byzantine patriarch. This epistolary communication, which has been styled the column of orthodoxy, had discussed this topic, it has been said with judgment and precision. This being recited in the synod, the assembled fathers approved in loud acclamations. The Illyrians and Palestinians indeed paused, and seemed for a time to doubt. Their scrupulosity, however, was soon removed, and all began to vociferate, "This is the faith of the fathers. This is the faith of the apostles. This is the faith of the orthodox. This we all believe. Anathema to the person who disbelieves. Peter speaks by Leo. The apostles thus taught. Cyril thus taught. Cyril for ever. This is the true faith. Leo teaches piety and truth, and those who gainsay are Eutychians."[2] The infallible fathers, however, if we may judge from their conduct in the fifth session, in which they thundered acclamations in favor of a Monophysan confession, misunderstood his Roman infallibility.

A second confession or definition was passed with reiterated acclamations in the fifth session. This definition, which had been composed with careful deliberation by Anatolius, and declared that the Son of God was composed of two natures, (which implied that he possessed the divinity and humanity, prior, though not posterior, to the union or incarnation,) was unqualified Monophysitism, expressed perhaps with some latitude or ambiguity. The definition implied that godhead and manhood were, to speak in chemical language, the two distinct elements of which, at the instant of conjunction, a new substance or nature was formed. Two elements, in the laboratory of the chemist, will form a composition by the amalgamation of their constituent principles. The Eutychians and Chalcedonians seem to have entertained an idea, that the humanity and divi-

[1] Tumultuarios clamores auctoritate et prudentia sua judices compescuerunt. Alex. 10. 368.

[2] Epistolam Leonis tanquam columnam orthodoxae fidei susceperunt. Canisius, 4. 69. Evag. II. 4. Bin 3. 221. Grabb. 1. 880. Gedeon, 3. 479.

nity of the Son, were, in some way of this kind, incorporated at the moment of his incarnation. This notion was expressed, in plain language, in the Chalcedonian definition. The idea is rank Monophysitism. Eutyches or Dioscorus would have subscribed the formulary.[1]

All the Chalcedonians, nevertheless, the three Romans and a few orientals excepted, were unanimous in its favour, and supported it with vociferation.[2] 'The definition pleases all. This is the faith of the fathers. He who thinks otherwise is a heretic. Anathema to him who forms a different opinion. Put out the Nestorians. The definition pleases all. Holy Mary is the mother of God.' The emperor, however, by his commissioners, and the pontiff, by his vicars, opposed the council. These insisted, that the Son should be said to exist 'IN two natures.' Pascasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, who represented his holiness, determined if this were opposed, to return to the Roman city and there convene a Roman council for the establishment of the true faith; and in this determination, they were seconded, with the utmost pertinacity, by the Imperial commissioners. The council, notwithstanding, shewed a firm resolution against any supplement to a form of belief, which, in their mind, was perfect. 'The definition,' the bishops vociferated, 'pleases all. The difinition is orthodox. Put out the Nestorians. Expel the enemies of God. Yesterday the definition pleased all. Let the definition be subscribed before the gospels and no fraud practised against the faith. Whoever subscribes not is a heretic. The Holy Spirit dictated the definition. Let it be signed forthwith. Put out the heretics. Put out the Nestorians. Let the definition be confirmed or we will depart. Whoever will not subscribe may depart. Those who oppose may go to Rome.' But the commissioners were determined. The emperor's sovereign will must be obeyed; and the council, after a temporary resistance, yielded at length to the legatine obstinacy and especially to the imperial power.

Many considerations shew the Monophysitism of this Chalcedonian definition and of the Chalcedonian Council. The omission of the definition, in the acts of the council, throws a suspicion on its orthodoxy. The formulary is omitted in Evagrius, Liberatus, Binius, Crabb, and Labbé. The judges of the council, in an indirect manner, mention its contents, merely for the purpose of denouncing its heterodoxy. The design was,

[1] Eutyches dixit unionem ex duabus naturis. Alex. 10. 330. Evag. II 12. Crabb, 1. 879. Bin. 3. 334.

[2] Omnes episcopi, praeter Romanos et aliquos Orientales, clamaverunt, Definitio omnibus placet.' Bin. 3. 334. Labb. 4. 1446, 1150. Godeau, 3. 480.

no doubt, to keep it out of sight; a plain indication of its supposed heresy.

A comparison of this confession with those of Eutyches and Dioscorus at Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, will evince their indentity. This of Chalcedon declared, that Jesus was 'of two natures.'[1] This was the precise creed of Eutyches and Dioscorus. Eutyches, in the Byzantine council, professed his belief, that Christ was 'of two natures.'[2] Dioscorus avowed a similar profession at Ephesus and repeated it at Chalcedon.[3] These Chalcedonian and Eutychian confessions contained the same faith in the same language. Leo's, and the last of Chalcedon taught, on the contrary, that our Lord existed 'IN two natures.'[4]

The opposition of the Senators, Romans, and Orientals, shewed their conviction of its Eutychianism. These wielded the Pontifical and Imperial power, and opposed the definition with obstinacy. Pascasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, who represented Leo, resolved to leave Chalcedon, return to Italy, and celebrate a western council for the establishment of the true faith, if this Chalcedonian creed should be confirmed. This resolution was countenanced by the commissioners, who represented the Emperor; and a few Orientals echoed the declaration.[5] This determination, in strong colours, portrays their opinion of the confession, which they resisted with such warmth and resolution. These would have submitted, had the definition in their mind, contained Catholicism.

Godeau and Alexander, two modern zealots for Romanism, admit the ambiguity and inadequacy of this Chalcedonian definition. The definition, says Godeau, 'did not, in sufficiently express terms, condemn the Eutychian heresy.' According to Alexander, many additions were necessary for the overthrow of Eutychianism. The accomplishment of this end required a creed, teaching our Lord's existence, not only of, but 'IN two natures, without confusion, change or division.'[6] Godeau, therefore, acknowledged the ambiguity of the definition, and Alexander its inadequacy.

[1] Ο ἱερος εκ δυο φυσεων εχει. Evag. II. 18. Ex duabus habet naturis. Crabb. 1. 880.

[2] Εκ δυο φυσεων. Theoph. 69. Eutyches dixit etiam ex duabus naturis. Bin 3. 120.

[3] Confiteor ex duabus naturis falsse Dominum. Bin. 3. 123. Labb. 4. 1018.

[4] Εκ δυο φυσεων. Evag. II. 4. Δυω δυο φυσεις λεγει ειναι εν Χριστω. Labb. 4. 1452. Bin. 3. 130.

[5] Bin. 3. 336. Labb. 4. 1450. Godeau, 3. 480.

[6] Elle ne condemnoit pas assez expressement l'herésie naissante d'Eutyches. Godeau, 3. 479.

Multa deesse ad profligandam haeresim Eutychianam. Ad id enim satis non esse, ut Christus ex duabus naturas diceretur; sed necesse ut in duabus naturis subsidere diceretur. Alex. 10. 376.

The Monophysitism of the Chalcedonian Council, the Romans and a few Orientals excepted, appears from the obstinacy with which they insisted on the definition, in defiance of Imperial and Pontifical authority. The Chalcedonians, on this occasion, manifested more determination than the clergy, at any other time, evinced against the emperor and the pontiff. The prelatical suffrages, in general, were the ready echoes of the imperial and pontifical will. The Greeks obeyed his majesty, and the Latins seldom disobeyed his holiness. But the assembled prelacy, on this momentous occasion, displayed an astonishing firmness and constancy. Their determination once withstood the imperial commissioners, and four times the Roman vicars. These reasoned and remonstrated; and those resisted and vociferated. The opposition was uttered in yells, which would have terrified ordinary minds, and commanded obedience on ordinary occasions. The dissension, says Alexander, was great, and the shouts tumultuary. All, says Godeau, cried that 'whosoever should refuse to sign the definition was a heretic.'[1] All this obstinacy and outcry were in favour of a creed, which would have been subscribed by Eutyches, Dioscorus, Mongos, Philoxenus, Fullo, and Zanzel.

The Monophysitism of the council also may be evinced from its reasons for the condemnation of Dioscorus. The Alexandrian Patriarch, said Antolius in full synod and without any to gainsay, 'was not condemned for any error of faith, but for excommunicating Leo, and refusing, when summoned, to attend the council.' The same fact is stated by Evagrius and Pope Nicholas. Justinian, also, according to Valesius in his annotations on Theodorus, declared that Dioscorus was not condemned for any deviation from the faith.[2] The patriarch indeed was charged with a few practical foibles, such as tyranny, extortion, fornication, adultery, murder, and ravishment. He was convicted of burning houses, lavishing the alms of the faithful on strumpets and buffoons, and admitting the fair Pansophia, in broad day, into the patriarchal bath and palace.[3] But none accused him of heterodoxy. Heresy was not among the reasons assigned by the council for his deposition and banishment. His faith, therefore, was unsuspected of error, and consonant with the common theology. These considerations shew the faith of the Chalcedonians, and the opinion entertained of their definition.

[1] Tous crierent, que quiconque refuserent de la signer etoit hérétique. Godeau, 3. 479.

[2] Propter fidem non est damnatus Dioscorus. Bin. 6. 505. Dioscorus non ob allum in fide errorem damnatus fuit. Valesius, 3. 330.

[3] Bin. 3. 7. 247, 335. Labb. 4. 1447. Alex. 10. 356. Evag. II. 18.

The Chalcedonian council, at length, were forced by the emperor to sign a third formulary of faith. The former confession had to be resigned, in obedience to his majesty's sovereign command. The emperor in the early days of the church, as the pope at a later period, influenced, at pleasure, the decisions of holy infallible councils. Theodosius, with facility, sustained Monophysitism at Ephesus. Marcian, with equal ease, established Catholicism at Chalcedon. He ordered eighteen bishops, selected from the East, Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyria, to meet in the oratory of Euphemia, and compose a confession which might obtain universal approbation. These, accordingly, assembled at the place appointed, and, with becoming submission and easy versatility, produced a creed, according to Marcian's imperial directions and Leo's pontifical epistle. This formulary embodied the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and Ephesian faith, with the letters of Cyril and Leo, and declared that the Son of God, existing 'IN two natures,' without confusion or division, was in His Deity, consubstantial with God, and in His humanity, consubstantial with man.[1] The infallible fathers, for the third time, yelled approbation.

This confession was of imperial and pontifical dictation. The emperor, not the council, at the suggestion of the pope, prescribed the formulary. All this indeed, Alexander, attached as he was to Romanism, has confessed. This form of belief, says this author, 'was enjoined by the emperor.'[2] Christians therefore, at the present day, profess, on this topic, a royal creed. Popish and Protestant Christendom has received a form of faith, which, though true, is imperial, and for which, the Romish and Reformed are indebted to Marcian.

The abettors of Romanism would be ready to exult, if, in the annals of the Reformation, they could find an instance of vacillation equal to that of Chalcedon. The history would be related in all the parade of language. But all the councils of Protestantism afford no exemplification of such versatility and fluctuation. Bossuet, in all the records of history, and, which is more, in all the treasury of his own imagination, could discover no equal discordancy, during all the transactions which attended the Reformation, in its origin, progress, and establishment.

But flexibility, in the council, failed to produce unanimity in the church. The infallibility of the Chalcedonian assembly was mocked, and its apostolical or rather imperial faith contemned.

[1] Ipse sit perfectus Deus et perfectus homo in duabus naturis, sine confusione et divisione. Canisius, 1. 69. Liberatus, c. 12. Bin. 3. 336, 340. Crabb. 1. 885 Labb. 4. 1447. Du Pin, I. 674.

[2] Jussu tandem Imperatoris. Alex. 10. 376.

The African, Asiatic, and European Monophysite disclaimed the definition of the emperor and the pontiff; and their opposition, did not, as usual, evaporate in frothy anathemas, but terminated in battle and carnage. The Chalcedonian prelacy, according to Liberatus, were, when they returned to their sees, torn by an unprecedented schism.[1] The Egyptians, Thracians, and Palestinians followed Dioscorus; while the Orientals, Pontians, and Asiatics adhered to Flavian. Romanism was disgraced by a train of revolutions and massacres, such as never dishonoured the Reformation. Schism and heresy extended to all Christendom, and embraced, in wide amplitude, Greeks and Latins, emperors, clergy, and populace.

Six emperors reigned after the council of Chalcedon, and during the rage of the Monophysan controversy. These were Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Basiliscus, Anastasius, and Justin; and were divided between the Eutychian and Chalcedonian faith. Marcian, Leo, and Justin patronized Chalcedonianism; while Zeno, Basiliscus, and Anastasius, in the general opinion, countenanced Eutychianism. Marcian convoked the council of Chalcedon, presided in its deliberations, and supported its theology with devoted fidelity and imperial power; but by the unhallowed instrumentality of violence and persecution. Leo, Marcian's successor, maintained the same system by the same unholy weapons.[2]

Zeno, Basiliscus, and Anastasius have been reckoned, perhaps with some unfairness, among the partizans of heresy. Zeno, during his whole reign, feigned a regard for Catholicism and proclaimed himself its protector. But some of his actions seemed to favour Monophysitism; and his name, in consequence, has, by the partial pen of prejudice and popery, been entered in the black roll of heretics who attempted the subversion of orthodoxy. He issued the Henoticon, protected Acacius, and restored the exiled Mongos and Fullo to the patriarchal thrones of Alexandria and Antioch. These were crimes never to be forgiven by the narrow mind of bigotry. The transactions provoked the high indignation of Facundus, Baronius, Alexander, Petavius, and Godeau.[3] Baronius represents Zeno as the patron of heresy and perfidy, and the enemy of Catholicism and Christianity.

Basiliscus, for the sake of unity and consistency, both denounced and patronized the Synod of Chalcedon and its theology. His majesty, prompted by Ælurus, issued, on his

[1] Scissio facta est inter eos, qualis ante nunquam contigerat. Liberatus, c. 12 Labb. 6. 438.

[2] Evag. II. 8. Alex. 10. 398.

[3] Facun. XII. 4. Spon. 482. 111 Alex. 10. 421. Petav. 1. 320. Godeau, 3. 356.

accession, a circular letter, which approved the councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus, and condemned and anathematized that of Chalcedon, as the occasion of massacre and bloodshed. This precious manifesto was signed by Fullo, Paul, and Anastasius of Antioch, Ephesus, and Jerusalem; and supported, in the rear, by about five hundred of the Asiatic prelacy. The emperor, in these transactions, was influenced by the empress Zenodia. But his majesty, varying in this manner from Catholicism, varied, in a short time, from himself, and veered round to orthodoxy. He attempted, by compulsion, to obtain the approbation of Acacius. But Acacius opposed him, being supported by a multitude of monks and women, who pursued the emperor with maledictions. This movement, in a few moments, converted Basiliscus to the true faith. He issued, in consequence, an anticircular edict, rejecting the former, confirming the council of Chalcedon, and anathematizing Eutyches and all other heresiarchs. His versatility, however, was unavailing. Zeno drove the usurper from the imperial authority, and banished him to Cappadocia, where he died of hunger and cold.[1]

Anastasius succeeded Zeno in 491, and was excommunicated by Symmachus for heresy. The emperor, however, notwithstanding the anathema, seems, according to Evagrius, neither to have patronized nor opposed Catholicism. He loved peace and withstood novelty. He protected all his subjects, who were content to worship according to their conscience, without molestation to their fellow-christians. But he repressed innovators, who fostered dissension. He expelled, in consequence, Euphemius, Flavian, and Elias, bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and this incurred the wrath of the pope and Vitalian. The latter, followed by an army of Huns and barbarians, declared himself the champion of the faith. Actuated with this resolution, the warrior, in the name of the Prince of Peace, depopulated Thracia, exterminated 65,000 men, and, in bloodshed, established the council of Chalcedon and the faith of Leo.[2]

A diversity, similar to this of the emperors, was manifested by the clergy, the populace, and the monks. Dioscorus, in Alexandria, was succeeded by Proterios, the friend of Catholicism. But the throne of the new patriarch had to be supported by two thousand armed soldiery; and the Alexandrian populace, on the death of Marcian, assassinated Proterios in the baptistery

[1] Evag. 111. 5, 7. Liberat. c. 16. Theoph. 84. Zonaras, 2. 41. Bisciola 420 Alex. 10. 418, 420. Godeau, 3. 619. Victor, 324.
[2] Evag. 111. 35. Liberat. c. 16. Theoph. 107. Alex. 10. 25. Labb. 4. 477.

regardless of the sacred temple and the pascal solemnity. The waters of baptism and of the sanctuary were crimsoned with his blood. The mangled body, in all its frightfulness, was, amid insults and mockery, exhibited in the Tetraphylon: and then, covered with wounds, was, in fiendish derision, dragged through the city. The assassins, says Evagrius, shocking to tell, beat the senseless limbs, devoured the reeking entrails, committed the torn carcass to the flames, and its ashes to the winds.[1] The barbarians, though stained with blood, burned, through fear of pollution, the chair of the patriarch, and washed the altar on which he had sacrificed with sea-water, as if it had been defiled with his touch or his ministry.

Ælurus, the partizan of Monophysitism, was substituted for Proterios. He was banished to Cherson, or some say, to Oasis, by Leo; but was afterward restored by Basiliscus. He, at last, poisoned himself, being, says the charitable Godeau, 'unworthy of a more honourable executioner.' The one party, after his death, elected Mongos, and the other, Timothy, to the patriarchal dignity. Zeno, however, obliged Mongos, who was the partizan of Eutychianism, to yield. But the triumph of the Chalcedonian party was transitory. Mongos, on the death of Timothy, was, by an edict of Zeno and the favour of Acacius, appointed his successor.[2]

Palestine in the mean time, became the scene of similar outrage and revolution. Juvenal, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was deposed, and Theodosius, a Monophysite, ordained in his place. The new patriarch occupied Jerusalem with an army of felons and outlaws, who in the name of religion and under the mask of zeal, pillaged and murdered. The sepulchre of Immanuel was defiled with blood; and the gates of the city, which had witnessed these massacres, were, in tumultuary rebellion, guarded against the army of the emperor. These, notwithstanding their inhumanity and rebellion, were countenanced by Eudoxia, wife to Theodosius.[3] The empress used or rather abused her royal authority, in support of these sanguinary zealots for the Monophysite theology.

Antioch was occupied by the rival patriarchs Calendion and Fullo. Calendion maintained the Chalcedonian faith, and Fullo the Eutychian theory. Fullo, besides, in unpardonable impiety, added a supplement of his own invention, to the Trisagion, which, in those days of superstition and credulity, was regarded

[1] More canum, interiora ejus degustarunt, reliquumque corpus igni, cineres vento, tradiderunt. Spon. 457, IV. Evag. II. 8. Liberat. c. 15. Alex. 10. 394. Godeau, 3, 556. Victor, 322.

[2] Liberat. c. 16. Bisciola, 420. Godeau, 3. 623. Labb. 5. 215. Moreri, 8. 136.

[3] Evag. II. 5. Theoph. 73. Alex. 10. 416. Moreri, 8. 90. Victor, 322.

as the sacred hymn, sung by the holy angels and seraphs tha. surround the throne of God. Zeno, at first, patronized Calendion and banished Fullo. But Calendion, in the end, was suspected of favouring the revolt of Illus and Leontius; and the emperor therefore banished the patriarch to Oasis, and outraged Christianity, says Godeau, by establishing Fullo.[1]

The bishops and monks varied like the patriarchs and emperors. Many, says Godeau, 'followed the faith of the court rather than that of the Gospel; and displayed a baseness, unworthy of men who should have been the columns of the truth.' Five hundred bishops signed the encyclical manifesto of Basiliscus; and, according to their own declaration, 'with willingness and alacrity.' These, again, on the dethronement of Basiliscus and the restoration of Zeno, deprecated the whole transaction, alleged imperial compulsion as a palliation for their crime, and begged pardon of Acacius for their offence.[2]

These rival factions fulminated against each other mutual and unwearied excommunications. The lightning of anathemas continued, in uninterrupted coruscations, to flash through the African, Asiatic, and European nations, and to radiate from East to West. The spiritual artillery was admirably served, and, in continued explosions, carried, not death indeed, but damnation in every direction. Proterios, Timothy, Juvenal, and Calendion cursed Ælurus, Mongos, Theodosius, and Fullo: while Ælurus, Mongos, Theodosius, and Fullo, in grateful reciprocation, cursed Proterios, Timothy, Juvenal, and Calendion. Acacius cursed the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch who were not slow in repaying the compliment. Felix, the Roman pontiff, cursed all by wholesale. Intrenched in the Vatican, the vicar-general of God continued, from his ecclesiastical battery, to thunder excommunications against Mongos, Fullo, and Acacius.[3]

Fullo, who abetted Monophysitism and corrupted the Trisagion, seems to have been the chief object of these inverted benedictions. Quinian, in a Sacred Synod, aimed no less than twelve anathemas at Fullo's devoted head. The example was followed by Acacius. The patriarch of Antioch, it seems, had in 483, taken the liberty of writing an epistle full of blasphemy to the patriarch of Constantinople. The blasphemy caused Acacius, holy man, to shudder. He assembled a council, therefore, and in full synod, condemned, says Labbé, the mad error of the mad patriarch. But the Roman pontiff,

[1] Theoph. 92. Evag. III. 8. Godeau, 3. 649. Labb. 5. 271.
[2] Evag. III. 5, 9. Liberatus, c. 16. Alex. 10. 418. Godeau, 3. 620.
[3] Evag. III. 5, 6. Theoph. 104. Godeau. 3. 649. Spon. 457, 484. IV. Alex 10. 420.

as was right, excelled even the Byzantine patriarch in a suitable name and in an appropriate sentence, for the impugner of the Chalcedonian faith and the corrupter of the sacred hymn. Felix denominated Fullo the first-born of the devil, and, in a holy Roman Council, condemned him as a patron of Arianism, Sabellianism, impiety, heathenism, and idolatry.[1]

But the hardest, or at least the most signal cursing-match, on the occasion, was between Felix and Acacius. The Byzantine hierarch, indeed, had committed nothing to merit the honour of excommunication. He disclaimed, on all occasions, the heresy of Eutychianism. He opposed the Monophysan emperor Basiliscus and his circular edict, with vigour and success. He assembled a Constantinopolitan synod, and condemned Ælurus, Fullo, John, and Paul, who were the Monophysite bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Apamea, and Ephesus. He issued a synodal reprobation of Fullo's addition to the Trisagion, which, in the opinion of Acacius, was the song of the Cherubim in Heaven. He patronized no heresy; and, which should have recommended him to mercy, he was as ignorant and superstitious even as his Roman infallibility. But he signed the Henoticon for the sake of peace, and communicated with Fullo without a formal recognition of the council of Chalcedon. These were the ostensible reasons of the pontiff's detestation and anathemas. He urged the equality of the Byzantine with the Roman See; and, of course, rejected the pontifical supremacy.[2] This was the real reason and the unpardonable sin, for which Felix honoured Acacius with anathemas and degradation.

His infallibility's denunciations, however, were, at Constantinople, a subject of sheer mockery. Acacius, knowing the ridiculousness of the attempt, received the intelligence of his deposition with perfect contempt; and, nothing loath, returned the compliment in kind with promptitude and devotion. The patriarch, like another Dioscorus, excommunicated his infallibility, and struck his name out of the Diptycs or sacred roll of registry. He then, in his usual manner, and in defiance of Felix, continued his ministry and retained his dignity till the day of his death.[3]

Acacius was supported against Felix by Zeno, and all the

[1] Insanus ille insani Fullonis error condemnatus fuit. Labb. 5. 229, 230. Petrus primogenitus Diaboli filius. Labb. 5. 166. Le Foulon qu'il appelle le fils premier né du Diable. Godeau, 3. 650. Bisciola, 424.

[2] Cedere non debere Romanae Ecclesiæ. Labb. 5. 246. Evag. III. 5, 6. Liberat. c. 17. Spon. 484. IV. Bruy. 1. 255. Alex. 10, 420.

[3] Ipse excommunicavit Summum Pontificem. Cossart, 3. 22. Qui vicem rependens, Felicis nomen erasit e diptychis. Petav. 1. 330. Ad mortem, patrocinante 'mperatore, remansit sacrificans. Liberat. 3. 18.

oriental clergy. The emperor, knowing the illegality and injustice of the sentence, held over the patriarch the protecting shield of his royal authority. The Greek clergy, on the same account, contemned the Latin or Roman anathemas, and communicated with the Byzantine patriarch. Felix, besides, was, on this occasion, unfortunate in his own agents. Misenus and Vitalis, whom he had commissioned as his envoys to Constantinople against Acacius, joined in communion with the patriarch; and heard, without disapprobation, the name of Mongos repeated from the sacred registry. Titus, who was afterward despatched on a similar errand, copied the example of Vitalis and Misenus.[1] These, in consequence, put Felix to the task of issuing their excommunication, which, however, his infallibility, from his facility in this duty, seems to have thought no trouble.

The Roman pontiffs had hitherto patronised the Chalcedonian faith, and rejected, with resolution and perseverance, the Monophysite system. Leo had supported the council of Chalcedon, with all his talents and influence. Felix had exhausted himself in cursing all its enemies. But the hierarchs of the apostolic see were soon destined to alter their system, and exemplify the changeableness of all earthly things. Vigilius, who was a Roman pontiff, and Martin who was a Roman saint, deserted the council of Chalcedon and went over to the camp of the enemy.

Vigilius, in 537, was raised to the pontifical throne by the Empress Theodora, on condition that, on his promotion, he would profess Eutychianism, and concur in restoring Anathemus to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople. The new pontiff was faithful to this engagement in the profession of heresy. He condemned the Chalcedonian faith, and declared in favor of Monophysitism. His confession, addressed on this occasion to Theodora and other partizans of heterodoxy, has been preserved by Liberatus.[2] He rejected the dogma of two natures in the Son of God, and repealed the celebrated epistle of Leo. His infallibility then proceeded, in due form and without delay or equivocation, to pronounce an anathema against any person who should confess two forms in the Mediator. This was like a man determined to do business. His holiness, in consequence, had the honour of cursing his several predecessors and successors, the holy council of Chalcedon,

[1] Evag. III. 21. Spon. 484. ii. Bin. 3. 614. Labb. 5. 246.

[2] Vigilius suam fidem scripsit; duas in Christo damnavit naturas; et resolvens temum Papae Leonis sic dixit, non duas Christum confitemur naturas; sed ex duabus naturis compositum unum filium. Qui dixit in Christo duas formas, anathema sit. Liberat. c. 22. Anathema dicebat iis qui confitentur duas in Christo naturas. Bellarmin, 1. 160. Alex. 10. 429.

and the majority of the past, present, and future Christian world.

Baronius and Binius have endeavoured to prove this document, preserved in Liberatus, a forgery. Godeau doubts its genuineness. But their arguments, which scarcely deserve the name, have been confuted by Bellarmine, Du Pin, and Alexander. Liberatus, Victor, and Facundus, cotemporary authors vouch for its authenticity. Bellarmine admits the heresy of Vigilius; but consoles himself under the distress occasioned by such an event, with the real or fancied dissimulation of its author, and the illegality of his claim, during the life of his predecessor and rival Silverius, to the papacy. His infallibility's approbation of heresy, according to the cardinal, was all external profession, while, in his soul, he was the devoted friend of Catholicism. Alexander calls Vigilius 'a hidden traitor.'[1] The cardinal and the sorbonnist, it seems, possessed a faculty of discerning the heart, and discovered the superiority of hypocrisy to heresy. Vigilius, besides, say these authors, could be no true pope prior to the death of Silverius, as two could not reign at the same time. The church, however, has often been blessed with several cotemporary heads, and the Messiah, supplied, on the same occasion, with several vicars-general. Vigilius, whatever might have been his right when he issued his hopeful confession, was, in fact, the sovereign pontiff, and was never again elected or ordained. He occupied the pontifical chair and exercised the pontifical authority, in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, throughout papal Christendom.

The sainted Martin, in 649, followed the footsteps of Vigilius, and, in conjunction with the Lateran synod, decided in favour of Eutychianism. This assembly, in which his holiness presided amounted to one hundred and fifty members, who all, in the fifth canon and with the greatest unanimity, 'condemned every person, who, according to the holy fathers, does not, in truth and propriety, confess one incarnated nature of God the Word.'[2] The sentence would have satisfied Dioscorus, Mongos, or Fullo. Bellarmine represents the condemnation, pronounced by the holy synod, as equivalent to an anathema. Vigilius' decision seems to have been personal. Martin's was synodal. The one was signed only by the author; while the other was subscribed by one hundred and fifty of the Italian prelacy.

[1] Dico Vigilium damnasse Catholicam fidem solùm exteriori professione, neque animo haereticus fuit. Bellarmin, 1. 760. Occultus proditor. Alex. 10. 429. Bin. 4. 400. Godeau, 4. 203.

[2] Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur, propriè et secundum veritatem, unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam, condemnatus sit. Bin. 4. 733. Crabb. 2 234. Labb. 7. 360. Bellarmin, III. 4.

But Martin, who is a saint, had, like Vigilius, who was little better than a sinner, the distinguished honour of anathematizing every professor of orthodoxy.

The council of the Lateran presents a complete contrast to that of Chalcedon. The definition of Chalcedon was suggested by the pope to an orthodox emperor, by whom it was forced, in the midst of noisy opposition, on a reluctant synod. The canon of the Lateran was issued by the pope, in a willing council, in opposition to a heterodox emperor. Marcian patronized Leo and the Chalcedonians. Constans withstood Martin and the Laterans. The one assembly defined a duality of natures in the Son of God. The other declared in favour of his simple unity.

This distracted state of the church induced Zeno, prompted, some say, by Acacius, to publish the celebrated Henoticon or edict of union. The emperor's design, in this undertaking, was pacific. He intended to conciliate the partizans of Monophysitism and Catholicism, and supply an exposition of belief, which each jarring faction, without compromising its principles, might sign. The means, at first sight, seemed calculated to obtain the end. The Henoticon, preserved by Evagrius and Liberatus, was addressed to the Alexandrian, Egyptian, Lybian, and Pentapolitan clergy and laity. This royal edict, having, in the introduction, lamented the dissensions, which had occasioned the massacres and bloodshed, which had contaminated earth and air, confirmed the inspired and unstained faith of the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and Ephesian councils, in opposition to Arianism, Macedonianism, and Nestorianism. The Mediator, according to the imperial theology, and, in agreement with the Chalcedonian definition without mentioning its authority, is consubstantial with God in His deity, and with man in His humanity; but, at the same time, is not two, but one incarnated God the Word.[1] This last expression, which, it must be confessed, is a little suspicious, has given great offence to Baronius, Godeau, and Petavius, with a shoal of other Romish critics and theologians.

But the conclusion of the royal manifesto conveys the frightfullest sounds of terror to the ear of superstition. Zeno spared Dioscorus from a regard to the Alexandrians; but anathematized all who, at Chalcedon or elsewhere, might have dissented from the imperial confession. His Majesty, though a layman, dared, in this manner, to enact a formulary of faith, and excommunicate all the prelacy who dared to refuse subscription.

The Henoticon experienced the destiny of all similar attempts,

[1] Ενα συγχαυσιν και ου δυο. Evag. III. 14. Incarnato uno de Trinitate Deo Verbo. Liberatus. c. 18. Alex. 10. 421. Spond. 482. iii.

and only augmented the evil which it was designed to remedy A pacificator is seldom a favourite with man. The royal edict, supported by imperial power, enjoyed, however, a partial and temporary success, and was signed by Acacius, Mongos, Fullo, and indeed by all possessed of moderation. The Byzantine patriarch and his clergy acknowledged the edict of pacification: and all those who had professed Monophysitism, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, were received into communion. The Alexandrian patriarch convened a general assembly of the clergy and laity, in which the Henoticon was read and recognized. The pastor, then, like a good shepherd, exhorted the flock, united in one faith and baptism, to mutual peace and charity. The easterns, Calendion excepted, followed the footsteps of the Byzantines and Alexandrians. Fullo of Antioch and even Martyrias of Jerusalem, famed for his sanctity, subscribed the pacific formulary and joined in reciprocal communion. The Henoticon, in this manner, was, under Anastasius in 503, welcomed by the oriental prelacy, who, to a man, agreed to live in forbearance and tranquillity.

But the Henoticon met with very different treatment in occidental Christendom. The west, on this topic, varied from the east. Felix, the Roman hierarch, rejected the overture of pacification and carried every thing to an extremity. Binius has drawn a striking picture of the pontiff's opposition. His holiness proscribed and execrated the Henoticon of the most impious Zeno, who, though a layman, presumed to denounce the council of Chalcedon, enact a rule of faith, prescribe a law to the church, and, stealing the keys of ecclesiastical authority, hurl the anathemas of the hierarchy against all who disclaimed his usurpation and tyranny.[1] The edict his infallibility denominated an impiety; and he pronounced sentence against all who subscribed it. The western clergy as well as laity, seem, on this question, to have joined the Roman pontiff. The western hierarch, in this manner, engaged in hostility against the eastern patriarchs, and the Latin against the Grecian clergy.

The critics and theologians of Romanism differ as to the orthodoxy of the Henoticon. The royal manifesto has been represented as rank heresy by an array of popish doctors and critics, such as Baronius, Spondanus, Bisciola, Petavius, Binius, Labbé, Moreri, Godeau, and Victor. Baronius characterizes the Henoticon as a tacit repeal of the council of Chalcedon, and

[1] Proscripsit et execratus est impiissimi Zenonis Henoticon. Hoc impiissimum sacrilegi Imperatoris edictum impietatis seminarium non tantum proscripsit, verum etiam subscribentes anathematis sententia condemnavit. Bin. 3. 594. Labb. 5. 141. Spon. 483. III.

in this is followed by Spondanus, Bisciola, Petavius, and Moreri. Binius, quoted and approved by Labbé, calls the imperial edict of pacification an impiety. The proclamation of Zeno put Godeau into a dreadful passion. The impious edict, says this historian, not only anathematized the definition of Chalcedon, the last criterion of truth; but condemned Eutychianism only to conceal its approbation of heresy.[1]

This array of doctors has been confronted by others, among whom are Asseman, Pagius, and Alexander, supported, in the rear by the schoolmen. These acquit the Henoticon of heresy. Asseman and Pagius represent it as free from error, while according to Alexander, it is free from heresy and gives no support to Eutychianism.[2] The schoolmen, with all their subtlety and distinctions, could find no blemish in this celebrated document. An annotator on Evagrius came to the same conclusion. Some, in this manner, accuse, and some acquit the Henoticon of heresy. These, therefore, call Catholicism, what those denominate heresy. The ablest theologian of the papacy, in this way, cannot discriminate between truth and error, and confound Romanism with heterodoxy. This presents an odd specimen of unity, and a strange proof of the immutability of a system.

The distracted state of the church, under Anastasius in 491, has been depicted, in bold language, by Evagrius a contemporary historian, who witnessed the scenes which he has described. The representation, in part, has been transcribed by Alexander.[3] All Christendom, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, was, says Evagrius, divided into diversified and jarring factions. One party adhered, with the utmost pertinacity, to the faith of Chalcedon. These deprecated the alteration of a single syllable or even a single letter in the Chalcedonian definition. The opposing faction, on the contrary, rejected and even anathematized the faith of Chalcedon. One class patronized the Henoticon with unshaken obstinacy and resolution, while another execrated that edict as the fountain of heresy. The partizans and opponents of Zeno's manifesto, in the mean time,

[1] Tacitam immiscuit abrogationem concilii Chalcedonensis. Spon. 482. III. In eo tacita inerat concilii Chalcedonensis abrogatio. Petav. 1. 330. Cet edit prononçoit anathème contre le concile de Chalcedoine. Moreri, 4. 77. Omnes hæretici, damnata synodo Chalcedonense, efficerentur. Bisciola, 423. Cet edit impie prononçoit anathème contre le concile de Chalcedoine, qui otoit la derniere régle de la vérité orthodoxe. Godeau, 3. 656. Pour cacher l'approbation de l'heresie. Godeau, 3. 656. Zeno, per Henoticum, a catholica fide recedit. Victor, 324.

[2] Henoticon Zenonis Eutychianam hæresim non adstruere. Alex. 10. 412. Assem. I. 343. Pagius, 2. 411.

[3] Alii Zenonis Henotico mordicus adhærebant, tametsi de una aut de duabus naturis inter se dissiderunt. Alex. 10. 424. Evag. III. 30.

disagreed about the unity and duality of our Lord. Some, deceived by the ambiguity of the imperial confession, ascribed two natures to the Son of God and others only one.

The several factions, amid the Eastern, Western, and African dissensions, refused reciprocal communion. The easterns would not communicate with the westerns or Africans; and these again in return, rejected the communion of the easterns. Dissension, at last, advanced even to a greater extremity. The orientals, among themselves, proceeded to mutual division and excommunication: while the Europeans and Africans engaged in similar altercation with each other and with strangers. Such was the state of the Latins and Greeks in the end of the fifth century. The annals of the reformation present no scene of equal diversity and anathemas. The patrons of Protestantism have, on some points, differed, but never anathematized. Execrations of this kind, the protestant leaves to the papist, as they express a concentrated malevolence and miscreancy, inconsistent with the light and the principles of the reformation.

The popish communion through eastern and western Christendom, exhibited, in this manner, a ridiculous and disgusting diversity on the subject of Monophysitism. Emperors, popes, and councils clashed in continued anathemas and excommunication. A theory, which had been entertained by the pontiffs Felix and Julius, as well as by the saints Cyril, Gregory, Athanasius, and Nazianzen, was, when broached by a monk of Constantinople, stigmatized as a heresy. A Byzantine council, amidst curses and execrations, deprived its advocate of the sacerdotal dignity and ecclesiastical communion. The Ephesian council, convened by Theodosius and containing an hundred and fifty of the eastern prelacy, reversed the Constantinopolitan decision, declared the alleged heresiarch orthodox, and restored him to communion with the priesthood.

The general council of Chalcedon repealed the enactments of Ephesus, and issued three jarring creeds. This assembly, clothed with infallibility, first passed, in loud acclaim, the famed Tome of Leo, which has been styled the column of orthodoxy. Its second confession, which was clearly the faith of the council, consisted of unqualified monophysitism. Its definition, at last, which was forced on the infallible synod by Leo and Marcian, the Pope and the Emperor, contained the faith, which, on account of its final triumph and establishment, has been denominated Catholicism. All these forms of belief, the holy unerring council adopted in deafening yells and with frightful and reiterated anathemas.

Eastern and western Christendom, notwithstanding the definition of Chalcedon, split into three contending factions.

Emperors, pontiffs, clergy, and people divided in favour of Eutychianism, the Chalcedonian faith, or Zeno's Henoticon. The emperors Marcian, Leo, and Justin patronized catholicism. Zeno, Basiliscus, and Anastasius, in the general opinion, countenanced heresy. Leo and Felix, Roman pontiffs, stamped the definition of Chalcedon with the broad seal of their infallibility. Vigilius and Martin affixed the signature of their inerrability to monophysitism and the simple unity of Emmanuel. The oriental patriarchs, Fullo, Mongos, and Æluros waged a spiritual war against Calendion, Proterios, and Timothy, while the prelacy and populace fought in the ranks of their respective leaders. Latins and Greeks, Europeans and Africans, thundered mutual excommunications and anathemas.

CHAPTER XI.

MONOTHELITISM.

ITS GENERAL RECEPTION—SUPPORTED BY THE ROMAN EMPEROR, AND BY THE ANTIOCHIAN, ALEXANDRIAN, BYZANTINE, AND ROMAN PATRIARCHS—ITS DEGRADATION FROM CATHOLICISM TO HERESY—THE ECTHESIS OR EXPOSITION—THE EMPEROR AND THE GREEKS AGAINST THE POPE AND THE LATINS—THE TYPE OR FORMULARY—SECOND BATTLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE LATINS—SECOND TRIUMPH OF MONOTHELITISM—SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL—TOTAL OVERTHROW OF MONOTHELITISM—ITS PARTIAL REVIVAL—ITS UNIVERSAL AND FINAL EXTINCTION.

MONOTHELITISM ascribed only one will and one operation to the Son of God. This will or volition, according to this system, proceeded, not from the humanity, but from the divinity. The patrons of this theology, indeed, disclaimed monophysitism, admitted the Mediator's Godhead and manhood, and attributed to the latter both action and passion, such as volition, motion, thirst, hunger, and pain. But the agency, the partizans of this system referred to the deity, and the mere instrumentality to the humanity, in the same manner as the soul actuates the body. Catholicism, on the contrary, as established by the sixth general council, rejected this unity, and maintained the dogma of two wills and operations. One volition, in this system, belonged to the deity and one to the humanity.[1] This metaphysical distinction, in which, however, catholicism seems to use the correctest phraseology, continued, for a long period, to divide Christendom, and, in its progress, to excite dissension, animosity, execration, anathemas, excommunications, massacre, and bloodshed.

Alexander traces monothelitism to an infernal origin. 'This heresy,' says the historian, 'burst from hell.'[2] Its earthly author, however, as appears from Stephen, Bishop of Dora, in the Lateran council under Martin, was Theodorus of Pharan in Palestina, who perhaps according to Alexander, came from the Tartarian regions or had a commission from Satan. This innovator broached his shocking impiety, as his silly meta-

[1] Theoph. 218. Godea. 5. 128. Alex. 13. 23. Bin. 4, 377. et 5. 6.
[2] Hæresis ex inferis erupit. Alex. 13. 27. Labb. 7. 106.

physics have been called, about the year 620. A speculator, who had lived in obscurity, fabricated this new theory, to employ the thoughts or awaken the animosity of emperors, popes, and councils.

But neither the obscurity of the author nor the alleged blasphemy of the system prevented its circulation. Heresy, like pestilence, is contagious; and Monothelitism soon obtained general dissemination, and, by its universal reception, became entitled to assume the boasted name of Catholicism. Greeks and Latins, through oriental and western Christendom, embraced the innovation, which, in its infancy, was patronized by the Roman emperor, and by the Antiochian, Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Roman Patriarchs and Clergy.

The emperor Heraclius, anxious to reconcile the Jacobites to Catholicism, and influenced by the opinions of Anastasius, Cyrus, and Sergius, issued an edict in favour of Monothelitism. Depending on the judgment of others, and conversant with military tactics rather than with Christian theology, the royal warrior lent his imperial authority in support of heterodoxy. Godeau accuses Heraclius of 'abandoning the faith, protecting a heresy, and inflicting a mortal wound on Catholicism.' 'Inimical to God and hardened in soul, the emperor,' says Baronius, 'published his exposition to establish an impiety.'[1]

Anastasius, Macedonius, and Macarius, Patriarchs of Antioch, disseminated the Monothelitism, which was patronized by the emperor Heraclius. Anastasius or Athanasius, who had supported Jacobitism as well as Monothelitism, was promoted to the patriarchal throne by the emperor in 630, and retained this dignity for ten years. Macedonius, his successor favoured the same theory. Macarius, who was deposed in the sixth general council, maintained this error with the utmost obstinacy. The suffragans of these dignitaries embraced this system, and were followed by the laity without a single murmur of opposition or animosity.[2]

Cyrus followed the example of Anastasius. Promoted to the See of Alexandria, this Patriarch in 633, convened, in that city, a great council, which decided in favour of one will and operation and anathematized all who dissented. The decision was received without any opposition by the prelacy as well as the people of the diocese.[3] Monothelitism, therefore, became the faith of the Alexandrian as well as the Antiochian See.

Sergius concurred with Anastasius and Cyrus. The Byzantine Patriarch, with the design of giving more weight to his

[1] Theoph. 218. Zonaras, 2. 6. Godeau, 5. 161. Spon. 639. I.
[2] Theoph. 218. Cedren. 1. 331. Godeau, 5. 128. Moreri, 1. 499.
[3] Cedren. 1. 332. Bin. 5. 220. Godeau, 5. 138. Spon. 633. II.

decision, assembled also a council of his suffragans; and all these, with the utmost unanimity, decided in favour of the same speculation. The clergy agreed with their patriarch. Cyrus, some time after, wrote a flattering letter to Sergius: and praised the Ecthesis of the emperor and the patriarch, which, he said, 'was clear as sun-beams.'[1]

Monothelitism, in this manner, became the faith of the Greeks. The harmony of the eastern clergy, on this theory, is stated in the celebrated Ecthesis or Exposition. The Oriental prelacy received, with the utmost readiness, a form of belief, which inculcated the dogma of one will. This heresy, Godeau admits, 'was maintained by the emperor and the three oriental patriarchs, poisoned nearly the whole of eastern Christendom, and corrupted the prelacy and the people.' Godeau's statement is repeated by Bruys. Maimbourg attests 'the concord of the emperor Heraclius, and the patriarchs Anastasius, Macarius, Cyrus, and Sergius in behalf of this error.'[2]

Honorius, the Roman pontiff, next declared in favour of Monothelitism. His infallibility, in two letters written in reply to the Byzantine patriarch, expressed, in clear and unequivocal terms, his belief of one will in the Son of God, and his unqualified assent to the decision of Sergius. His supremacy denied that any of the fathers had taught the doctrine of two wills. He represented the question concerning the operations, as trifling and undecided by Scriptural or Synodal authority. His infallibility's approbation of the opinion, embraced by the Byzantine patriarch, was express, and caused Honorius to be anathematised with Sergius in the sixth general council, as the follower of that chief of the heresy.[3]

The pontiff's letter, on this occasion, was dogmatical: and the sixth general council characterised it by this epithet. His holiness, says Du Pin, 'spoke in this production from the chair, and supported the Monothelan error by a decretal definition.'[4] His bull was an answer to the Constantinopolitan patriarch,

[1] Theoph. 219. Labb. 7. 214. Alex. 13. 32.

[2] Exceperunt Patriarchis sedibus præsules, et gratanter ei consenserunt. Labb. 7. 202. Qui étoit soustenue par l'Empereur, et les trois Patriarches d'Orient. Presque tout l'Orient en fût empoisonné. Les Patriarches et les prelats étant corrumpus, corrompoient leurs troupeaux. Godeau, 5. 153, 166. L'hérésie des Monothelites soustenue par presque tout l'Orient. Bruy. 1. 423.

Sergius entreprit de repandre cette heresie dans tout l'Orient. Il avoit pour lui, Cyrus, Macaire, et Athanase. Il entraina ce pauvre Prince, dans cette nouvelle hérésie. Maimb. 108.

[3] Unam voluntatem fatemur Domini. Bin. 5. 203. Labb. 7. 962. Haec nobis cum Fraternitas vestra prædicat, sicut et nos ea vobiscum unanimiter praedicamus. Labb. 7. 966.

Sergio et Honorio anathema. Alexander, 13. 303. In omnibus ejus mentem secutus est. Labb. 7 978. Maimburg, 110.

[4] Monothelitarum errorem decretali epistola definivit. Du Pin, 349, 352. Bruys, 1. 424. Godeau, 5. 140. Bellarmin, ad Clem. 18. Garn. in Pirra.

and indeed to the Byzantine and Alexandrian councils, to whom he prescribed the means, which he thought necessary for the unity of the faith and the preservation of Catholicism. His letter also was sanctioned by a Roman Synod. The pontiffs of this age, Bellarmine and Garnier have shown, issued nothing of this kind without the authority of a council. The faith of Honorius therefore was, like that of Cyrus and Sergius, recommended by the Synodal sentence of the Suffragan clergy.

The only opposition to Monothelitism arose from Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem. He convened a council in 633, which condemned this system and decided in favour of two wills. He also dispatched Stephen, Bishop of Dora, at the head of a solemn deputation to the Roman pontiff, to solicit the condemnation of the Monothelan theology, as inconsistent with the council of Chalcedon and the faith of antiquity. But his infallibility had already declared for the unity of the Mediator's will. He therefore recommended peace, and obliged the deputation to promise, in name of their patriarch, to forego all discussion on this difficult question. This injunction, which was the offspring of sound wisdom and discretion, and which, had it been always afterward observed, would have prevented much useless discussion and unchristian animosity, was, during the life of Honorius, faithfully obeyed. Sophronius, as well as Cyrus and Sergius, preserved, on this subject, a profound silence and remained in inactivity.[1]

During the five years, therefore, which elapsed from the deputation of Sophronius to Honorius in 633, till the death of the pontiff in 638, the whole Romish communion, Greeks and Latins, received, by silent or avowed consent, the faith of Monothelitism. A pontifical decision, admitted by the clergy, constitutes, according to Popish theologians, a standard of faith. Such at the Maynooth examination, was the statement of Crotty, Brown, Slevin, and Higgins.[2] Monothelitism, on this supposition, was, in the beginning of the seventh century, transubstantiated into Catholicism. The Greeks, in general, avowed their Monothelitism. Sophronius and his clergy, who at first resisted, concurred, at last, in accordance with the advice of Honorius, in tacit acquiescence. The western hierarch and episcopacy received the same theology without the faintest murmur of hostility. The pope declared in its favour, and the clergy submitted in cordial unanimity. A breath of discontent was not heard, for five revolving years, through all the wide extent of oriental and western Christendom. A single fact, indicating

[1] Theoph. 218. Cedren. 1. 331. Zonaras, 2. 67. Spon. 638. III. Labbeus, 6. 1481.

[2] May. Report, 78, 83, 84, 283, 284.

a disbelief of this system, from the publication of the pontiff's letter till his dissolution, could not be culled from all the magazines of ecclesiastical history and all the literary monuments of the east and west. The Monothelan theology, therefore, embraced by the clergy of the papal communion, was, by this easy and simple process, transformed into genuine Romanism. According to Godeau, 'Heraclius inflicted a mortal wound on the church.' The Chalcedonian council, says Theophanes, became, on this occasion, a great reproach, 'and the CATHOLIC CHURCH was overthrown.'[1]

Monothelitism, however, which, in the Popedom of Honorius, had been elevated into orthodoxy, was, in the vicissitude of human affairs and in the variations of the Roman faith, degraded into heresy. This theology, expelled from the throne of Catholicism, which it had usurped, was, amid sacerdotal and imperial anathemas, consigned, with execration, to the empire of heterodoxy and perdition. Its legitimacy was disputed, and its dynasty, amidst clerical imprecations and balderdash, was overthrown. A revolution of this kind, however, was not effected without opposition and animosity.

The belligerents, in this war of words, were the Greeks and the Latins. The Pope and the Latins arrayed themselves against the emperor and the Greeks: and each, during the campaign, displayed admirable skill in ecclesiastical tactics. Heraclius or Sergius in his name commenced hostilities in 639, by the publication of the Ecthesis or Exposition of the faith. This celebrated edict, having rejected Arianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism, proceeded, in express terms, to teach the unity of the Mediator's will and to interdict all controversy on the operations. The unity of the one was defined, and silence enjoined on the other; while the definition and interdiction were followed by the usual volleys of anathemas.[2] This exposition, issued by the emperor, was received by the oriental patriarchs and prelacy.

Monothelitism and the Exposition, approved, in this manner, by the emperor and the easterns, were, with horror and execration, condemned by the pope and the westerns. Pope John marshalled his episcopal troops, and, at their head, discharged his spiritual artillery from the Vatican, loaded with curses and anathemas against the Monothelan army of the east. His synodal battery was pointed against Monothelitism and the Exposition. Monothelitism, John in his synod declared to be

[1] Heraclius fit une playe mortelle a l'Eglise. Godeau, 5. 161. Εις μεγα ονειδος ἡ συνοδος Χαλκηδονος, και ἡ καθολικη εκκλησια περιεπεσε. Theop. 212.

[2] Zonaras, 2. 89. Labb. 6. 1505, et 7. 296. Bin. 4. 696. Alex. 13. 31.

contrary to the faith, the fathers, and the council of Chalcedon.[1] The silence enjoined, as well as the unity of will taught in the Ecthesis, offended the pontiff and his clergy. Ecclesiastics, in all ages, seem to have challenged verbal contention as their inalienable prerogative; and this, at that period, appears to have been their ruling passion. The emperor's interdict, therefore, these noisy polemics deprecated as an invasion of their rights, and as treason against the church and their freedom.

The African clergy also declared, with distinguished zeal against Monothelitism. Colombas, Stephen, and Raparatus metropolitans of Numidia, Byzaca, and Mauritania, anathematized the heresy of one will in their respective councils; and sent letters to the same effect addressed to the emperor, the pope, and the Byzantine patriarch. Victor also, the Carthaginian bishop, despatched Melosus, with a solemn embassy to the Roman hierarch, declaring his promotion, his attachment to the faith of antiquity, and his detestation of the heresy of Monothelitism.[2]

All this apparatus of edicts, councils, imprecations, anathemas, and excommunications, however, produced no decisive effect. The Greeks and the Latins, the partizans of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, held their several systems with unyielding pertinacity. The authority of the emperor and the pope, on this occasion, was divided. The emperor, when he exerted his influence, could always command a majority, and often the whole of the clergy. The emperor and pope, when united, could always effect unanimity of profession among the conscientious bishops. But Heraclius and John, on this occasion, patronized two contending factions; and his majesty, besides, was not determined. He had been entrapped into Monothelitism by Anastasius, Cyrus, and Sergius, in the full confidence of its orthodoxy. But the declaration of the Latins awakened doubts in his mind; and he remained, therefore, in suspense and inactivity, The balance of victory, in consequence, was suspended in equilibrium; and the holy Fathers, both of the East and West, expended their curses and their excommunications for nothing.

The former battle being indecisive, the Greeks and Latins prepared again for action. The Greeks indeed, though headed by the emperor, being weary of war, appear, on this occasion, to have been inclined to peace. But the Latins rejected all cessation of arms. The organs of combativeness, in the language of Spurzheim and phrenology, must have been well

[1] Theoph. 219. Cedren. 2. 332. Petav. 2. 138. Maimb. 111. Labb. 6. 1502. Bin. 4. 734.

[2] Cedren. 2. 336. Theoph. 219. Bruy. 1. 448. Petavius, 1. 279.

developed in the Western clergy. Their pugnacity, after sixteen years war, with some intervals, had suffered no diminution notwithstanding the severity of the former campaign.

The emperor Constans, pretending to inspiration, issued, in 648, a pacific overture, which he styled the Type or Formulary. This edict, suggested by Paul the Byzantine patriarch, having, with great perspicuity and without any partiality, explained the opinions on the subject of contention, and expressed deep regret for the unhallowed divisions of the Christian community, interdicted all disputation on the contested topics of the will and operations. All discussion of these metaphysical and difficult questions was forbidden each party, on pain of Divine judgment and imperial indignation. The clergy who should offend against the edict of pacification were to be degraded, the monks excommunicated, and the nobility deprived of their rank and property. The Type differed from the Ecthesis. The Ecthesis defined the unity of the will, and enjoined silence only on the operations. The Type defined nothing, and prohibited all controversy on both these subjects. The Greeks acquiesced in the manifesto of pacification, and submitted, with willingness, to the imperial authority.[1]

But the Latins, headed by the pope and disinclined to peace, commenced immediate hostilities; and, from the secretary of the Lateran, hurled anathemas from their spiritual engines against the impiety of the Ecthesis, the atrocity of the Type, and the heresy of Monothelitism. Pope Martin led the charge against the emperor and the Greeks. Full of zeal for the faith, or rather actuated with the spirit of faction, this pontiff, in 649, assembled, in the Lateran, no less than 150 bishops collected from Italy and the adjacent islands. This assembly, more numerous than some general councils, fulminated execrations against Monothelitism and the most wicked Type, which was published by Constans, and calculated to restrain men from professing the truth or combating error. The sacred synod also thundered imprecations, with great spirit and devotion, against Theodorus, Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and all who entertained their heretical impiety.[2]

This campaign, like the former, was indecisive. Constans showed no partiality to Monothelitism or to Catholicism; but maintained, on the contrary, an armed neutrality. His only design seems to have been the promotion of peace, and the extinction of faction and animosity. Caliopas, therefore,

[1] Labb. 7. 239. Alex. 13. 35. Bruys, 1. 441.

[2] Typo Constantis Imperatoris damnato, Monothelitarum haeresim, ejusque auctores et promotores diris multavit. Mabillon. 1. 407. Maimburg, 111. Crabb. 2. 232. Platina, in Martin. Theoph. 219.

Exarch of Italy, seized Martin by the emperor's orders, and confined this disturber of the peace a whole year in Naxos, an island in the Archipelago or Egean Sea. He was then, after a mock trial and the utmost cruelty, banished to Cherson, where he died.[1] He suffered with great fortitude and patience, and, in consequence, has, in the Roman communion, obtained the honours of saintship and martyrdom.

Martin's punishment tamed the haughty insolence of his successors Eugenius and Vitalian, and taught these pontiffs to respect the imperial authority. These took special care not to imitate their predecessors, John and Martin, in condemning the Type; but, on the contrary, maintained, during their spiritual reigns, a suspicious and provoking silence and neutrality. The red-hot anathemas, such as John and Martin had thundered from the Vatican against all the patrons of the Ecthesis, the Type, and Monothelitism, got time to cool, and the church and empire in consequence enjoyed a temporary peace.

Eugenius and Vitalian, it has been alleged, conferred their formal sanction on the emperor's pacific formulary. This has been inferred from the friendship which Constans discovered for these two pontiffs. His majesty enlarged the privileges of the Roman See. He sent Vitalian a copy of the Gospels, ornamented with gold and jewels of extraordinary magnitude and brilliancy. But the Sovereign, who wreaked such vengeance on Martin for condemning the Type, would not, in so distinguished a manner, have countenanced Vitalian in the same offence.[2] Eugenius and Vitalian, therefore, if they withheld their avowed approbation of the Edict, suspended their open condemnation.

This neutrality was a virtual, if not a formal submission to the formulary, which was issued merely to prevent discussion and animosity. The Type interdicted controversy, and this interdiction, these pontiffs obeyed. This taciturnity, which was execrated by Martin, was a direct compliance with the requisitions of Constans. Eugenius and Vitalian sanctioned, by their cessation of hostility, what Theodorus and Martin in two Roman councils, had denounced as heresy inimical to Catholicism.[3] Christendom, for a second time, saw all opposition to Monothelitism entirely abandoned, and his infallibility, 'the universal bishop, the head of the church, and the father and teacher of all Christians,' with all his Western suffragans, resting, for a

[1] Cedren. 2. 332. Bruy. 1. 461. Beda, 30.
[2] Bruys. 1. 463. Labbeus, 7. 457. Beda, Chron. Ann. 671.
[3] Theodorus Papa, concilio congregato, eundem typum damnavit. Binius, 4 672. Γενόμενον. . . κατὰ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἀναθέματος τύπου. Labbeus 7. 365 Exposuit Typum adversus Catholicam fidem. Beda, 30.

long series of years, in connivance and inactivity. This was plainly the second triumph of Monothelitism. The Monothelan theology, if a total cessation of all opposition to a doctrine constitutes it an article of faith, was, for the second time, raised to the throne of orthodoxy and Catholicism.

Monothelitism, however, enjoyed only a precarious and temporary reign. The era of its dethronement had nearly made its appearance on the broad theatre of the world. A revolution, which had taken place in the imperial mind, portended its speedy overthrow and dissolution. The emperor Constantine, a descendant of Heraclius, and educated in the Monothelite system, induced by reason, caprice, interest, passion, whim, fancy, inclination, or some of these diversified motives which actuate the human mind, abjured the catechism of his infancy, and embraced the theology which he afterward raised to the throne of orthodoxy. 'His majesty, the warm friend of Catholicism,' says Binius, 'hastened to expunge the domestic and hereditary stain of his family.' The royal convert concluded pacific negotiations with the Saracens, and formed a treaty with the pope for the destruction of Monothelitism: and when his majesty and his holiness united against this or any other creed, the spirit of prophecy was unnecessary to anticipate its doom. The royal smiles and frowns, seconded by pontifical influence, always conveyed instant conviction to episcopal consciences, and reduced jarring systems to unanimity.

Constantine, anxious to allay ecclesiastical discord, summoned for this end a general council, which met at Constantinople in the year 680. The bishops of this assembly, in its first session, did not exceed forty, though in the end, they amounted to 166. The emperor, attended by the counsellors of state, presided, and, in the acts of the synod, they are styled the judges. These prescribed the subjects, ruled the discussions, collected the suffrages, and indeed conducted the whole machinery of the council. Their partiality appeared in the first session. Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, and the representatives of the Roman pontiff, had disputed about a quotation from Cyril of Alexandria. This, though couched in the language of metaphysical jargon and unqualified nonsense, equally unintelligible and senseless, the judges decided in favour of the party which was now, in consequence of imperial patronage, to become orthodox.[1]

The acts of the sixth general council were distinguished by the speedy proselytism of the Greeks, the condemnation of Macarius and Honorius, and the synodal decision against Monothelitism. Georgius of Constantinople was the first who,

[1] Alexander, 13. 47. Maimbourg, 112. Labbeus, 7. 635.

changed by a hasty conversion, recanted his former opinion, and anathematized the dogma of one will and operation. The logic of imperial favour, in an instant, flashed conviction on his mind. The arguments of the monarch bore, no doubt, the imperial stamp, and therefore possessed, beyond question, a sterling value. His conversion was immediately followed by that of all his suffragans. These, imitating their superior, and sensible to the dialectics of their sovereign, cursed, in loud vociferation, all the patrons of Monothelitism.[1]

But Macarius, the Antiochian patriarch, was formed of less yielding materials. He publicly declared in the eighth session, that he would not retract, though, on account of his obstinacy, he should be torn into fragments, and hurled headlong into the sea. This shocking blasphemy awakened all the zeal of the pious bishops, who, in consequence, roared out, 'Cursed be the new Dioscorus. Put out the new Dioscorus. Cursed be the new Apollinaris. Strip him of his pall.' The sacred synod and Roman sovereign then commanded the pall to be torn off Macarius. Basil the Cretan, then leaped up, seized the unhappy patriarch, rent the pall from his shoulders; and, while the council continued cursing, expelled the heretic and his throne, by sheer violence, out of the assembly. The Roman clergy next caught Stephen, the abettor of Macarius, by the shoulders, and threw him, amidst direful execrations, out of the sacred synod.[2] The holy fathers, on the occasion, had no mercy on Macarius, Stephen, or their own lungs: and had it not been for their facility of cursing, acquired by long habit, must have cursed themselves out of breath.

The condemnation of his infallibility pope Honorius, for heresy, formed the most extraordinary act of the sixth general council. This pontiff had sunk into the cold tomb, and his bones, during a period of half a century, had been mouldering in the dust. But death, the coffin, the shroud, and the grave could not shield his memory from the holy church's anathemas, which were pronounced with perfect unanimity, and without the least opposition or faintest murmur of mercy.[3]

The council, in the thirteenth session, having condemned the dogmatic letters of Honorius as conformed to heresy, and contrary to Catholicism and the faith of the Apostles and the

[1] Binius, 5. 88. Alexander, 13. 50.

[2] Sancta synodus, una cum principe ejus orarium auferri jusserunt a collo ejus, et exiliens Basilius episcopus Cretensis ecclesiæ, ejus orarium abstulit, et anathematizantes projecerunt eum foris synodum, simulque et Thronum ejus. Stephanum autem discipulum ejus cervicibus a sancta synodo clerici Romani ejicientes expulerunt. Anastasius, 30. Labbeus, 7. 590. Bin. 5. 92. 365. Crabb. 2. 319, 321. Caranza, 421. Alex. 13, 52.

[3] Honorio ab Orientalibus post mortem anathema sit dictum. Caranza, 522.

Fathers, anathematized their pontifical author in company with Theodorus, Cyrus, and Sergius. Honorius was represented as agreeing, in every respect, with Sergius, whose impiety the pontiff confirmed. The sacred synod, in its sixteenth session, repeated these anathemas against the heretical Honorius and his companions. Having, in the eighteenth session, condemned Monothelitism, and issued their definition of two wills and operations in Emmanuel, the holy Fathers again anathematized Theodorus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Cyrus, Macarius, and Honorius.[1]

The unerring council, in its eighteenth session, among other compliments, represented his holiness, in company with Theodorus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, and Paul, as an organ of the devil, who had used the pontiff, like the serpent, in bringing death on man in the dissemination of scandal and heresy.[2] His supremacy, it seems, occupied two important situations. He was the organ of Satan and the viceroy of God. Clothed with infallibility, the Byzantine council proclaimed his agency, as a Monothelite, in the dynasty of his infernal majesty. Vested in like manner with infallibility, the Florentian and Lateran councils defined his holiness, as pontiff, the vicar-general of the supernal Emmanuel. Honorius, in this way, was promoted to the premiership of both heaven and hell, and, with characteristic ability, conducted the administration of the two dominions. He presided, like all other popes, in the kingdom of Jesus, and, at the same time, by special favour in the empire of Belzebub.

The anathemas of the Byzantine assembly were repeated by the seventh and eighth general councils. The seventh, in its third session, anathematized and execrated Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Honorius, and, in its seventh session, uttered a similar denunciation. The eighth, in its tenth session, also pronounced anathemas against Honorius, Cyrus, Stephen, and Macarius.[3]

Condemned by these general councils, Honorius was also denounced by six Roman pontiffs and by the old Roman breviary. He was anathematized for heresy, by Agatho, Nicholas, two Leos, and two Adrians, on a question, says Caron, not of fact, but of faith. Agatho, says Caranza, excommunicated the heretics Honorius, Macarius, Stephen, and Cyrus. Leo the Second and four of his successors confirmed the sixth, seventh,

[1] Sequi falsas doctrinas haereticorum. In omnibus ejus mentem secutus est, et impia dogmata confirmavit. Labb. 7. 978. Honorio haeretico anathema. Labb. 7. 1043. Du Pin, 350. Maimb. 113.

[2] Organa ad propriam sui voluntatem apta reperiens, Theodorum, Sergium, Pyrrhum, Paulum, insuper et Honorium. Labb. 7. 1058. Alexander, 13. 303 Bin. 7. 854. et 9. 151. Crabb. 3. 476, 694, Du Pin, 349.

[3] Bin. 5. 819. et 6. 844. Crabb, 2. 403.

and eighth general councils, that had condemned and anathematized Honorius. Leo, in his confirmation of the Byzantine council, characterized Honorius as a traitor to the holy apostolic faith. The old Roman breviary also, approved by the Roman pontiffs and used in the Romish worship, attested the condemnation of Cyrus, Sergius, and Honorius for the error of Monothelitism.[1]

The decisions and anathemas of these councils and pontiffs have, in modern times, distracted the friends of the papacy. One party, in the face of this overwhelming evidence, maintain the hierarch's orthodoxy, while, another, in the exercise of common sense and candour, confess his heresy. Baronius, Bellarmine, and Binius, in the genuine spirit of Ultramontane servility, assert his Catholicism. Binius represents Honorius, as free from every stain or suspicion of error. The means, which this faction employ in his vindication, are extraordinary. One party, in this faction, such as Baronius, Bellarmine, Pighius, and Binius, represent the synodal acts of the sixth universal synod as corrupted, and the name of Honorius inserted in the place of Theodorus. This hopeful solution prevailed for some time; but is now the object of scorn and contempt. The silly conjecture had its day; but has passed to oblivion with many other variations of popery. The Shandian supposition has been demolished by the overwhelming arguments and criticisms of Du Pin, Alexander, Godeau, Launoy, and Maimbourg.[2]

Another party in this faction, among whom were Turrecrema, Pallavicino, Spondanus, and Arsdekin, admit the genuineness of the acts; but allege an error in the council. The condemnation of Honorius, according to these critics, was a question, not of faith, but of fact, in which, even a general council may err. Popes and councils, according to these vindicators, condemned Honorius; but, in their sentence, were mistaken. The modest critics weigh their own opinion, though void of all evidence, against the decision of pontiffs, councils, and all antiquity.[3] His infallibility's vindicators, in their noble enterprize, have displayed a tissue of sophistry, quibbling, misrepresentation, distinctions, nonsense, shuffling, evasion, and chicanery, unrivalled in the annals of controversy.

[1] Novimus Honorium Papam, tanquam haereticum Monothelitam a 3 synodis generalibus, VI, VII, VIII. sicut et a 4 Pontificibus Romanis, Leone, Agathone, duobus Adrianis damnatum esse. Caron. 89. 418. Alex. 13 311. Maimbourg, 11. Proditione immaculatam fidem subvertere conatus est. Labb. 7. 1155. et 8. 652. Bin. 5. 307. Moreri, 4. 186.

[2] Spon. 681. V. Bell. IV 11. Bin. 4. 872. Maimb. 116. Du Pin, 350. Alex. 12. 302. Godeau. 5. 339. Launoy, 1. 118.

[3] Turrecrema, II. 92. Pallav. VII. 4. Arsdek. 1. 127. Bell. IV. 11. Maimbourg, 120.

A second party, among whom may be reckoned Marca, Garner, Pagius, Alexander, Godeau, Moreri, Launoy, Bruys, Maimbourg, Caron, Canus, Beda, and Du Pin, confess the justice of the pontiff's sentence. This party again is divided into two factions. One of these, supported by the authority of Marca, Garner, Pagius, Alexander, Godeau, and Moreri, represent Honorius merely as guilty of remissness and inactivity, in neglecting to suppress the rising heresy of Monothelitism. Launoy, Bruys, Caron, Canus, Beda, Maimbourg, and Du Pin have characterized Honorius as guilty of heresy, and have evinced their allegation by a mass of evidence which must command the assent of every unprejudiced mind.[1]

Monothelitism, by the decision of the Byzantine council, received a total overthrow. The Greeks and Latins, through the oriental and western empire, acknowledged, by open or tacit consent, the definition of the Constantinopolitan assembly. The theology of one will and operation, seemed, for a lapse of about thirty-two years, to be extinguished.

The Monothelan theory, however, was destined to enjoy a temporary revival, in the reign of Philippicus. Justinian, distinguished by his cruelty, was assassinated in the year 712, and Philippicus raised to the throne. His elevation to the imperial dignity, Binius ascribes to the devil and a blind magician. The usurper, says Theophanes, had been educated by Stephen, a Monothelite, and a pupil of Macarius the Antiochan patriarch, and had, from his infancy, imbibed the principles of his tutor. The magician, who, though blind in mind and body, was, it seems, skilled in astrology, foretold the promotion of Philippicus, and, should he patronize Monothelitism, the prosperity of his reign. The prophet, however, in this latter circumstance, happened to be mistaken. The stars had been unfaithful, or the sage astrologer had miscalculated. Philippicus, however, believing the impostor's prediction, bound himself by oath to the conditions.[2]

Vested with the sovereign authority, the emperor convened a council in Constantinople, for the purpose of overturning Catholicism and substituting Monothelitism. This assembly, which Theophanes calls 'a mad synod,' was, says Binius, attended by numberless oriental bishops, who, according to the same author, were, at the emperor's suggestion, converted, in a moment, from orthodoxy to heresy. The proselytism, on this occasion, was somewhat sudden; but nothing extraordinary. The prelacy of these days possessed an admirable

[1] Alex. 13. 320. Godeau, 5. 140. Moreri, 4. 186. Launoy, 1. 118. Bruy, 1. 423. Caron. 89. Canus, V. 5. Beda. 31. Maimb. 113. Du Pin, 350.
[2] Cedren. 1 353. Theoph. 254. Bin. 5. 447.

versatility of belief and elasticity of conscience, and could generally conform, with accommodating and obliging facility, to the faith of the emperor. Many of these holy fathers, who, on this occasion, embraced the imperial religion, had, under Constantine, supported Catholicism, and, again, under Anastasius, who succeeded Phillippicus, returned, with equal ease, to orthodoxy. The sacred synod, therefore, at the nod of the emperor and with the utmost unanimity, condemned the sixth general council, consigned its acts to the flames, and declared the theology of one will, which many of them had formerly anathematized, the true faith of antiquity. John, whom Philippicus substituted for Cyrus in the See of Constantinople, poisoned, according to Godeau, all the Greeks with heresy. The Eastern clergy abandoned the faith rather than their dignity. The Byzantine conventicle, whose atrocious acts, full of blasphemy, are, says Labbeus, buried with the wicked emperor and consigned to eternal anathemas, renewed the impiety of Monothelitism.[1]

Philippicus, who was a man of learning, having, on the dismissal of the council, compiled a confession agreeable to its definition, transmitted it to the several metropolitans, and enjoined it on the clergy on pain of deposition and banishment. A few, unwilling to make the imperial faith and conscience the standard of their own, remonstrated. But these refractory spirits were soon removed, and others of greater pliancy were substituted. Monothelitism, in consequence, was again embraced by all the Greeks, and even by the envoys of the apostolic see, who, at that time, resided in the imperial city.

The Latins, however, were, for once, less passive or complying. The emperor's power in the west had become less arbitrary than in the east. The Roman city, in which the imperial authority had been reduced to a low ebb, was, in a great measure, governed by the Roman pontiff. The pope, therefore, rejected the imperial confession with indignation, and condemned it, in council, as fraught with blasphemy, dictated by the enemy of truth, and calculated to sap the foundations of catholicism, the faith of the fathers, and the authority of councils. The Roman populace, unaccustomed to moderation, proceeded to greater extremity. These, in the extravagancy of their zeal, threw the emperor's image from the church, and expunged his name from the public liturgy. The infatuated people proceeded even to oppose the Roman governor, who had been appointed by the heretical emperor. A skirmish, before the palace, was the consequence, in which twenty-five were

[1] Zonaras, XIV. 26. Theoph. 246. Bin. 5. 448. Labb. 1. 190. Spon. 729. VIII. Godeau, 5. 339.

killed. The Pope, however, dispatched a deputation to the clergy with the gospel and cross in their hand, to part the combatants and allow the governor to take possession of the palace.[1]

Philippicus, in the mean time, prepared to wreak his vengeance on the pontiff and the people, was, by a conspiracy, driven from the throne, and Anastasius, as zealous for orthodoxy as Philippicus had been for heresy, was raised to the imperial dignity. He, accordingly, issued an edict to the metropolitans, commanding the reception of the sixth general council, and the condemnation of all who should reject its decisions, which, he said, had been dictated by the Holy Ghost. The imperial edict met no opposition. The will of the reigning emperor being known, the transition of the Grecian clergy from rank heresy to high orthodoxy was instantaneous. Monothelitism never recovered this shock, but hastened, by rapid declension, to nearly total extinction. Arianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism, survived the anathemas of general councils, and even flourished in the face of opposition. But imperial, papal, and synodal authority, which had formerly been wielded in support of Monothelitism, succeeded, in the vicissitudes of religion, in its suppression, and finally to its almost universal extinction.

[1] Beda, Chron. Ann. 716. Bruy. 1. 512. Alex. 13. 61. 62.

CHAPTER XII.

PELAGIANISM.

ITS AUTHOR AND DISSEMINATION—PATRONIZED BY THE ASIANS—OPPOSED BY THE AFRICANS—CONDEMNED BY INNOCENT—APPROVED BY ZOSIMUS—ANATHEMATIZED BY ZOSIMUS—DENOUNCED BY THE ASIANS—CENSURED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS—DECLENSION OF PELAGIANISM—CONTROVERSY IN THE NINTH CENTURY—GOTTESCALCUS AGAINST RABANUS—THE COUNCILS OF MENTZ AND QUIERCY AGAINST THE COUNCILS OF VALENCE AND LANGRES—MODERN CONTROVERSY—COUNCIL OF TRENT—REMMISH ANNOTATIONS—DOMINICANS AGAINST THE MOLINISTS—CONGREGATION OF HELPS—THE JESUITS AGAINST THE JANSENISTS—CONTROVERSY ON QUESNEL'S MORAL REFLECTIONS.

PELAGIANISM misrepresented man, as Arianism misrepresented Emmanuel, who is both God and man. The whole human family, according to the Pelagian system, continues, in its present condition, to possess the same moral power and purity as Adam in a state of innocence. The patrons of this theology deny the fall and recovery of man, and the imputation of sin and righteousness. Grace, which in this theory is the reward of merit, is, its abettors maintain, wholly unnecessary for the attainment of holiness, which is the offspring of free-will. Man, in the due exercise of his moral powers, actuated by free-will and unaided by divine influence, may arrive at a moral perfection, beyond the sphere of criminality and condemnation. Adam was created mortal; and death is not the effect of sin, but a law of nature.[1] The design of this impiety was the vain adulation of human ability, for the purpose of superseding the necessity of divine assistance.

The authors of this heresy were Pelagius and Celestius. Pelagius was an Englishman: and possessed eloquence and capacity; but at the same time, artifice and dissimulation. Celestius, his pupil, was a native of Scotland or, as some say, of Ireland. He was educated in the Pelagian school and attached to the Pelagian system, but excelled his tutor in candour and uprightness.[2]

[1] August. Peccat. Orig. c. 17, 30. Morery, 7. 105. Crabb. 1. 470. Prosp. 1. 480. Tournelly, 1. 131. Godeau, 3. 113.
[2] Poly. Virg. 56. Bin. 1. 863. Alex 10. 50.

These two companions in error began the dissemination of their opinions in the Roman capital, about the commencement of the fifth century. The publication of the Pelagian theology in the Roman city was, through fear of detection, conducted with caution and in privacy. Retiring from Rome in 410, on the approach of the Goths, the two heresiarchs repaired to Sicily and afterwards to Africa, where they published their sentiments with more freedom. Celestius, for some time, remained in Africa, while Pelagius passed into Asia to Palestine. Pelagianism, in this way, was propagated in the European, African, and Asian continents; and succeeded, says Augustine, far beyond expectation. A spark, says Godeau, 'augmented to a conflagration, which threatened to consume the Christian commonwealth.'[1]

Pelagianism, like all systems introduced among men, met a diversified reception; and was alternately praised and blamed, condemned and approved, by popes and councils. Pelagius in Palestine gained the friendship of John, patriarch of Jerusalem, and was protected by this chief from the accusations preferred against the heresiarch in the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis. Orosius, in 415, accused Pelagius of heresy, in a synod or conference at Jerusalem. John, the friend of Pelagius, presided in this assembly. Orosius opposed the authority of Jerome and Augustine to that of Pelagius.[2] The plea, however, was disregarded. The synod, after some altercation, agreed to consult Pope Innocent before they should come to a decision.

Heros and Lazarus, in the same year, accused Pelagius before fourteen bishops in the synod of Diospolis or Lydda, a city of Palestine. Eulogius, a metropolitan of Cæsarea, presided, and John of Jerusalem occupied the second place. Pelagius was again acquitted. One of his accusers was detained by sickness, and the other would not abandon his friend in that extremity. The judges were, in a great measure, unacquainted with Latin, and could not understand the book of Pelagius, which he had published in favour of his system. The accused, besides, showed his usual prevarication and address. He disclaimed some of his errors, explained others in an orthodox sense, and anathematized all opinions contrary to catholicism. His theology in consequence was approved, and he himself continued in the enjoyment of ecclesiastical communion. Pelagius afterward boasted that his opinion on the moral powers of man was

[1] Godeau. 3. 116. Phot. cod. 54. Crabb. 1. 470. Aug. Ep. 89
[2] Alex. 10. 183. Aug. 10. 398.

sanctioned by this synod, which Jerome called the pitiful convention of Diospolis.[1]

Pelagius and his principles in this manner escaped the condemnation of the Asians; and even, in a limited sense, obtained their approbation. But all his finesse could neither elude the vigilance nor escape the activity of the African clergy. Celestius, the companion and pupil of Pelagius, had, early as the year 412, been condemned and excommunicated in the Carthaginian synod. Aurelius, the Carthaginian bishop presided on the occasion. The accusation was preferred by Paulinus a deacon, and the sentence of condemnation extended both to the heresy and its author. The Carthaginian prelacy, amounting to sixty-eight, again in 416 anathematized both Pelagius and Celestius and condemned their principles. The Numidians, also, to the amount of sixty, following the example of the Carthaginians, assembled in council at Milevum, expressed their horror of Pelagianism and anathematized its abettors. Augustine, also, who swayed the African councils and influenced their decisions, declared, in a public manner, against the Pelagian impiety. The whole African episcopacy in this way, raised their voice with resolution and unanimity against the rising error.[2]

The Africans, in this manner, in a church boasting its unvarying unity, encountered the Asians, and condemned the theology which the latter approved. But diversity of sentiment, on this topic, was not limited to the African and Asian prelacy. Roman pontiffs, in Roman councils, displayed similar discordancy. The African clergy transmitted their decisions, on the subject of Pelagianism, to Pope Innocent for his approbation. The pontiff, though at one time suspected of countenancing Pelagianism, proceeded, after some big talk about the dignity of the apostolic see, to sanction the judgment of the Africans, and excommunicated Pelagius, who according to his holiness, 'was led captive by Satan, and unworthy of ecclesiastical communion, civil society, or even human life.' Pelagianism, contained in a book which the heresiarch had published, his infallibility characterized 'as contagion and blasphemy.'[3] The African decisions, in this manner, were corroborated by pontifical authority, and the westerns, with steady and determined unanimity, declared against the orientals.

But Innocent in the mean time died, and was succeeded by

[1] Godeau, 3. 140, 143. Bruy. 1. 162. Augustin, 2. 622. et 10. 219. Alexander, 10. 159. Jerom, Ep. 79.

[2] Crabb. 1. 469, 473, 475. Bin. 1. 864, 866, 869. Godeau, 3. 147. Alexander, 10. 159.

[3] In quo, multa blasphemia. Innocent. ad Aurel. Il n'y a trouvé que des blasphèmes. Godeau, 3. 150. Aug. Ep. 93. Labb. 3. 9. Bruys, 1. 178. Alex. 10. 163.

Zozimus; and this event interrupted the harmony of the Latins. This pontiff threw the whole weight of his infallibilty into the scale of the Asians and of Pelagianism against the Africans and orthodoxy. Celestius, condemned by the Carthaginians and Numidians, fled to Ephesus and Constantinople. But the odium of his theology caused his expulsion from both these cities; and he repaired, in consequence, to the Roman capital, to seek the protection of the Roman pontiff, who, he knew, seldom rejected the opportunity of extending his jurisdiction and drawing appeals to his tribunal.

Celestius, therefore, in full anticipation of success, presented himself before Zozimus, declared his innocence, and deprecated the aspersions which had been circulated to blast his reputation. He also presented a confession of faith, which among other things, contained a rejection of original sin, and, of course, according to the theology of Romanism and the future profession of Zozimus, an avowal of rank heresy. His sentiments on this subject have been preserved by Augustine. Sin, Celestius said, 'is not conveyed to man by traduction or hereditary transmission. Such an idea is foreign to Catholicism. Sin, on the contrary, which is the fault, not of our nature, but our will, is not born with man, but is his own act after he comes into the world.'[1] Such was his statement, as transmitted by a Roman saint of the first magnitude. The heresiarch's denial of man's moral apostacy and original sin in his confession is also admitted or rather stated by Godeau, Bruys, and Alexander.[2] This confession, disclaiming the depravation of man, his infallibility approved in a Roman synod, and vouched to the African clergy for its Catholicism. He absolved the heretic and confirmed the heresy. This confirmation did not satisfy his holiness. He accused the African bishops of temerity, and represented all discussions on grace and original sin as empty speculations, proceeding from useless refinement or criminal curiosity.[3] His holiness also vented his spleen against Heros and Lazarus, who have been eulogized by Augustine and Prosper, and who, with distinguished zeal and activity, had opposed Pelagianism.

[1] Id asseveravit expressius quod parvulorum neminem obstringat originale peccatum. August. De peccat. Orig. II. 2.

Non dicimus, ut peccatum ex traduce firmare videamur, quod longe a Catholico sensu alienum est. Quia Peccatum non cum homine nascitur, quod postmodum exercetur ab homine, quia non naturae delictum, sed voluntatis esse monstratur. Aug. De Peccat. Orig. 10. 253, 255. Labb. 3. 408.

[2] Il nioit ouvertement le peche originel. Godeau, 3. 145.

L'aveu qu'il fit de sa doctrine sur le peche originel me paroit clair et sans equivoque. Bruys, 1. 181.

Peccatum originale Caelestius, eo libello, negabat. Alex. 10. 166.

[3] Inepta certamina, quae non aedificant, ex illa curiositatis contagione profluere Zozim. ad Aurel. Bin. 1. 877. Labb. 3. 404.

Isti turbines ecclesiae vel procellae. Zozim. ad Aurel. Labb. 3. 404.

Zozimus treated both with the bitterest acrimony, and called them pests, whirlwinds, and storms, while he hurled excommunication, fraught with imprecations and fury, against their devoted heads. All this was transacted in a Roman council which his infallibility had assembled in the Basilic of Clement

The heresy of Celestius, on this occasion, was unequivocal and avowed. He was candid, and used neither concealment nor disguise. His doctrine on original sin, the infallible council of Trent in its fifth session, complimented with an anathema. The Sacred Synod, in its holy denunciations against all who deny original sin, cursed Pope Zozimus with all his infallibility.[1]

The acquittal of Celestius was followed by that of Pelagius. This heresiarch wrote the pontiff a letter, which contained his own vindication, and which was accompanied with a confession of his faith. His opinion, according to Augustine and Zozimus, corresponded with those of Celestius. 'All the good and evil,' said Pelagius in Augustine's statement, 'for which man is praised or blamed, is not born with him, but performed by him. Man is procreated without sin."[2] The confession of Pelagius, says Zozimus, was, in diction and signification, the same as that of Celestius, which denied the apostacy of the human species. His infallibility, nevertheless, declared himself satisfied with the Pelagian theology and vouched for its truth and Catholicism. His reply to the African Episcopacy, on the occasion, contained a eulogy on Pelagius and Celestius, an invective against Heros and Lazarus, and a condemnation of the Carthaginian and Numidian councils.

The recitation of the Pelagian creed had a curious effect on the Roman clergy, who were present in the council, as well as on the Roman pontiff. The heresy, as it afterwards became, awakened joy and admiration in these holy men, who, on this occasion, could scarcely refrain from weeping. The calumny, which had been circulated against a man of such sound faith as Pelagius, moved the compassion of the Sacred Synod, and had nearly drawn streams of sympathetic tears from their eyes.[3]

The Roman convention was not the only ecclesiastical assembly which, in western Christendom, sanctioned Pelagianism.

[1] Labb. 20. 27.

[2] Omne bonum et malum, quo vel laudabiles vel vituperabiles sumus, non nobiscum oritur sed agitur a nobis. Sine vitio procreamur August. Pec. Or. 14. P. 258. Godea. 3. 155. Labb. 3. 403.

[3] Invenient Zosimum, fidem ipsius Pelagii, tanquam veram et catholicam, laudantem. Pelagium et Cœlestium putarent orthodoxos. Facundus vii. 3. Augustin, 10. 102.

[3] Quod sanctorum virorum, qui aderant, gaudium fuit? Quæ admiratio singulorum? Vix fletu quidem se et lacrymis temperabant. Labb. 3. 404. Alex. 10 168. Godeau, 3. 158.

This heresy, in 794, was approved by the council of Frankfort, consisting of three hundred bishops from Germany, France, and Italy, assembled by the French monarch, superintended by the Papal Legates, Theophylact and Stephen, and confirmed by the Roman pontiff. Mistaking the confession of Pelagius for a work of Jerome, this great congress of the Latin clergy stamped the Pelagian creed with the broad seal of their approbation. Pelagianism, which was then heterodoxy, the holy synod characterized as the true faith, which, he who believes, shall enjoy eternal salvation. The Frankfordians, who represented the whole Latin communion, became Pelagians. The German council confounded the works of Jerome and Pelagius, and could not distinguish between heresy and Catholicism, as the Roman Synod, though superintended by his infallibility, had been unable to discriminate Pelagianism from orthodoxy.[1]

The Africans, however, were not intimidated by his infallibility's threats and indignation; but, on the contrary, continued their opposition, with resolution and unanimity. The Prelacy of all Africa, to the amount of 214, assembled in 417, and confirmed their former sentence, in opposition to the judgment of Zozimus. This did not satisfy their zeal. These active defenders of the faith, to the number of 225, met again in 418, and enacted eight canons against Pelagianism.[2] The firmness of the African clergy, indeed, seems to have been the means of preventing the Pelagian theology from becoming the faith of Christendom. Had their zeal yielded to the perversity of his holiness, Pelagianism would, in all probability, have become Catholicism. Heresy might have been transubstantiated into orthodoxy, and become the divinity of the Greek and Latin communion. But the energy of the African, not the Roman church, overcame every difficulty, and the faith of Augustine, not of Zozimus, prevailed.

The patrons of the papacy admit the mistake of Zozimus. These have been forced to grant that the pontiff sanctioned heresy as Catholicism. Augustine, having formed several excuses for Zozimus and his council, insinuates, in the end, 'the prevarication of the Roman clergy.' Zozimus, says Facundus, 'condemned the sentence of his predecessor and the African prelacy, and extolled the faith of Pelagius and Celestius as true Catholicism.' Zozimus, says Godeau in modern times, 'received the confession of Celestius as Catholicism and its author as orthodox.' The credulous pontiff, according to Alexander, 'accounted the Heresiarch's book

[1] Bruys, 1. 183. Vossius, 18. [2] Bin. 1. 883. Bruys, 1. 186.

orthodox, and formed a high opinion of his Catholicism.' Zozimus, says Caron, 'erred, when he vouched for the orthodoxy of Pelagianism.' The confession of Celestius, according to Moreri, 'was not entirely exempted from error.' Zozimus, in the statement of Du Pin, 'pronounced the Catholicism of a heretical creed, and recommended it by letters to the African clergy.'[1]

The Africans, in these scenes of altercation, engaged in mortal conflict with the Asians, and Pope Innocent with Pope Zozimus. Church appeared against church, and infallibility against infallibility. Zozimus is next to take the field against himself. Several reasons contributed to this effect. The Africans continued their opposition with the utmost resolution. Jerome and Augustine, the two greatest luminaries of the Latin communion, and whose judgment influenced Western Christendom, declared openly against his holiness. The Emperor Honorius, also, induced by a deputation from the African Synod in 418, approved its decisions, and enacted cruel laws, dated from Ravenna, against the Pelagians, whom the pretorian prefects were, by royal authority, empowered to deprive of their estates and condemn to perpetual banishment.[2]

His infallibility, at this crisis, saw his danger and sounded a retreat. His holiness yielded to the storm; and, facing to the right about, anathematized Pelagius and Celestius, whom he had honoured with his approbation and covered with his protection; while, in the midst of his perplexity, he continued, with ridiculous vanity and inconsistency, to boast of his pontifical prerogatives and authority. This vice-god, in the modest language of Pope Paul, chattered about the pre-eminence of the popedom, and, at the same time, cursed Pelagianism, which he had formerly sanctioned, with might and main. His infallibility, in a sacred synod of the Roman clergy, condemned the confession of faith which he had approved, confirmed the sentence of the Africans which he had rejected, and anathematized the persons whom he had patronized. Pelagianism, which, a few months before, he had dubbed Catholicism, now, by a hasty process,

[1] Ex hoc potius esset praevaricationis nota Romanis clericis inurenda. August. 10. 434. Invenient Zozimum contra Innocentii decessoris sui sententiam, qui primus Pelagianam haeresim condemnavit, fidem ipsius Pelagii ejusque complicis Celestii, tanquam veram et Catholicam laudantem, insuper etiam Africanos culpantem episcopos. Facundus, VII. 3. Zozime reçut son livre comme Catholique, et lui comme orthodoxe. Godea. 3. 153. Zozimus magnam de Pelagii ipsius et Cœlestii orthodoxia concepit opinionem. Libellum Catholicum existimavit. Alex. 10. 167, 169. Zozimus aberravit, cum Cœlestinum Pelagianum pro Catholico declarasset. Caron, 100. Qui n'etoit pas entierement exempte d'erreur. Moreri, 8. 116. Zozimus Cœlestii haeretici Libellum Catholicum esse pronunciavit. Du Pin, 348.

[2] Alex. 10. 183. Godeau. 3. 166.

became, in the language of Zozimus, impiety, poison, abomination, error, perversity, execration, pestilence, and heresy. Unsatisfied with these imprecations, he proceeded, in the fervour of his zeal for orthodoxy, to publish through Christendom circular letters, denouncing anathemas on the Pelagian impiety.[1]

His holiness, to do him justice, showed himself, on this occasion, a profound adept in the Christian art of cursing. He formed his anathemas with skill, pointed them with precision, and launched them with energy. His infallibility, probably from the proficiency which he displayed in the evangelical duty of cursing, and for his attachment to injustice and ambition during his life, was canonized after his death. He lived a tyrant and died a saint, or rather, by a lucky hit or Baronian blunder, acquired the saintified character after his decease. His carcass affords materials for worship: and indeed, with all his imperfections, which were many, Zozimus is not the worst article of the kind, which has graced the Roman calendar and challenged Roman adoration.

The Asians also, like the pope, wheeled to the right about, and manfully condemned their former sentences, which they had pronounced in favour of Pelagius. The heresiarch had been patronized by John and Eulogius, and was afterward denounced by Theodotus and Theodorus. He had been acquitted in the councils of Jerusalem and Diospolis, and was afterwards condemned in those of Antioch and Cilicia. Theodotus, patriarch of Antioch, assembled a council in that city about the end of the year 418, and without any ceremony, condemned Pelagianism and anathematized its unfortunate author.[2]

Theodotus was imitated by Theodorus. This changeling, who, like his Roman infallibility, varied his religion with the occasion, had patronised Pelagius and opposed Augustine. But his temporising versatility induced him, about 420, to convene a synod in Cilicia, in which he abjured his former profession and denounced his former system. The Cilician clergy, with easy docility and Christian resignation, copied the obliging politeness of their superior.[3] Such was the accomodating facility with which the orientals abandoned their prior faith, and embraced the fashionable theology.

Pelagianism, in conjunction with Nestorianism, was, in 431, denounced by the general council of Ephesus. The Ephesian assembly, being accounted a representation of the whole church

[1] Detectus a Zozimo, et hæreticorum scelestissimus postea ostensus fuit. Labb. 3. 403. Augustin. 1. 58. et 10. 263. Prosper, 1. 76. Bin. 1. 871. Alex. 10. 176

[2] Mercator. c. 3. Coss. i. 298. Labb. 3. 497.

[3] Alex. 10. 178. Labb. 3. 498. Garner, 219.

its sentence, in consequence, was of the highest authority, and gave the Pelagian heresy the finishing blow. Celestine also, the Roman pontiff of the day, exerted all his energy for the extermination of the error, which had been patronized by his predecessor. Addressing Maximian the Byzantine patriarch, he characterised Pelagianism as an impiety which deserved no quarter. Its partizans, he admonished the patriarch to expel from human society, lest the impious system, through his lenity, should revive.[1]

These synodal canons and imperial laws were followed by the rapid declension of Pelagianism. An odium, by these means, was thrown on the system, which covered its partizans with suspicion and unpopularity. Its enemies, in consequence, imagined they had effected its destruction. Prosper composed the epitaph of Pelagianism and Nestorianism, which he denominated mother and daughter, and represented as buried in the same tomb.[2] But the triumph was ideal. A future day witnessed the resurrection of the entombed theology. The ancient pontiffs, after a lapse of many years, were opposed by their more modern successors.

The controversy on grace, free-will, and predestination seemed, for a long period after the declension of Pelagianism, to sleep. Christendom, says Calmet in his Dissertation on predestination, continued, after the council of Orange, to enjoy, on these topics, a peace of three hundred years. But a theological disputation, similar to the Pelagian, originated in the ninth century. Augustine, refuting Pelagian free-will, taught, as Calmet, Godeau, and Mabillon have shown, the doctrine of gratuitous predestination. 'Predestination,' said the African saint, 'is the precursor of grace; but grace is the donation itself.'[3] This theology, insinuated by Augustine, became afterward a fertile source of contest among the French clergy.

Gottescalcus and Raban, in this controversy, appeared first in the arena of literary combat. Gottescalcus was a monk and distinguished for learning. He maintained the system of predestination, and particular redemption, which, in modern times, has been called Calvinism. He taught the kindred doctrines of election and reprobation. Raban and Hincmar, indeed, represented Gottescalcus as denying free-will and teaching predestination to sin as well as to punishment. This, however, was a mere calumny. The monk rejected every insinuation of the kind with the utmost indignation. The wicked, Gottes-

[1] Bin. 2. 576, 577, 578. Alex. 10. 182.
[2] Prosp. 1. 114. Bruy. 1. 209.
[3] Praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio; gratia vero jam ipsa donatio. Aug. De Praed. c. 10. Godean. 6. 368. Calmet, 3. 384.

calcus declared, were not compelled by any necessity to perpetrate immorality, and would be punished only for voluntary transgression.[1]

Raban, Archbishop of Mentz, opposed Gottescalcus. The archbishop seems to have admitted election; but denied reprobation. He acknowledged predestination to life; but not to death: and, like many other polemics, misrepresented his adversary. He wrote to Count Eberard and Bishop Notingus, and characterized Gottescalcus as a perverter of religion and a forger of heresy.[2]

Gottescalcus and Raban were not left to single combat: but were supported by some of the ablest theologians and the most celebrated characters of the day. Hincmar, Scotus, and Amalarius seconded Raban; whilst Gottescalcus was patronized by Remigius, Bertram, Prudentius, Florus, Lupus, and Pope Nicholas. These two factions maintained their own particular views by copious quotations from the fathers, who indeed are a kind of mercenary soldiery, whose alliance, offensive and defensive, may be obtained by all theological polemics on every topic of ecclesiastical controversy. Gottescalcus and Remigius cited Augustine, Fulgentius, Jerome, Isidorus, and Gregory; while Raban and Hincmar quoted Chrysostom, Gennadius, Hilary, Cyprian, Cyril, Beda, and Theodorus.

The shock of councils followed the war of theologians. The councils of Mentz and Quiercy appeared against those of Valence and Langres, as Raban, Hincmar, and Scotus had encountered Gottescalcus, Remigius, and Florus. Gottescalcus and his cause were first tried in the council of Mentz in 848. The monk presented his confession of faith, in which he unfolded his system of predestination to this assembly. The synod condemned Gottescalcus for heresy, and sent him to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in whose diocese he had been ordained to the priesthood.[3]

Gottescalcus was next tried in the council of Quiercy in 849, and convicted of contumacy and heresy. He was, in consequence, deposed by a solemn sentence, from the priesthood, and scourged, without mercy, before the emperor and the surrounding prelacy.[4] Charles was a spectator of this act of inhumanity and feasted his royal eyes with this refined entertainment. The punishment was inflicted with the utmost cruelty, so that Gottescalcus, in the agony of torment, threw into

[1] Du Pin, 2, 52, 53. Calmet, 3, 186.
[2] Mabillon, 2, 681. Mezeray, 1, 409. Calmet, 3, 484, 486. Godeau, 6, 368
[3] Du Pin, 2, 53. Labbe 9, 1048. Mabillon, 2. 286. Godeau, 6, 132.
[4] Il fut condamné, comme heretique. Calmet, 3, 486. Inventus haereticus et incorrigibilis. Labbe, 9. 1055. Mabillon. 2. 682.
On le disciplina cruellement. Godeau, 3, 136.

the fire a book which he had written in favour of his system He was then cast into prison, where he was doomed to suffer the greatest privations.

But the decisions of Mentz and Quiercy were afterward rescinded by those of Valence and Langres. The synod of Valence, composed of the prelacy from the three provinces of Lyons, Arles, and Vienna, met in 855, and employed all its authority to sanction the theory of Gottescalcus and overthrow the system of Hincmar. The Valentian fathers accordingly issued six canons, which treated on free-will and predestination, and which established election, reprobation, and particular redemption.[1] The third canon teaches the predestination of the elect to life, and the predestination of the wicked to death. The fourth represents the decision of Quiercy, in favour of universal redemption, as a grand error, useless, hurtful, and contrary to the truth. The sacred synod, on these points, professed to follow Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrosius, Jerome, Augustine, and tradition.

The Valentians treated Scotus with great severity. His propositions, unfit for pious ears, contained, according to these holy bishops, 'a comment of the devil rather than an argument for the truth; while his silly work, full of confusion, exhibited trifling and foolish fables, calculated to create a disgust for the purity of the faith.'[2] His production indeed, on this subject, was a distinguished specimen of folly and extravagance.

The council of Valence, according to the statement of Sirmond, Godeau, Mabillon, and even Hincmar, condemned the faith of Quiercy. The canons of Quiercy, says Sirmond, were exploded by the synod of Valence. A similar statement is given by Godeau, Mabillon, and Hincmar himself.[3] These authors, though attached to Romanism, admit the repugnance of the synod of Valence to those of Mentz and Quiercy.

The Valentian council was confirmed by Pope Nicholas. This pontiff was highly dissatisfied with the condemnation and imprisonment of Gottescalcus. The inhumanity of Hincmar

[1] Les eveques y reconnoissent hardement la predestination des bons a la vie eternelle, et celle des mechans a la mort eternelle. Calmet, 3. 420.

Fatemur praedestinationem electorum ad vitam, et praedestinationem impiorum ad mortem. Labbe, 9, 1151.

Ils confessent qu'il y a une predestination des impies a la mort eternelle. Godeau, 6. 150. Calmet, 3. 489. Mabillion, 3, 46.

Propter inutilitatem, vel etiam noxietatem, et errorem contrarium veritati. Labbe, 9. 1152.

Ils nomment une grande erreur l'opinion de ceux, qui disent que le sang de Jesus Christ a eté repandu pour les impies. Godeau, 6. 150.

[2] Commentum Diaboli potius quam argumentum aliquod fidei. Ineptas quaesti unculas, et aniles pene fabulas, Scottorumque pultos, puritati fidei nauseam inferentes. Mabillon, 3. 46. Labb. 10. 129.

[3] Labb. 9. 1162. Godeau, 6. 150. Mabillon, 3. 46. Calmet, 3. 490,

and his faction excited the indignation of the hierarch. He cited Hincmar and Gottescalcus to Rome for the purpose of further investigation. This, however, Hincmar evaded. But Prudentius transmitted the canons of Valence to Nicholas for confirmation, and these, accordingly, received the sanction of the pontiff.[1]

Confirmed, in this manner, by the authority of the pope, the canons of Valence were also approved by the council of Langres. This assembly met in 859, and having considered the Valentian decisions on grace, free-will, and predestination, conferred on them the full sanction of its authority.[2]

The controversy on grace, free-will, and election was little agitated from the ninth till the sixteenth century. The schoolmen indeed exercised their pens on these different topics, and discussed their knotty subjects with their accustomed subtility: and their disputations on these points exhibited, as usual, a great variety of sense and phraseology.[3] But these disquisitions were carried on in the secrecy of the schools, rather than on the public theatre of the world; and, in consequence, excited little general interest.

The reformation under Luther and Calvin rekindled the controversy. Luther had studied the theology of Augustine and Aquinas, and embraced their system. Calvin also adopted the same theory, which represents predestination as entirely gratuitous and unconditional, and which, in general, had been patronized in the Latin communion. Many of the Romish theologians, therefore, from their aversion to alleged heresy, shifted their ground, and countenanced conditional election, founded on the foresight of human merit. Calmet acknowledges this variation with the utmost candour. 'This question,' says the learned Benedictine, 'has often changed its phasis in the church.' Arsdekin, with equal ingenuousness, makes a similar confession, and admits, on this point, 'a wide diversity of opinion even at this time among the Romish doctors.'[4] The one party advocate the unconditional predestination which has since been denominated Calvinism. The other faction, opposing

[1] Le Pape les approuva. Calmet, 3. 490. Mabillon, 2. 682.

[2] Morery, 5, 45. Mabillon, 3. 79.

[3] Calmet, 3. 491. Bossuet, 38.

[4] Cette question a changé de face plus d'une fois dans l'Eglise. Calmet, 3. 478.

Inter Doctores Catholicos, magna est etiam hoc tempore, sententiarum discrepantia. Arsdekin, 1. 360. Bossut, 38. Du Pin, 3. 728.

Il y avoit deux sentimens parmi les theologiens de l' eglise Romaine. Mem. sur la Pred. 169.

Luther, qui avoit etudié la theologie de Thomas d' Aquin, embrassa cette doctrine. Calvin tomba dans les mêmes sentimens. Mem. 155, 156. Ceux qui suivent les sentiments de St. Augustin, se fatiguent vainement a prouver qu'ils ne sont Calvinistes. Limiens, 10. 72.

the predestinarian hypothesis, support the system which has since been called Arminianism.[1]

The celebrated council of Trent exemplified the diversity of sentiment, which, on this subject, reigned in the Romish community. The Franciscans, in this assembly, opposed the Dominicans, and theologian encountered theologian. One party which included the most esteemed doctors, maintained unconditional and gratuitous predestination; and, in favour of this opinion, quoted the apostolic authority of John and Paul, to whom they added Augustine, Scotus, and Aquinas. Another party accused this system of impiety, making God partial and unjust, subverting free-will, encouraging men in sin, and abandoning them to despair. These conflicting opinions had a neutralizing effect on the canons of this convention. The design, in their composition, was to satisfy each party; and the result therefore was an unmeaning compromise. Calmet admits their omission of any decision, on the manner and motives of election and reprobation.[2]

The controversy was continued after the council of Trent with the bitterest animosity. The Rhemists, Dominicans, and Jansenists arrayed themselves against the Molinists, Franciscans, and Jesuits. The university of Paris opened a battery against those of Louvain and Douay; and the French against the Belgian clergy. The hostile factions, on these occasions, fought their theological battles with shocking violence and fury.

The Rhemists, in their annotations, have, in strong language, advocated unconditional election. The elect, say these commentators in their observations on Paul to the Romans, Ephesians, and Thessalonians, are called according to the good-will or eternal decree of God, and not according to the purpose or will of man. The divine foreknowledge is not a mere provision of human works, influenced by ordinary providence or natural strength; but comprehends an act of God's will to his elect. God has predestinated these elect to a conformity with his Son. The call, santification, perseverance, and glorification are the effects of free election and predestination. Jacob was a figure of the elected, and Esau of the reprobated. God's mercy is displayed on the former, and his justice on the latter. Predestination is to be ascribed, not to man's merit, but to God's mercy. The Almighty has chosen some as vessels of election, and left others as vessels of wrath to be lost in sin. God has predestinated his people to glory through the merits, not of man, but of his beloved Son. He calls some, by his eternal

[1] The scriptural views of Arminius differ *toto cœlo* from the semi-Pelagianism of the Jesuits and other Papists. [T. O. S.

[2] Paolo, 1. 332. Du Pin, 3. 438. Calmet, 3. 491. Mem. 164–169.

decree, to the faith; while he leaves others to darkness and infidelity.[1]

The principal persons, whose publications and opinions on this subject, excited contests, were Molina, Lessius, Hamel, Jansenius, and Quesnel. The works of these authors raised dreadful commotions in Spain, Belgium, France, and Italy.

The Spanish controversy originated in the publication of Molina's work, on the Concord of Grace and Free-will. The Jesuit Molina was born at Cuenca in Spain. He became professor of theology at Evora in Portugal, and died in Madrid, anno 1600. His book, which occasioned such angry and useless contentions, was published in 1588, and attempted to reconcile divine grace and free-will by a theory which its author called the Middle Science. His discovery, when divested of its novel diction, founded the purposes of God on the divine foresight of the merit and good works of men.[2]

Molina's work had the honour of being both approved and condemned in an infallible communion. The Dominicans, on this subject, encountered the Jesuits. Attached to the faith of Augustine and Aquinas, as well as mindful of their ancient enmity to the Jesuits, the former society commenced a vigorous attack on Molinism. The Middle Science, these partizans of predestination represented as a system of Pelagianism. The Jesuits, on the contrary, defended Molina's Middle Science, which they extolled as truth and Christianity. The theory which the one called heresy, the other denominated Catholicism. Each party published its theses, brimfull of virulence and sarcasm. The two factions vented their indignation with such fury, that the king of Spain had to interfere, for the purpose of allaying their mutual rage and keeping the peace: while all the royal authority was found incompetent entirely to suppress the theological war.[3]

The university of Salamanca, on this speculation, assailed the university of Alcala. The former seminary, in nine propositions, proscribed Molinism. The latter, having subjected the work to a rigid examination for a whole year, vouched for its catholicism, and conformity to scripture, councils, fathers, and schoolmen.[4] Of the two learned and orthodox colleges, the

[1] Rhem. Annot. on Rom. viii. 22. 29, 30. et ix. 10. 14-16. 22. Eph. i. 4. 2 Thess. ii. 13.

[2] Aredekin, 1. 385. Moreri, 3. 568. et 6. 365. Mem. 219.

[3] Les Dominicains l' attaquerent vivement. Les Jesuites le defenderent de même. Calmet, 3. 495. Les deux ordres commencerent a s' echauffer en Espagne, l' un contre l' autre, d' une maniere scandaleuse. Mem. sur Predest. 223, 226.

Les Jesuites sont très-embarrassez a montrer qu' ils ne sont ni Pelagiens ni Demi-Pelagiens. Limiers, 10. 72.

[4] L' université de Salamanque le censura. Mem. 222, 225.

one censured as error, the system which the other patronized as truth and Romanism.

The Inquisition of Spain, on this topic, attacked the Inquisition of Portugal. The latter declared the Concord of Grace and Free Will free from all suspicion of error. But the former, always favourable to the Dominicans, censured a number of propositions, extracted from Molina's celebrated production.[1] The peninsular inquisitors, the professed enemies of mercy and heresy and the avowed friends of inhumanity and Romanism, differed on a question of which they were the accredited and official judges, and whose sentence entailed death, in all its horrors, on its devoted victim.

Two Roman pontiffs, Clement and Paul, next pronounced different sentences on this question. The controversy was transferred from the holy office to the holy see, and from Spain to Italy. Clement the Eighth, who then occupied the pontifical throne, established the Congregation of Helps for the decision of this contest. This assembly consisted of ten consultors, who were the appointed judges, and who met for the first time in 1598. The Dominicans and Jesuits argued their several systems, before this convention, and awaited its sentence with anxiety.

The Congregation, under his infallibility's immediate superintendence, rejected Molina's theory of a middle science, and condemned sixty of his propositions. This decision, in the eleventh session, represented the Spanish speculator's sentiments on predestination as consonant with those of Faustus, Cassian, and the Pelagians, and contrary, not only to Augustine, and Aquinas, but also to sacred writ and the canons of councils.[2]

Paul the Fifth, who succeeded Clement in 1605, proceeded in a course widely different from his predecessor. He issued no determination. His design, lest he should offend the French king who protected the Jesuits, or the Spanish monarch who patronized the Jansenists, was, not the decision, but the suppression of the controversy. His supremacy, therefore, after many solemn deliberations, evaded a definitive sentence: and,

Complutensis Universitas Molinæ Concordiam per annum integrum rigido examini subjecit. Universitatis calculo declaratur, in Molinæ Concordia contineri sanam et Catholicam doctrinam. Arsdekin, 1. 325.

[1] Omni erroris suspicione liberata. Arsdekin, 1. 325. Calmet, 3. 495.

L' inquisition d' Espagne, toujours favorable aux Dominicains. Mem. 243. Illi, ex Molinæ Concordia, propositiones aliquas modo censurarent. Arsdekin, 1. 326.

[2] On declara que le sentiment de Molina, touchant la predestination, etoit non seulement contraire à la doctrine de Saint Thomas, et de Saint Augustin, mais encore à l' ecriture sainte, aux decrets des conciles, et conforme à celle de Cassien et de Fauste. Calmet. Diss. 3. 496. Amour, 40, 44, 45, 100, 123.

La congregation declara que Molina etoit dans des sentimens semblables à ceux des Pelagiens. Mem. 233, 236. Calmet, 3. 497. Thuan. 6. 241.

advising both to modify their expressions and to abstain from mutual obloquy, left each faction to enjoy its own opinions.[1]

Each party, in consequence, as might be expected, claimed the victory. The Dominicans averred that the decision, if announced, would have been in their favour: and this was the general opinion. The Jesuits, on the contrary, shouted triumph, and, patronized by the greater part of European Christendom, contemned the empty boasts of the enemy.

France and the Netherlands became the scene of this controversy, which had raged with such fearful animosity in Spain and Italy. The belligerents, on this occasion, were the Jesuits and Jansenists, as on the former, the Jesuits and Dominicans. The Dominican ardor, through time and the suggestions of prudence, had cooled, and this party, in consequence, had, in general, left the field. But their place was well supplied by the fiery zeal of the Jansenists, who, in the support of their system, spurned every idea of prudence or caution. These two leading factions soon drew into the vortex of contention, kings, parliaments, pontiffs, prelates, doctors, nuns, universities, and councils.

The Jansenists, who now in place of the Dominicans, entered the arena against the Jesuits, took their name from Jansenius, a bishop in the Romish communion, and a doctor in the University of Louvain. His work, which he styled Augustine, and which treated on grace, free will, and predestination, was published at Louvain in 1640. The author, who was celebrated for his learning and piety, undertook to deliver not his own, but Augustine's sentiments on Divine Grace and human imbecility. He even transcribed in many instances his patron's own words. The faith of the Roman saint was like its author, idolized in the Romish communion. Jansenius, therefore, wished to shield himself under the authority of his mighty name. But the march of events and the sap of time had wrought their accustomed changes, and manifested on this topic the mutability of human opinions. Many who revered Augustine's name had renounced his theology, though others still adhered to his ancient system.

France and the Netherlands encountered each other on the subject of Jansenism. The latter, in general embraced this theory, which the former as generally rejected. Pope Urban, but in vain, condemned the work entitled Augustinus, as fraught with several errors. Many misinterpreted his manifesto, and still more disregarded its authority. The doctors of Louvain, like the authors of Port-Royal, persevered in their support of

[1] Paul V. n'avoit encore rien decidé. Morery, 3. 568. Litem postea in suo penso posuit Paulus Papa V. Jusnin, 5. 188. Amour, 39, 40. Calmet, 3. 499 Bausset, 2. 320

the condemned system. The popish population of Holland also, through the agency and influence of Arnold, who, in 1674, sought an asylum in that country, embraced the same sentiments. The Dutch and Belgian professors of Romanism, clergy and laity, continued in general, notwithstanding the sentences of popes and inquisitions, to patronize Jansenism.[1] The two nations in this manner, varied and adopted jarring systems, in the precincts of an unerring communion.

The French were divided, though the majority of its prelacy favoured Jesuitism. This nation, however, escaped the agitation of this controversy till 1644; and hostilities, till 1649, were confined to a literary war of polemical writers, which was succeeded by excommunication, interdict, incarceration, banishment, and confiscation.

The Jansenists opened this wordy campaign with great spirit and ability. An overwhelming phalanx of their authors, on this occasion, seized the pen. Cyran, Arnold, Nicole, Quesnel, and Pascal displayed all the powers of learning and eloquence. All these were men of genius and erudition, and actuated with the deepest detestation of Jesuitism. Pascal, by the poignancy of his satire, rendered the enemy ridiculous. His Provincial Letters written against the hostile faction, are, says Voltaire, models of eloquence and ridicule, and combine the wit of Moliere with the sublimity of Bossuet. The production, indeed, exhibits not only the excellence of taste and style, but also all the force of reason and raillery.[2]

This party also assailed the foe with another weapon of a more flashy, but more deceitful kind. This consisted in 'lying wonders,' which their authors called thunder-peals, but their opponents fictions and fanciful convulsions, which dazzled the spectator, embarrassed the adversary, and astonished the world. The sick, who had been restored to health, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and the lame, who had been enabled to see, hear, speak, and walk, demonstrated to the eye of superstition and credulity, the truth of their heaven-attested system.

The Jesuits assumed similar arms, and endeavoured, as well as they could, to ply counteracting argument and invective. But a miserable want of literary talent, at this time, characterized this faction. Their whole array could not supply a single man of genius and learning, capable of meeting those who, in the field of theological controversy, figured to such advantage in the hostile ranks. Though remarkable, in general, for prudence

[1] Orta esse inter theologos Belgii dessidia. Labb. 21. 1790. Les theologiens se partagerent. Calmet, Dis. 3. 493. Mosery, 5. 22. Bossuet, 2. 91. Mem. 273.

[2] Les Lettres Provinciales passent pour un modèle de netteté, d'elegance, et de bon sens. Mem. 334. vol. 9. 94.

and caution, the infatuated men, on this occasion, also attempted miracles to confront those of their opponents; but were again beaten by the enemy in this kind of manufacture. Their miraculous exhibitions only afforded a laugh to the spectator, and exposed their authors to contempt. The prodigies of their rivals alone were in fashion. But these bunglers, as they appeared, in jugglery and legerdemain, were supported in the war by kings, popes, anathemas, excommunication, exile, imprisonment, and the tangible logic of guns, bayonets, and dragoons, when the fulminations of papal bulls followed the shock of theological discussion and miraculous display.

This faction, however, notwithstanding their awkwardness in writing and miracles, had, at this time, obtained the favour of the Roman pontiff and of the French king and clergy. Their present prosperity in the French kingdom formed a striking contrast with their former adversity. The Parisian faculty of theology, as well as the French church and parliament, opposed this society on its early introduction into France. The Faculty in 1554, accused them of every atrocity, of strife, wrangling, contention, envy, and rebellion, which endanger religion, trouble the church, and tend to destruction rather than to edification, and petitioned the parliament to expel them from the kingdom. The parliament, accordingly, in 1594, banished the whole company from the nation, as enemies of the king, corrupters of youth, and disturbers of the public peace.[1]

But the society afterwards returned, and were patronised by the French king and clergy, as well as by the Roman pontiff. The French prelacy in consequence, to the number of eighty-eight, favouring Jesuitism and influenced by its partizans, solicited his infallibility, Pope Innocent the Tenth, for his official decision on this momentous question of Jansenism. But eleven of the bishops, notwithstanding the unity of the Romish communion, varied from their fellows; and for several reasons which they enumerated, such as the difficulty of the subject, the unfitness of the time, and the propriety of allowing a French synod to finish a French controversy, they deprecated papal interference. But the pontiff complied with the majority, and, in a definitive sentence issued in 1653, denounced Jansenism, which had been reduced to five propositions, as fraught with rashness, impiety, scandal, blasphemy, falsehood, and heresy.[2]

[1] Querelas, lites, dissidia, contentiones, seditiones, rebelliones, varieque scissuras inducere: his de causis, hanc societatem in religionis negotio periculosam videri; ut quæ pacem ecclesiæ conturbet, et magis ad destructionem quam ædificationem pertineat. Thuanus, 2. 430.

Ils furent bannis du Roisume, comme corrupteurs de la jeunesse, perturbateurs du repos public, et ennemis du roi. Daniel, 10. 64. Limiers, 7. 228.

[2] Labb. 21. 1643, 1644. Mem. 318. Moreri, 5. 22 Juenin, 5. 188. Bausset, 2. 331. Amour, 67. 425.

An assembly of the French prelacy in 1654, convened and influenced by Cardinal Mazarin, who was an enemy of the Jansenists, unanimously accepted the papal decision. The same was also sanctioned by his most Christian majesty's royal authority. The Parisian Faculty of Theology next received the bull; but not like the clergy, with unanimity. Sixty of its doctors, notwithstanding popish harmony, protested and appealed from the pope to the parliament.[1]

Pope Alexander the Seventh next interposed his supreme authority. The Jansenists distinguished between right and fact, and admitted that the five propositions were, by right, condemned; but, in fact, were not in the work of Jansenius. Alexander in 1656, renewed his predecessor's constitution, and extended it to both right and fact. He also prescribed a formulary in 1665, to be signed by all the French clergy: and all he declared, who should gainsay it, would incur the indignation of Almighty God and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Four prelates, Arnold, Buzenval, Pavillon, and Coulet, with many of the inferior clergy, refused to sign, notwithstanding the pope's interdict and excommunications. The nuns of Port-royal also followed the example of these bishops. Dreadful confusion ensued. A process was commenced for the deposition of the refractory prelates. The nuns of Port-royal were torn from their cloisters, and the feeble captives, armed only with innocence and simplicity, and guarded by a squadron of soldiery, were conveyed to strange convents, and their nunnery, once the object of their fondest attachment and now their deepest regret, was razed from the foundation.

But Clement the Ninth, in the meantime, proceeded, notwithstanding papal unity, to overthrow the acts of his predecessors, Innocent and Alexander. His supremacy, in 1668, amid theological commotion and war, issued an edict of pacification. He modified the formulary of Alexander, and permitted the dissatisfied clergy to interpret his predecessor's rescript in their own sense, and to subscribe in sincerity. These accordingly signed for the right in sincerity, and preserved for the fact mental reservation and a respectful silence. This modification, which diffused joy through the nation, was called the peace of Clement, and continued with slight interruptions for thirty-four years.[2]

Clement the Tenth, who succeeded to the popedom, seems

[1] Les Docteurs de Sorbonne se trouvant partagez: soixante Docteurs protesterent et en appellerent au Parlement. Mem. sur. Pred. 274, 278. Volt. 9. 89. Bausset, 2. 331. Labb. 21. 1643, 1644. Moreri, 5. 22. Juenin, 5. 188, 119. Lemiers, 10. 257.

[2] Clement s'empressa de donner la paix a l'eglise. Moreri, 3. 454. Bausset, 2 337–340.

to have countenanced the pacification effected by his predecessor. Innocent the Eleventh, his successor, not only concurred in the act of pacification and in the repeal of Alexander's Constitution and Formulary, but also, notwithstanding papal unanimity, probably adopted Jansenism and certainly patronized its partizans. His holiness, in the opinion of many, embraced their system, though formerly denounced in pontifical anathemas. During his whole papacy he had constant intercourse with its patrons, whom he honoured with his favour and commendation, and supported with his friendship and protection. The calumny and punishments which they had endured, he regarded as unmerited and unjust persecution. Their conduct, he respected, as far superior to that of their opponents, whom he hated, and who, in return detested his supremacy. This treatment of the persecuted secured, as might be expected, the gratitude and attachment which they always manifested to this pontiff. Innocent, in this manner, retracted the decisions of former pontiffs and displayed the variations of Romanism.[1]

Clement the Eleventh, in defiance of unity, overturned the pacification of Clement the Ninth and the patronage of Innocent the Eleventh. He also confirmed and renewed the constitutions of Innocent the Tenth and Alexander the Seventh against Jansenism, and denounced a work of Quesnel's on the New Testament. The condemnation of this book, which he had formerly praised, manifested papal inconsistency, and rekindled the theological war in aggravated horrors, through the French nation.

Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory and an abettor of Jansenism, inwove his system with great eloquence and address in his moral reflections on the New Testament. This theory, in his composition, which was distinguished by its elegance and simplicity, assumed the fairest aspect and the most pleasing form.

This work on its publication was eulogized by Bossuet, Vialart, Noailles, Urfé, the Parisian Faculty, the French king, and the Roman pontiff. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, composed a Vindication of Quesnel's Moral Reflections. Vialart, Bishop of Chalons, respected for his wisdom and piety, having submitted the work to a careful examination, approved, and, in 1671, recommended it to the clergy and laity of his diocese

[1] Ils ont même accusé le Pape d'etre Janseniste, Mem. 376.

Innocent XI. haissoit les Jesuites et temoignoit faire grand cas des Jansenistes. Moreri, 5. 128. On accusa ce pape de n'avoir cessé d'entretenir commerce avec tous les Jansenistes, de les avoir comblez de ses graces, d'avoir fait leur eloge, d'etre declaré leur protecteur. Limiers, 7. 226.

Innocent XI. auroit retracté les decrets de ses predecesseurs. Limiers, 7. 227 228.

The author, he attested, had long been a disciple in the schoo of the Holy Spirit. Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, praised its Catholicism and tendency to instruct and edify the pastor and the people. Urfé, bishop of Limoges, requested the author to publish his Reflections on the Gospels and Epistles in one volume for the use of the clergy in the country. The Parisian Faculty vouched for its Catholicism and conformity to the Apostolic Roman faith. Louis the French king granted a liberty of publication and conveyed the sanction of his royal authority. The Roman pontiff in the presence of Renaudot extolled the work as a matchless performance, superior to any commentary by the theologians of Italy. Its doctrine, which he afterwards branded with the seal of reprobation, he had formerly preached to the Roman people.[1]

But these encomiasts soon changed their note, and condemned the book which they had approved. Quesnel's work offended the king and the Jesuits. Its morality exhibited too spotless a standard of purity for the filthy confraternity, who, according to the witty Boileau, lengthened the creed and shortened the commandments, or for the French sovereign, who was actuated by ambition and sunk in sensuality. Its rigour in the prescription of duty presented a spectacle of horror to the voluptuary and to the profane and careless, which these accommodating moralists contrasted with the easy pliancy of Jesuitism. His majesty also saw, or thought he saw in Jansenism, a tendency to Presbyterianism instead of Popery. Its faith, besides, was too like Calvinism for the royal and Jesuitical taste. The king and the Jesuits, therefore, solicited and obtained its condemnation. The Moral Reflections were denounced by their former adulators, Clement, Louis, the Parisian University, and the French clergy.[2]

Clement, solicited by Lewis and the Jesuits, censured the work, on which, a few years before, he had lavished his fulsome flattery. His infallibility, in 1713, denounced, in his bull Unigenitus, no less than a hundred and one propositions extracted from Quesnel's Annotations. These, his supremacy

[1] Bossuet composa la justification des Reflexions Morales. Moreri, 7. 13.
Vialart lut cet ouvrage, l'approuva, l'adopta, etc. Moreri, 7. 12. Noailles l'approuva. Il recommanda à son clergé et à son peuple la lecture de cet livre. Moreri, 1. 13.
Noailles avoit accordé son approbation aux Reflexions sur le Nouveau Testament. Limiers, 12. 112. Bausset, 2. 109.
Urfé fit prier l'auteur de faire imprimer ses Reflexions, etc. Moreri, 7. 13.
Nous avons lu ces Reflexions Morales. Nous avons trouvé qu'elles ne contiennent rien que de conforme a la foi Catholique. App. in Quesn. 1. 8, 10.
La doctrine de ses propositions se trouve dans les homelies que le Pape a autrefois prechees au peuple Romain. Limiers, 12. 115. Bausset, 2. 108.
[2] Bib An. 21. 400. Bausset, 2. 75. Limiers, 10. 75. et 12. 113.

convicted of temerity, captiousness, scandal, impiety, falsehood, blasphemy, sedition, schism, and heresy. The Moral Reflections, according to his holiness, contained truth blended with error, calculated to lead men to perdition.[1]

Louis, in 1714, revoked the privilege of publication, which he had granted, and by which he had impressed the work with the broad seal of his royal authority. Jansenism, his majesty called a novelty, and the Moral Reflections a false and dangerous book: and he interdicted its publication and circulation under pain of exemplary punishment.[2]

The Parisian university, that had lauded the Catholicism of Quesnel's work, accepted Clement's constitution, taxing the same work with blasphemy and heresy. The learned doctors styled Jansenism a heresy, and received with submission the pontiff's condemnation of the once praised, but now vilified propositions. Truth, by such a simple process, could be transubstantiated into falsehood.[3]

The assembly of the French prelacy, also, which met in Paris in 1713 and 1714, accepted the papal constitution with submission and respect. The holy bishops forbade the reading of the Moral Reflections, which they said contained blasphemy and heresy. This sentence they published in a Pastoral Instruction, which was circulated through their dioceses. The decision, however, was not unanimous. Forty accepted, and eigh rejected the bull. Of those who accepted, many added such explanations and restrictions as might protect from attaint the faith and morality of Catholicism, the rights of the French prelacy, and the discipline and liberty of the Gallican church. Many also who had subscribed afterward retracted; and some of these at the point of death.[4]

The schism on the pontifical constitution extended not only to the Parisian council, but also to the whole French clergy. These, on this occasion, were divided into two factions, the ACCEPTANTS and RECUSANTS. The former, comprehending a hundred bishops with many of the inferior clergy, were patro-

[1] La doctrine de ces propositions qualifiées de fausses, captieuses, scandaleuses, temeraires, impies, blasphematoires, se treuve pourtant dans les homelies que le Pape a autre fois prechées au peuple Romain. Limiers, 12. 115. Labb. 21. 1821.

[2] Nous devions commencer par revoquer le privilege que nous avions accordé, pour en permettre l' impression. Labb. 21. 1831, 1132. Limiers, 12. 180.

[3] Sacra Facultas Constitutionem summa cum reverentia et obsequio recepit. Labb. 21. 1840.

[4] Elle accepte avec soumession et avec respect. Labb. 21. 1823. Quarante evêques acceptoient cette Bulle. Le Cardinal de Noailles et plusieurs autres evêques refuserent d'accepter la Constitution. Limiers, 12. 117, 118.

Quelques evêques et docteurs n'ont pas voulu y souscrire sans explication Moreri, 5. 22.

On verra dans la suite les retractations de plusieurs de ses prelats acceptans. Limiers, 12. 118, 271.

nized by the pope, the king, and the Jesuits. The latter, including fifteen of the prelacy, and some of the priesthood, were supported, in general, by the parliaments and the people; but underwent all kinds of persecution from the pontiff and their sovereign. The pope and the monarch, indeed, forced it, in a great measure, on the clergy, the Sorbonne, and the great body of the people, who were influenced by royal threats and promises.[1]

The French varied in the explanation of the bull, as well as in its acceptance. Of the acceptants, some received it in purity and simplicity. Such thought it so clear as to need no illustration. Others accused it of obscurity, and accompanied its publication with a world of explanations and restrictions. The cardinals Bissy and Tencin loudly declared their utter inability to understand it, and received it, strange to say, because it was unintelligible.[2]

The Recusants, differing indeed in words, agreed in sense. Harmonious in its condemnation, this party painted its meaning in varying colours. The canvass, under their hands, uniformly bore the mark of reprobation, and was stamped with the broad seal of heresy. The Constitution Unigenitus, all these avowed, inflicted a mortal wound on faith and morality, and enveloped in sacrilegious censure, the canons of councils, and even the words of eternal truth. Some reckoned it pointed against Calvinism, and some against the Angelic Doctor Thomas Aquinas, for the purpose of overthrowing his system. Others thought his infallibility had become a patron of Molina, and intended to support the theory which had been condemned by pope Clement and the Congregation of Helps. The condemned propositions of Quesnel, on the contrary, were, this faction averred, a faithful expression of Catholicism, couched, in general, as even Languet admitted, in the language of Augustine, Prosper, Fulgentius, and Leo.[3]

[1] Les prelats du roiaume etoient sont partagez sur sa acceptation. Limiens, 12. 269.

Les menaces et les promesses ont été emploiees. La volonté du Prince a été le motif. Apol. 1. 269. Le Roi de France a obligé par son authorité et le clergé de France et la Sorbonne d'admettre la Constitution. Moreri, 5. 22.

[2] La Constitution est si claire qu'elle n'a pas besoin d'explication. Limiers, 12. 119. Ils y donassent explications, avec diverses modifications et restrictions. Moreri, 7. 13.

On ne peut le recevoir, comme les Cardinaux de Bissy et de Tencin, en faisant hautement profession de ne le pas entendre. Apol. 1. 169.

[3] La Constitution donne manifestement atteinte à plusieurs veritez de foi et de morale. Limiers, 12. 120.

Les 101 propositions sont une fidelle expression de la foi Catholique. Apol. Adv. 7.

La Bulle souffre les explanations les plus opposées. Apol. 264. Les uns l'entendent d'une façon et les autres de l'autre. Apol. 1. 131. On y a trouve la confirmation du système de Molina. Apolog. 2. 41.

The recusant clergy were as unanimous in their opposition to its execution, as in their condemnation of its contents. The majority of the priesthood reclaimed against it. The people, the parliaments, and, in general, the universities, held it in detestation. The Cardinals Bissy and Fleury, bishops of Meaux and Frejus, two of its defenders, were compelled to avow that a hundred thousand voices were raised against it, and that it could not have been treated with greater indignation at Geneva than in France.[1]

But all opposition appeared useless. The king and the pope urged its execution by the dint of excommunication, calumny, interdict, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and the bastile. Red hot anathemas flashed from the Vatican. Its opponents were stigmatized with the name of innovators, rebels, schismatics, and heretics. Some were imprisoned, and some banished. Absolution was refused to the refractory, and even the sacraments to the dying. The departing, when life was at the last ebb, were frequently outraged with reproach, instead of being solaced with consolation. This treatment sometimes hastened their dissolution. The fury of the ruthless enemy pursued its hapless victims beyond the precincts of death. Their remains, deprived of ecclesiastical burial, were excluded from the sepulchre, or consigned, with unbaptized infants, to the unhallowed tomb.[2]

But a new revolution, on this question, was soon to be effected in the French nation. Louis, in 1715, departed this life, and the Duke of Orleans was appointed Regent. The royal declaration, therefore, obliging the French prelacy to receive the Roman bull, was suppressed. Tellier, the king's confessor, and an active enemy of the refractory clergy, was loaded with public odium, and banished to La Flesche, then to Bourges, and afterward to Amiens. The exiled were recalled, and the imprisoned liberated. Freedom was restored to the clergy, the people, the parliaments, and the faculty of theology. Many of the clergy recanted, and the laity who had generally opposed the constitution, enjoyed a triumph. The parliament exulted in the victory. The faculty of theology, serving the time and changing with the scene, protested against the bull,

[1] En France, les fidèles la detestent. Le grand nombre des theologiens la combattent. Le commun des premiers pasteurs la rejettent. Apol. 1. 242.

Les Cardinaux de Bissy et de Fleury ont eté forcés d'avoner, que cent mille voix s'etoient elévées contre ce decret, et qu'il n' eut pas été traité plus indignement à Genève qu'il l'a été en France. Apol. 1. 240. Volt. 9. 110, 111.

[2] Ceux qui refuserent de le signer furent interdits et excommuniez. Moreri, ś. 22.

Ils fulmineront contre eux les anathèmes redoutables. Apol. 1. 92.

On avoit même deja commencé par des proscriptions et des exils contra les Recusans. Limiers, 12. 311, 312. Apolog. 1. 3

and declared their former decision a forgery. Present declarations, through the kingdom, were, on this topic, opposed to former decisions, and all things seemed to change, in a communion which vainly boasts of immutability.[1]

But the pope, in his obstinacy, published apostolic letters, in 1717, separating from his communion all who would not accept the constitution. The Regent resolved, if possible, to restore peace. The papal bull was modified, so as to give general satisfaction. This modification, the parliament, in 1720, registered with the customary reservations; and a general pacification ensued, which lasted, with few interruptions, till the year 1750.[2]

New disturbances arose in France, in 1750, on the subject of the Bull Unigenitus. This pontifical edict, though detested by the parliaments and execrated by the people, was cherished with fond attachment by the Archbishop of Paris and many of the prelacy and inferior clergy. This section of the French hierarchy resolved to force the constitution, which was the idol of their hearts, on the people, by refusing the communion and extreme unction to all who opposed. The clergy obtained the support of the king, Louis the Fifteenth. Pope Benedict also, in a circular to the French episcopacy, urged the reception of the Roman manifesto. But the parliament and the people resisted with great resolution. Dreadful confusion ensued. The king tried the strength of the secular arm in alternately banishing and recalling the parliament and some of the most active of the prelacy. The parliament, however, was firm, notwithstanding banishment and the bastile. The people also resisted the clergy with unshaken determination. The parliament and popular firmness, in the end, gained a victory over the king, the pope, and the clergy, who, after a long and desperate struggle diversified by alternate triumph and defeat, submitted to a virtual repeal of the obnoxious constitution.

Jansenism and Jesuitism soon lost all interest in the tranquillity and transactions which followed. The Jansenists were no longer supported by the pen of an Arnold, a Nicole, a Pascal, and a

[1] Louis etant mort, la declaration fut supprimee. Moreri, 7. 13. Volt. 9 112, 113.

Les exiles ont été rappellez. La liberté a été rendue aux parlemens et ax evêques. Limiers, 12. 311.

La Faculté de Theologie de Paris declara que le decret du cinquieme Mars 1714, etoit faux. Moreri, 7. 13. Castel, 320.

On les vit opposer à ces decrets des decrets contraires. Moreri, 7. 13. Les choses ont entièrement changé de face. Voila tout d' un coup un grand changement. Limiers, 12. 312. Mem. de la Regen. 1. 40.

[2] Le Pape a fait publié des Lettres apostoliques, par lesquelles il separe de sa communion tous ceux qui n'ont pas reçu, ou qui ne reçevront pas à l'avenir, sa constitution. Limiers, 12. 314. Volt. 9. 118

Quesnel. These had departed, and given place to far inferior men. Peace divested their controversial writings of all popularity. Many, indeed, in the learned professions and in the intelligent class of society, still retain the leading principles of Jansenism. But the denomination, as a religious body, can hardly be said to exist.

The Jesuits also, on the return of peace, sunk into disrepute. The loss of credit at the French court, which this faction had long enjoyed, was attended with the contempt of the prelacy, the hostility of parliament, and the detestation of the people: and all these were only a prelude to their final expulsion from the French kingdom for dishonesty in trade, and for the immorality of their institution. The society committed fraud in certain commercial transactions, and the parliament, their ancient enemy, seized the opportunity of prosecuting them for the offence. During these transactions the company were compelled to produce their secret institution, embodying the rules of their order. This, it was found, contained maxims subversive of all civil government and moral principle. The document, contrary, at once, to the safety of the king and to the laws of the nation, completed their ruin. Their colleges were seized, and their effects confiscated. The king, ashamed or afraid to patronize such a fraternity, not only withdrew his protection, but expelled the whole order, by a solemn edict from the kingdom.

So terminated the eventful existence of Jesuits and Jansenists in France. The two rival factions arose nearly at the same time, flourished for a short period, entertained diametrically hostile principles in the bosom of the same community, warred during their continuance, with deadly hatred, and then, as if to display the mutations of Romanism, and indeed the vicissitudes of all earthly things, sunk into oblivion, or were banished the nation.

Such were the dissensions of Franciscans, Rhemists, Molinists, Jesuits, and Jansenists. Theologian, in these spiritual wars, encountered theologian, pope opposed pope, and synod assailed synod. Kings, pontiffs, statesmen, and parliaments entered the field, and fought with fury in the theological campaigns. The child rose against the parent, and the parent against the child. Fellow citizens conceived against each other dreadful suspicions and mortal hatred. The shock of conflicting factions in the empire of the popedom convulsed the troubled nations, which were the scene of action. One volume of noisy controversy was heaped on another. The system which one party styled truth and Catholicism, the other called error and heresy. Each treated its opponent as the

abettor of schism and blasphemy, while a deluge of rancour and bitterness, which rent asunder the ties of Christian charity, was poured on insulted Christendom. The channels of philanthropy were closed, and the flood-gates of malevolence, set wide open, discharged their pestilential torrents on distracted man, contending, in many instances, for a shadow. Mutual execration, a weapon unknown in every reformed communion, diversified the popish war, and carried damnation into the adverse ranks. Protestantism, from its rise till the present day, affords no such example of rage and division. Bossuet, aided by learning and exaggeration, could supply no scene of equal vengeance and variety in all the annals of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

VARIETY OF OPINIONS—SCRIPTURAL AND TRADITIONAL ARGUMENTS—ELEMENTS ACCOUNTED SIGNS, FIGURES, AND EMBLEMS—RETAINED THEIR OWN SUBSTANCE—NOURISHED THE HUMAN BODY—SIMILAR CHANGE IN BAPTISM AND REGENERATION—CAUSES WHICH FACILITATED THE INTRODUCTION OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION—HISTORY OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION—PASCHASIUS—BERENGARIUS—DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS—DIVERSITY OF PROOFS—ABSURDITY OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION—CREATION OF THE CREATOR—ITS CANNIBALISM.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION, in the language of Romanism, consists in the transmutation of the bread and wine in the communion, into the body and blood, and by connexion and concomitance, into the soul and divinity of our Lord. The whole substance of the sacred elements is, according to this chimera, changed into the true, real, numerical, and integral Emmanuel, God and Man, who was born of Mary, existed in the world, suffered on the cross, and remains immortal and glorious in heaven. The host, therefore, under the form of bread, contains the mediator's total and identical body, soul, and Deity. Nothing of the substance of bread and wine remains after consecration. All, except the accidents, is transformed into the Messiah, in his godhead, with all its perfections, and in his manhood with all its component parts, soul, body, blood, bones, flesh, nerves, muscles, veins, and sinews.[1]

Our Lord, according to the same absurdity, is not only whole in the whole, but also whole in every part. The whole God and man is comprehended in every crumb of the bread, and in every drop of the wine. He is entire in the bread, and entire in the wine, and in every particle of each element. He is entire without division in countless hosts on numberless

[1] Credimus panem converti in eam carnem, quæ in cruce pependit. Lanfranc. 243. Sint quatuor illa, caro, sanguis, anima, et Divinitas Christi. Labbe, 20. 619. Domini corpus, quod natum ex virgine in cœlis sedet ad dextram Patris, hoc sacramento contineri. Divinitatem et totam humanam naturam complectitur. Cat. Trid. 122. 125.

Continetur totum corpus Christi, scilicit, ossa, nervi et alia. Aquin. iii. 2. 76, c. 1. Comprehendens carnem, ossa, nervos, &c. Dens, 5. 276,

altars. He is entire in heaven, and at the same time, entire on the earth. The whole is equal to a part, and a part equal to the whole. The same substance may, at the same time, be in many places, and many substances in the same place. This sacrament, in consequence of these manifold contradictions, is, says Ragusa, 'a display of Almighty power;' while Faber calls transubstantiation 'the greatest miracle of omnipotence.'[1]

The species, in this system, exist without a subject. The substance is transformed into flesh and blood, while the accidents, such as colour, taste, touch, smell, and quantity, still remain. The taste and smell continue without any thing tasted or smelled. Colour remains; but nothing to which it belongs, and, of course, is the external show of nonentity. Quantity is only the hollow shadow of emptiness. But these appearances, notwithstanding their want of substance, can, it seems, be eaten, and afford sustenance to man and nourish the human body.[2]

Such is the usual outline of transubstantiation. The absurdity resembles the production of some satirist, who wished to ridicule the mystery, or some visionary, who had laboured to bring forth nonsense. A person feels humbled in having to oppose such inconsistency, and scarcely knows whether to weep over the imbecility of his own species, or to vent his bursting indignation against the impostors, who, lost to all sense of shame, obtruded this mass of contradictions on man. History, in all its ample folios, displays, in the deceiving and the deceived, no equal instance of assurance and credulity.

This statement of transubstantiation is couched in general terms, in which its patrons seem to hold the same faith. The doctrine, expressed in this manner, obtains the assent of every professor of Romanism. All these agree in principles, but, in many respects, differ in details. This agreement and difference appeared in a striking light, at the celebrated council of Trent.

[1] Non solus sub toto, sed totus sub qualibet parte. Canisius, 4. 468. Bin. 3. 380. Crabb. 2. 246.

Ubi pars est corporis, est totum. Gibert, 3. 331. Christus totus et integer sub qualibet particula divisionis perseverat. Canisius, 4. 818.

Totus et integer Christus sub panis specie et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte, item sub vini specie et sub ejus partibus, existit. Labb. 20. 32.

Idem corpus sit simul in pluribus locis. Faber. 1. 128. Paolo, 1. 530. Possunt esse duo corpora quanta et plura in eodem spatio. Faber, 1. 136. Corpus non expellat præexistens corpus. Faber. i. 137.

Hoc sacramentum continet miraculum maximum, quod pertinet ad omnipotentiam. Faber, 1. 126. Divina omnipotentia ostenditur. Ragus. in Canisius, 4. 818.

[2] In sacramento altaris, manere accidentia sine subjecto. Faber, 1. 202.

Nutrit et saturat eodem modo quo alius panis. Faber, 1. 219. Non sunt substantiæ: habent tamen virtutem substantiæ. Aquinas, iii. 2. 71. A. vi.

Les accidens par l' operation miraculense de la toute-puissance Divine produisent les mêmes effets que la substance. Godeau, 5. 378.

The doctors of that assembly wrangled on this topic, in tedious and nonsensical jargon. An attempt was made, but in vain, to satisfy all in the composition of the canons. None were pleased. The dogma, in consequence, had, for the sake of peace, to be propounded in few words and general expressions: and this stratagem effected an ostensible unanimity.[1]

The Dominicans and Franciscans differed at the council of Trent, as they do still, on an essential point of this theory. The former, following the common opinion, maintain the annihilation of the substance of the sacramental bread and wine, by their conversion into our Lord's body and blood. The latter, on the contrary, verging on heresy, denied this annihilation and conversion. The substance of the sacramental elements, in this system, remains unchanged, while the substance of our Lord's body and blood takes its place. The one succeeds to the room of the other, and both, as neither possesses quantity or extension, occupy the same space.[2] This would appear to trench on heresy, and would require a skilful metaphysician to distinguish it from Lutheran consubstantiation.

But our Lord, say the Franciscans, in passing in this manner from heaven to earth, proceeds, not by successive movements, but by instantaneous change. His passage occupies no time. He is on the altar as soon as he leaves the sky; or rather, he obtains the one position, without departing from the other.[3] Both factions, at Trent, thought their statements very clear, and each wondered at the other's nonsense and stupidity. The Franciscan faction, if nonsense admit of degree or comparison, is entitled to the praise of superior absurdity. The idea of two material substances being at the same time in the same place, and of a human being coming from heaven to earth, without intermediate time or motion, seems to merit the palm of balderdash.

[1] Mais elles ne purent contenter personne, on resolut dans la congregation générale d'user de moins de paroles qu' serait possible dans l' exposition de la doctrine, et de se servir d' expressions si générales, qu'elles pussent s'accommoder aux sentimens des deux parties. Paolo, 1. 531.

[2] Les Franciscains disoient que la substance du pain et du vin n'est point aneantie, et ne fait que changer de lieu. Couray, in Paolo, 1. 531. Corpus Christi succedit loco substantiæ panis et supplet vicem. Faber, iv. D. 10. Q. 1.

Non que la substance du corps de Jesus Christ se forme de la substance du pain, comme le soutenoient les Dominicains; mais parce que la première succède à la seconde. Paolo, 1. 530.

Non fit præsens Corpus Christi expellendo substantiam panis, neque enim substantia panis mutatur de loco ad locum. Faber, 1. 132.

Corpus Christi non fit præsens per istam conversionem substantialem. Faber, 1. 129.

[3] Les Franciscains soutenoient qu'il y va, non plus par un mouvement successif, mais par un changement d'un instant, qui lui fait occuper un second lieu sans sortir du premier. Paolo, 1. 530.

Corpus Christi fit præsens ibi non per motum localem. Faber, iv. D. 10. p. 128. Non pertransit omnia media. Canisius, 4. 485.

A third party differ from the Dominicans and Franciscans The substance of the bread and wine, in the theology of this faction, neither remains, as say the Franciscans, nor changes, according to the Dominicans, but ceases to exist either by annihilation, resolution, or corruption. The substance of the sacramental elements is reduced to nothing, or by analysis or putrefaction, returns to its former principles. This opinion, says Faber, was held by Henry, Cajetan, and many other abettors of Catholicism.[1]

A fourth class, in this unerring and harmonious communion, varies from all these speculations on the substance of the sacramental elements. According to these theorists, the body and blood of Jesus, and something of the bread and wine after consecration, remains united. Both exist together in the host. This notion was patronized by Innocent the Third, as well as by many other theologians, such as Paris, Rupert, Aegidius, Durandus, Goffrid, Mirandula, and Soto.[2]

A fifth division within the precincts of Popery, entertains a theory different from all the former. Emmanuel's existence in the host, according to these theologians, is the action of his body, effectively supporting the species. His presence is nothing but the operation of his substance. He is in the species in a spiritual and angelic manner, but not under the modality of quantity.[3] His real substantial presence, therefore, degenerates, in this scheme, into mere spiritual action or operation.

Such are the variations of popery on our Lord's sacramental substance in soul and body. But Romish diversity does not end on the topic of substance, which refers to both soul and body, to both matter and mind; but extends to the separate consideration of each, to the distinct state of his corporeal and mental existence in the communion. One division in the papal connexion, allows his sacramental body all the chief properties of matter, such as quantity, extension, visibility, motion, and locality: all which a second section deny. A third party ascribes to his soul in the host the principal powers and operations of mind, such as understanding, will, sensation, passion, and action: while this theory is rejected by a fourth faction. The chief warriors who fought in these bloodless battles, were the schoolmen, who have

[1] Substantia panis non manet, nec tamen convertitur, sed desinit esse vel per annihilationem, vel per resolutionem, &c. Faber, iv. 3.

[2] Panis manet in eucharistia post consecrationem, et tamen simul cum ipso vere est corpus Christi. Aliquod substantiæ panis et vini remanere. Faber, iv. 3. p. 183.

[3] Ejus præsentia nihil aliud esse videtur quam ejusdem substantiæ actio vel operatio. Faber, i. 139.

displayed admirable skill and heroism in the alternate attack and defence of subtilized folly and absurdity.

One division allows our Lord's body on the altar all the chief properties of matter, such as quantity, extension, visibility, motion, locality, and extension. Jesus, according to these speculations, is, in the host, formed of parts, occupies space, and has length, breadth, and thickness. He can be touched, felt, and broken. He can also be seen, say some, by men on earth, or only, as others allege, by spirits in heaven. This view, which, though the more rational, is contrary to the common opinion, has been maintained by Scotus, Alensis, Bonaventura, Richardus, and their followers, who charge their opponents, if not with heresy, at least with rashness and absurdity.[1]

A second section in the Romish communion divests our Lord's sacramental body of the principal properties of matter. Jesus in the host, say these theologians, occupies no place, and possesses no locality. He fills no space. He has no parts, no length, breadth, or thickness. He exists not in the modality of quantity, but of substance, and, in consequence, has no extension, figure, situation, colour, or dimensions. He cannot be seen, touched, felt, tasted, or broken. He is motionless, or, at least, cannot be moved by created power.[2]

From these premises, many curious conclusions have been deduced. One part of the sacramental elements may enter another, without any distinction, and all the parts by introsusception, exist in the same place. Emmanuel's eyes, as he lies on the altar, are in his hands, and his hands in his feet. His mouth is not more distant from his feet, than from his eyes. His nose is not separated from his chin, his neck from his belly, nor his head from his hands. He is motionless, though the host be moved; and, therefore, his position can neither be changed nor inverted. He neither stands, leans, nor rests, though he may assume these postures in heaven. However the wafer be turned, he cannot be placed with his head above and his feet beneath, or on his back or his face.[3] This, in all its ridiculousness and

[1] Faber, 1. 168. Paolo, 1. 530. Aquinas, 3. 361.

[2] Corpus Christi non est in loco. Aquinas, 3. 350. A nullo oculo corporali corpus Christi potest videri, prout est in hoc sacramento. Aquin. 3. 365.

Corpus Christi, ut est hic, non potest tangi, nec approximari, nec est coloratum. Faber, 1. 178. Du Pin, 3. 475.

Les Franciscains soutenoient que dans le sacrement la substance n'occupe point de lieu. Paolo, 1. 530.

[3] Subintratio unius partis ad alteram absque distinctione partim. Faber, 1. 136.

Nasus non distat ab oculis et caput a ventre. Non magis distat a pede quam ab oculis. Oculi sint in manibus, manus in pedibus. Faber, 1. 134, 137.

Corpus Christi non habet differentias positionis in sacramento, ut quod caput sit sursum et pedes deorsum. Quocunque modo vertatur hostia, non est corpus supinum vel resupinum. Si in coelo stat, recumbit, et sedet, non est necesse quod recumbat, sedeat, et stet in sacramento. Faber, i. 137, 166.

absurdity is the common opinion, and was adopted by the Franciscans, as well as by Aquinas, Varro, Durandus, Alliaco, Ocham, Soto, Paludan, Bonaventura, Gabriel, Cajetan, and, indeed, by the generality of popish theologians.

A third party ascribes to his soul in the sacrament, all the principal powers and operations of mind. According to these, he possesses, like other men, life, sense, understanding, will, sensation, and passion. He has the same intellect and sensation on the altar as in heaven. He can, like another human being, see, hear, feel, move, act, and suffer. Some have assigned him in this situation, still more extraordinary endowments. These make him sometimes sing, and warm the officiating priest's hands, which, in return, warm him in the consecrated elements.[1] Such was the opinion of the nominalists, as well as of Ocham, Major, Scotus, and their numerous followers.

A fourth faction, manifesting the diversity of Romanism, rejects this theory. These strip the Son of God, as he exists in the communion, of intellect, sensation, action, passion, motion, animal life, and external senses. Like a dead body, he is, on the altar, incapable of speaking, hearing, seeing, tasting, feeling, and smelling. He has spiritual, without corporal life, as the moon has the light of the sun without its heat. This idea was entertained by Rupert in the twelfth century. Jacobel, in the fifteenth century, embraced a similar opinion, which he supported by the authority of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrosius, Anselm, Paschasius, and the schoolmen. This, says Mabillon, is the common opinion held by the schoolmen, and, in general, by the ancient and modern professors of popery.[2]

Transubstantiation is a variation from Scriptural antiquity. The absurdity has no foundation in revelation. Its advocates, indeed, for the support of their opinion, quote our Lord's address to the citizens of Capernaum, recorded by the sacred historian John. The Son of God, on that occasion, mentioned the eating of his flesh, and the drinking of his blood; and some friends of Romanism, chiefly among the moderns, have pressed this language into the service of their absurd system.

The metaphor, used on this occasion, is indeed of that bold

[1] Operatio intellectus et voluntatis potest inesse Christo ut in eucharistiâ. Corpus Christi est capax harum sensationum et passionum. Faber, 1. 167.

Christum in sacramento posse videre, canere, audire, et facere et pati omnia, quæ cæteri homines pati et agere. Ut est in sacramento, posse propriam manum sacerdotum calefacere et ab ipsa calificri. Faber, 1. 178.

[2] Christum ipsum in hoc sacramento, nullam posse habere sensationem activam neque passivam. Est impassibile naturaliter ipsum habere aliquam actionem vel passionem. Faber, 1. 177, 178.

Non aliam vitam esse in copore Domini quam spiritualem. Mabillon, 4. 562.

Nunc plerique theologorum sentiunt, Christum in eucharistia nullas exercere sensuum externorum functiones, sed sacrum ejus corpus, mortuum modo, in sacramento existere. Mabillon, 5. 563 Lenfant. 2. 214

kind which is common in the eastern style; but which is less frequent in western language: and which, to Europeans, seems carried to the extreme of propriety. Nothing, however, is more usual in the inspired volume, than the representation of mental attention and intellectual attainments by oral manducation and corporeal nourishment. The actions of the mind are signified by those of the body. The soul of the transgressor, says Solomon "shall eat violence." Jeremiah ate the words of God. Ezekiel caused his belly to eat "a roll of a book." John ate the little book, which was sweet in his mouth, and bitter in his belly. Jesus, to the women of Samaria, spoke of men drinking living water, which, as a fountain, would spring up into everlasting life. He also represented the reception of the Holy Spirit to the Jews, by the act of drinking living water. These are only a few specimens of this kind of speech, taken from Revelation. Eating and drinking, therefore, though acts of the body, are often used as metaphors, to signify the operations of the mind in believing. Common sense, then, whose suggestions are too seldom embraced, would dictate the application of this trope for the interpretation of the Messiah's language in John's gospel. Cajetan accordingly avows, that 'our Lord's expression there is not literal, nor is intended to signify sacramental meat and drink.' Augustine and Pius the Second, in their works, as well as Villetan in the council of Trent, are armed with all its authority, represented it as a figure or metaphor.'[1]

This metaphorical signification has, in general, been patronised in the Romish communion by doctors, saints, popes, and councils. Some indeed, to show the diversity of Romanism, have adhered to the literal meaning. But these, compared with the others, have been few and contemptible. The figurative is the common interpretation, and has been sanctioned, not only by saints and pontiffs, but also, as shall appear by the general councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent, in all their infallibility. Mauricius, supported by the authority of the Constantian assembly, declared this 'the authentic exposition of holy doctors, and approved explanations. These commonly understood it to signify, not the sacramental, but the spiritual reception of our Lord's body and blood.' Ragusa, in the council of Basil, declined, on account of its tediousness, to enumerate 'the several doctors who explain it principally and directly to imply spiritual manducation.' Villetan, at Trent, said to the assem-

[1] Prov. xiii. 2. Jer. xv. 16. Ezek. ii. 9. John iv. 10, 14, and vii. 37—39. Cor. x. 3, 4.

Non loquitur ibi Dominus ad literam de sacramentali cibo et potu. Cajetan, T. 3. Tract 2. c. 1.

Figura est. Augustin, 3. 52. Jesus Christ parloit alors figurement, Acn. Syl. Ep. 130. Est metaphora. Villet. in Labb 20, 615.

bled Fathers, 'you will wonder, I well know, at the singular agreement of all in this interpretation. The universal church, you may say, has understood this passage ever since its promulgation, to mean spiritual eating and drinking by a living faith.'[1]

Mauricius, on this occasion, wrote and published by the command and authority of the Constantine council. Ragusa spoke under correction of the Basilian assembly, and without any contradiction. Villetan, at Trènt, spoke in a general congregation, and with its entire approbation. The comments of these theologians, therefore, have been sanctioned by the three general unerring councils: and these, in all their infallibility, together with a multitude of fathers, saints, doctors, and popes, supply the following statements.

The passage in John's gospel cannot refer to the communion; for it was not yet instituted. Such is the argument of Cardinal Cajetan and Pope Pius II. Our Lord, says the Cardinal, 'spoke of faith; as he had not yet appointed the sacrament. This, Jesus ordained at Jerusalem, the night in which he was betrayed.' According to the pope, 'The words whoso eateth and drinketh are not in the future, but in the present time: and the expression, therefore, could not, by anticipation, refer to futurity.' The inspired diction would, on this supposition, relate to a nonentity.[2]

The language recorded by John will not agree with sacramental communion. The instructions of our Lord, on that occasion, will not quadrate with the opinions entertained, on this topic, by the advocates of transubstantiation. The Son of God suspended the possession of eternal life on the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood. This was the condition, without which man could have no life. None can possess spiritual life, unless, in this sense, they eat and drink his body and blood. The manducation mentioned by the apostle, is necessary for salvation. This, if it referred to the sacrament, would exclude all infants, though partakers of Christian baptism. The suppo-

[1] Exponatur secundum expositiones authenticas sanctorum Doctorum et approbatarum glossarum. De ista manducatione aut sumptione sacramentali corporis et sanguinis Christi, non intelligitur authoritas praedicta, ut docent sanc Doctores communiter. Labb. 16. 1141, 1144.

[2] Longum esset singulos Doctores inducere, qui totum praesens capitulum de spirituali manducatione principaliter et ex directo exposuerunt. Labb. 17. 934. Canisius, 4. 538.

Miraberis, sat scio, summam omnium concordiam ad hunc sensum. Dicere possis praeceptum illud Joannis VI. de spirituali manducatione et bibitione per fidem vivam in Christum, jam inde esque ab ejus promulgatione fecisse interpretatum ab ecclesia universa Labb. 20. 615, 616.

Dominus loquitur de fide. Nondum instituerat sacramentum. Cajetan, 3 2. Tract. 2. c. 1.

Le sacrament n'estoit pas encore institué. Pius II. Ep. 130.

sition, therefore, which would involve this exclusion, must, even according to the Romish system, be rejected. Participation in the communion is not, according to the Trentine council in the twenty-first session, necessary for salvation: nor is it to be administered to any till the developement of reason.

This agrees with the statements of Augustine, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Ales, and Cajetan, as well as those of the general councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent. If the communion were necessary for salvation, all who do not partake of that institution, say Augustine, Bonaventure, and Aquinas, 'would be damned. Such could have no life: and, therefore, the words signify spiritual eating by faith and love.' Ales speaks in the same style. The literal sense of this passage, says Cajetan, 'would destroy the sufficiency of baptism, and such an interpretation, therefore, is inconsistent with the Christian faith.'[1]

The comments of the Constantian, Basilian, and Trentine fathers, expressed by Mauricius, Ragusa, and Villetan, are to the same purpose. The passage, taken in the literal acceptation, would, according to these infallible commentators, 'teach the necessity of the communion and the insufficiency of baptism. On this supposition, children, though baptized, would perish, which is contrary to the truth. Our Lord, therefore, in John's gospel, points to spiritual participation in his flesh and blood by faith, of which all who believe partake in baptism, and without which neither child nor adult can obtain salvation.'[2]

The literal sense of this passage, limited salvation to the participations of oral manducation, extends the blessing to all such persons. This comment, as it would overthrow the competency of baptism without the communion, so it would establish the competency of the communion without baptism, as well as without faith and holiness. He who observes this duty, 'hath

[1] Bonaventura arguit per Augustinum, sufficit ergo ad manducandum, credere. Labb. 17. 937.

Si necesse est accedere, parvuli omnes damnarentur. Hoc sacramentum non est de necessitate salutis. De hac etiam opinione fuisse videtur Sanctus Thomas. Labb. 17. 938.

Patet per B. Thomam super Joannem, ubi dicit, referendo literam ad manducationem spiritualem. Qui autem sic non manducat, non habet vitam. Labb. 16. 1144.

Ales arguit, tunc nullus salvaretur, si moreretur ante ejus susceptionem. Prædictus Doctor dicit quod intelligitur de manducatione spirituali et per fidem, sine qua nullus adultus salvabitur, nec etiam parvulus. Labb. 17. 937.

Quia igitur idem est asserere verba illa Christi, Jo. 6. intelligi de cibi et potu sacramentali eucharistiæ et negare baptismi sufficientiam ad salutem, clare patet verba illa nec intelligi posse de cibo et potu eucharistiæ. Cajetan. T. 3. T. 12. c. 1. p. 293.

[2] Baptismus est sacramentum necessitatis. Parvuli non possunt sine eo consequi salutem. Labb. 16. 1141. Eucharistia non ponitur sacramentum necessitatis. Labb. 16. 942.

Parvuli sic non manducant, et habent tamen vitam in se. Labb. 16. 1142.

Singuli Christi fideles, dum in baptismate credentes in Christum ejus manducamus carnem et sanguinem bibimus. Labb. 20. 616.

everlasting life.' Such, however, is contrary even to Romish theology. The unworthy, all admit, have, often intruded on this mystery, and partaken to their own condemnation. The metaphorical meaning, therefore, is necessary to reconcile this part of Revelation with the avowed principles of popery.

The figurative interpretation, accordingly, has been adopted by most Romish commentators. This is the exposition of Augustine, Cajetan, and Innocent, as well as of the general councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent, transmitted in the diction of Mauricius, Ragusa, and Villetan. The Redeemer, according to Augustine, 'refers not to the communion: for many receive from the altar and die, and, in receiving, die.' Our Lord, says Cajetan, 'speaks not here of the sacrament: for he, it is said, who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. But many, it is plain, receive the communion, and do not dwell in him by faith. This is often the case with the unworthy.' Pope Innocent's reasoning is to the same purpose. The good as well as the bad, says the pontiff, 'partake in a sacramental manner, the good to salvation, and the bad to condemnation. Our Lord therefore, in John's gospel, refers not to oral participation, but to reception by faith: for, in this manner, the good only eat his body.'[1]

This interpretation was approved by the assembled fathers at Constance, Basil, and Trent. The reception mentioned in the gospel, ensures everlasting life; and this, say the Constantians, 'is not true of sacramental manducation, which many take, not in life, but to their own condemnation. You shall not have life, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood with the teeth of faith. Such reception is necessary as baptism. The Basilians, by their orator Ragusa, delivered a similar comment. Sacramental manducation, according to this interpretation, 'does not always give life, nay, often death. But spiritual manducation always gives life. Jesus, therefore, it is plain, speaks of spiritual reception, because he annexes life to it, which does not always follow, but sometimes rather death, from sacramental eating. Many, eating sacramentally, are damned: and many, not eating sacramentally, such as children and martyrs, are saved.' Similar is the gloss admitted at Trent. John here, said Villetan to the approved synod, 'understands

[1] Augustinus, Hom. 23, quam multi de altari accipiunt et moriuntur, et accipiendo moriuntur. Labb. 17. 929.

Dominus, Joann. 6. non loquitur de eucharistia. Constat autem multos sumere eucharistiæ sacramentum, et non manere in Christo per fidem. Cajetan, Tom. II. P. 142.

Ad idem est Innocentius in Libro de Officio, ubi ita dicit, comeditur spiritualiter, id est, in fide. Hoc modo comedunt corpus Christi soli boni. Innocen. De Off. IV. 10. Labb. 17. 933.

eating and drinking by faith. He teaches that all who believe shall not perish, but have everlasting life.'[1]

These observations, in a negative manner, shew what the scriptural phraseology in this place does not mean. The following remarks will teach every unprejudiced mind what the expression does signify. Eating and drinking here, in metaphorical style, are, in literal language, synonymous with believing. The manducation mentioned by the Son of God denotes faith. He uses believing and eating as convertible terms, and to each he annexes the blessing of "everlasting life." The same effects proceed from the same causes: and everlasting life is, according to this phraseology, the consequence of believing or of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, which, therefore, must signify the same. Jesus clearly uses them as equivalent expressions. Faith, indeed, in numberless recitations that might be transcribed from revelation, is the grace which is always attended with salvation.

This interpretation is not solely the offspring of protestantism, but of popery. It is not merely the child of Luther or Calvin, Cranmer or Knox, but of fathers, doctors, theologians, schoolmen, saints, cardinals, popes, general councils, and the universal church. This was the comment of the fathers Origen, Theophylact, and Bede. Ragusa, in the Council of Basil, quoted Origen as authority for this explanation. According to Theophylact, 'Christians understand the expression spiritually, and are not devourers of flesh.' Bede, following Augustine, interprets the words to signify 'spiritual eating and drinking, eating not with the teeth, but in the heart.'[2] Ignatius, Cyril, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Remigius, and Bernard, who will afterwards occur as saints, are also among the fathers who embraced this explanation.

[1] Non est verum de manducatione sacramentali, quam multi non ad vitam, sed ad judicium sibi sumunt. Labb. 16. 1143.

Nisi dentibus fidei manducaveritis carnem Filii Hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Talis manducatio corporis et sanguinis Christi est ita necessaria sicut baptismus. Labb. 16, 1221, 1222.

Sacramentalis manducatio non semper dat vitam, immo sæpe mortem. Spiritualis manducatio semper dat vitam. Quod de spirituali manducatione Christus hic loquitur patet, quia ubicumque hic de manducatione loquitur, semper adjungit vitam, quæ utique ad sacramentalem semper non sequitur, immo potius mors. Multi sacramentaliter non comedentes, ut pueri et martyres, salvati sunt et salvantur. Labb. 17. 930. Canisius, 4. 536.

Ex quâ mirificâ conspiratione conteœdentium capitum quis non facile colligat, intellectam a Divo Joanne spiritualem de fide in Christum manducationem carnis, et bibitionem sanguinis ejus? Inculcans quod omnis qui credit in ipsum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam. Labb. 20. 614.

[2] Hoc patet per authoritatem Origenis. Labb. 16. 1144.

Οἱ πνευματικῶς τρώγοντες ἡμᾶς οὐτε σαρκοφαγοι εἰσιν. Theophylact, 1, 655. in Joann. VI.

Spiritualiter manducetur, spiritualiter bibatur. Beda, 6. 363. Qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. Beda, in 1 Corin. X.

Origen, Theophylact, and Bede, have on this topic, been followed by a long train of doctors or theologians, such as Mauricius, Ragusa, Villetan, Guerrero, William, Gerson, Jansenius, Biel, Walden, Tilmann, Stephen, Lindan, and many other theologians, as well as by the schoolmen Lombard, Albert, Aquinas, Ales, and Bonaventure. The same comment was embraced by the Saints Ignatius, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Remigius, Bernard, Bonaventure, and Aquinas.[1]

Augustine, in particular, was, as has been shewn by Ragusa in the Council of Basil, the distinguished patron of this opinion. Our Lord, says this saint, 'seems to command an atrocity. It is, therefore, a figure which is to be understood in a spiritual sense. He is spritually eaten and drunk. Eat, not with your teeth, but with your heart. Believe, and you have eaten: for to believe and to eat are the same.' This in numberless places, is, adds Ragusa, 'the explanation of Augustine, who, in language clearer than the sun or noon-day, explains the passage in John's Gospel to denote spiritual reception by faith.'[2]

This acceptation of the passage was also adopted by the Cardinals Bonaventure, Alliaco, Cusan, and Cajetan. Bonaventure has already been quoted as a saint, and with him agrees Alliaco. The language, says Cusan, 'is to be understood, not of visible or sacramental, but of spiritual manducation by faith.' Cajetan, on this part of holy writ, is, if possible, clearer and stronger than Cusan. The Lord, says he, 'speaks of faith.

[1] Labb. 16. 942, 1141, 1142, et 17. 926, 928. et 20. 615, 616. Canisius, 4. 533. Paolo, 2. 227. Albertin. 1. 30.

De ista manducatione spirituali intelligitur illud Augustini, quod allegat Magister sententiarum. Labb. 16. 1142.

Patet per Albertum super Joannem, ubi dicit referendo literam ad manducationem spiritualem. Labb. 16. 1144.

Ad hoc sunt in terminis propriis Alexander de Ales et Bonaventura. Labb. 17. 937.

Εν πιστει, 'εσθιν σαρξ του Κυριου. Ignatius ad Trall. Cotel. 2. 23.

Εκεινοι μη ανεκοοτες πνευματικως τον λεγομενον σκανδαλισθενθες, νομιζοντες οτι σαρκοφαγιαν αυτους προτρεπεται. Cyril, 293.

Στρεφων την πιστιν, την εις εαυτον. Chrysostom, 8. 277. Hom. 47.

Hieronymus diserte dixit, quod est autem manducationem carnis et bibitionem sanguinis Christi Joannis VI. de fide intelligi debere. Labb. 20. 615.

Hæc est profecto vera intentio Augustini et Remigii. Labb. 17. 943.

Bernardus dicit, quod est autem manducare ejus carnem et bibere ejus sanguinem, nisi communicare passionibus ejus. Labb. 17. 951.

Illud patet expresse per B. Thomam et per Bonaventuram. Labb. 16. 1144.

[2] Flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergo. Augustin, 3. 52. De Doct. III. 16. Augustinus et glossa exponunt textum istum Domini de spirituali manducatione. Labb. 16. 1245.

Idem est manducare et bibere quod credere. Canisius, 4. 535. Qui manducat corde, non qui premit dente. Labb. 17. 932.

Crede et manducasti. Canisius, 4. 928. Innumerabilia sunt loca Augustini in quibus dictam auctoritatem Joannis 6. de spirituali manducatione exponit. Labb. 17. 232.

Augustinus sole clarius et luce meridiana in multis locis declaravit, evangelium Joannis debere intelligi de spirituali manducatione. Labb. 17. 944.

The sacrament was not then appointed. The words are plain and cannot, according to the letter, be understood of Eucharistical meat and drink."[1]

The same is the explanation of Pope Innocent III. and Pius II. The Son of God, says Innocent on the Mass, 'speaks of spiritual participation in faith. He is eaten, when we are incorporated with him by faith. Pius the Second concurs with Innocent, and, if possible, in still more explicit terms. Jesus, says his infallibility, 'treats there, not of sacramental, but of spiritual drinking. Faith is the only means of such participation: for the communion was not then instituted."[2]

The General Councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent, sanctioned this same comment. This is the explanation of Mauricius, in his Treatise written by the command of the Constantian council, and reported at Constance in the Council. The words, according to this work, authorized by the unerring assembly, 'cannot signify sacramental participation, but spiritual reception by faith.[3]

The same interpretation was authorized by the General Council of Basil. This assembly appointed Ragusa as the champion of Catholicism against Rokzana, the patron of the Bohemian heresy. The hero of the faith proceeded in a long and learned speech to examine this part of John's Gospel, and he shewed, beyond all question, that 'Our Lord never here, in any way, mentions sacramental manducation, but spiritual eating and drinking by faith.' He proved to a demonstration, that Jesus meant, 'not the communion, but believing. To eat and drink is to believe, and to believe is to eat and drink."[4] The sacred synod received his advocacy, not only without opposition

[1] Bonaventura arguit per Augustinum, sufficit ergo ad manducandum, credere. Labb. 17. 237.

Non intelligendum de visibili seu sacramentali manducatione, sed de spirituali. Ep. 7. p. 857.

Dominus loquitur de fide. Nondum instituerat sacramentum eucharistiæ. Cajetan, T. 2. T. 2. c. 1. Clare patet verba illa nec intelligi posse de cibo et potu eucharistiæ. Non loquitur ibi Dominus ad literam de sacramentali cibo et potu. Cajetan, Tom. 3. T. 2. c. 1. De fide in ipsum, non de sacramentali manducatione, sermo sit. Cajet. in Aquin. 3. 394.

[2] Ad idem est Innocentius in Libro de officio, ubi ita dicit, comeditur spiritualiter, id est, in fide. De spirituali comestione, Dominus ait, nisi manducaveritis. Comedit ipsum, quand incorporatur Christo per fidem. Labb. 17. 933.

Il ne s'agit pas la de boire sacramentalement, mais de boire spirituellement. Ceux croyoient en lui, ceux la mangoient sa chair et buvoient son sang. On ne pouvoient manger etc. Aen. Syl. Ep. 130. Lenfan. 2. 211, 242.

[3] Christi verba non sunt intelligenda de manducatione sacramentali. Oportet ista intelligi de manducatione spirituali. De ista manducatione spirituali seu sumptione intelligitur prædictum Christi verbum. Labb. 16. 1142-1144.

[4] Christus in nulla parte præsentis capitis, nec per se nec per accidens, faciat quoquomodo mentionem de sacramentali manducatione. Manducaverunt carnem quando crediderunt. . . . . Biberunt ejus sanguinem, quando modo simili se crediderunt. Labb. 17. 931, 932. Canisius, 4. 536. Manducare et bibere idem sit quod credere. Labb. 17. 926.

but with approbation. The conclusion, therefore, is, according to the popish system, marked with the seal of infallibility.

The council of Trent followed those of Constance and Basil. Villetan was the champion of popery at this time, as Mauricius and Ragusa on the two former occasions. According to his advocacy in a general congregation, 'the fruits of eating our Lord's flesh and drinking his blood are everlasting life and dwelling in him; and both referred to a living faith. All who believe do not perish, but have eternal life.' 'Thee, Lord,' said the orator, 'thee, we eat and drink when we believe in thee.' This exposition Villetan affirmed, without any contradiction before the unerring assembly, 'has always, ever since its promulgation, been the interpretation of the Universal Church.' This, therefore is not the gloss of heretical protestantism, but of catholicism and the church.[1] Yet every modern scribbler in favour of transubstantiation, such as Milner, Challenor, Maguire, and Kinsella, cite the passage without hesitation as an irrefragable proof of their system.

The advocates of transubstantiation deduce a second scriptural argument from the words of Institution. Jesus, when he appointed the sacrament, said, "This is my body; this is my blood." The bread and wine, therefore, say these theologians who interpret the expression to suit their system, were transformed into his body and blood. The argument is pitiful beyond expression; and properly deserves nothing but contempt. Its whole force depends on the meaning of the term, which its patrons have taken in a sense of their own, for the purpose of imposing a doctrine of their own on the Word of God. But the term, in its usual acceptation, signifies to represent. The words of institution, according to their common scriptural signification, might be translated, "This represents my body; this represents my blood." All then would be rational and consonant with the original; while the monster transubstantiation, in Cardinal Perron's language, would, even in appearance, be excluded.

Mathematicians sometimes demonstrate the truth of a proposition, by shewing the absurdity of a contrary supposition. Many demonstrations of this kind are to be found in Euclid and other geometricians. The absurdity of the meaning which the partizans of transubstantiation attach to the word, used by our Lord at the celebration of the sacrament, may be exposed in the same way. Admit the accuracy of the papal exposition, and

[1] Duos imprimis dicatur inde percipere fructus, ut scilicet habeat vitam æternam et ut maneat in Christo, utrumque fidei vivæ referri. Omnis qui credit in ipsum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam. Labb. 20. 616.

De spirituali manducatione et bibitione per fidem vivam, jam inde usque ab ejus promulgatione fuisse interpretatum ab ecclesia universa. Labb. 20. 616

any expositor, by a simple process, could transform the God of heaven into a sun, a shield, a rock, a fortress, a buckler, or any thing. The Jewish monarch, indeed, under the afflatus of inspiration, has designated the Almighty by all these appellations. The Messiah, by a similar interpretation, might be transubstantiated into a door, a vine, a rock, a way, a foundation, a lamb, a lion, a rose, a lily, a star, a sun, or any object, according to whim or fancy.[1] Jesus, in the scriptural vocabulary, is called by all these names and many more, whose enumeration would be tedious and is unnecessary. Such consequences, in loudest acclamation, proclaim the condemnation of the system.

The simplicity of the process, by which all these metamorphoses may be effected, is admirable. Allow any popish doctor a convenient interpretation of a monosyllable composed of two letters, and he will, with the utmost dispatch, transubstantiate a wafer into the Almighty; and, with equal ease, could, by the same simple means, transform the Messiah into nearly any object of the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdom. He performs his feats with talismanic facility. All difficulty vanishes before his magic touch. He works with as much rapidity as Mercury, in Lucian, piled Pelion on Ossa and Parnassus on Pelion. His definition enables the sacerdotal conjurer to surpass all the wonders of jugglery, legerdemain, enchantments, spells, and necromancy. He can encase Emmanuel, body, blood, bones, nerves, muscles, and sinews together with his soul and divinity, in a neat little piece of pastry, which he can transfer with becoming grace, into the mouth, down the throat, and into the stomach: and send home the devout communicant with his God in his belly. This conveyance it seems, was sometimes, as might be expected, attended with astonishing effects. 'Being permitted,' says Aquinas, 'to fasten their teeth in the Lord's flesh, such rise from his table, like lions, breathing fire frightful to the devil.'[2]

The same scriptural evidence might be produced for the transubstantiation of the water, obtained by Adino, Eleazar, and Shammah from the fountain of Bethelehem, as for the wine in the sacramental cup. David longed to drink from this spring, and three Jewish heroes cut their dangerous way through the squadrons of the enemy, and brought the king the object of his wish. This, however, when offered, he would not drink. He called it 'the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives,' and poured it out as an oblation to God.[3] The argument,

[1] Psalm xviii. 2. and lxxxiv. 11. John x. 7. John xv. 1. Corin. x. 4. John i. 29. Rev. v. 5. Malach. iv. 2.

[2] Ut leones flammam spirantes, sic ab illa mensa dicedimus terribiles effecti diabolo Aquinas, III. 79. vi. P. 362.

[3] 2 Sam. xxiii. 17. Chron. xi. 19.

in the one instance, is as strong for the change of the water into blood, as in the other for the transmutation of the wine.

The popish meaning of the term would transubstantiate the whole church into the Lord's body.[1] Paul, addressing the Corinthians, Ephesians, and Colossians, says, "the church is the Lord's body." Take the term in the Romish acceptation, and all Christians are transformed into the real and substantial body of Jesus, comprehending of course his blood. The argument, deduced from the Scriptural expression, is as strong for the transubstantiation of the church as for that of the Sacrament. Grant the one, and, in consequence, the other follows.

The friends of transubstantiation, in the words of institution, declare for the literal acceptation and deprecate all figurative interpretation. Challenor would take the expression in 'its obvious and natural meaning.' This statement supposes two things. One is, that Jesus used no metaphorical language at the appointment of the sacrament; and the other, that the popish gloss is the natural or usual sense of the term. But these are both misrepresentations. The Institutor said, "this cup is the New Testament in my blood." Salmeron acknowledges what indeed cannot be denied, that this expression contains two metaphors. The cup, by a metonymy, is put for its wine, and the New Testament for its sign or symbol. Admit the papal or literal sense, and the cup, not the wine, would be transubstantiated, not into the blood of the Mediator, but into the New Testament.

Neither is the Romish interpretation the usual meaning of the term. Its common acceptation, in Scriptural phraseology, corresponds, on the contrary, with the protestant exposition. The opponents of transubstantiation use the word in 'its obvious and natural meaning,' in the Sacred Volume. This was its general signification among the Jews, as might be shown from the Old Testament; and the same might be evinced by many citations from the Christian Revelation.[2]

This interpretation may be corroborated by many quotations from the Fathers. The ancients patronized this exposition. All these characterized the sacramental bread and wine as signs, figures, symbols, emblems, or images of the Institutor's body and blood. This, in effect, was considering them as signifying or representing our Lord. Saying that the bread and wine were the signs of his body and blood was, in other words, saying that these sacramental elements signified or represented the Divine author of the Institution.

[1] 1 Corin. xii. 27. Eph. i. 22, 23. Eph. iv. 12. Colos. i. 24.
[2] Gen. xl. 12, 18 et xli. 26, 27. Matt. xiii. 19, 37, 38, 39, 40. Corin. x. 4.

A few instances out of many, in which the sacramental elements are represented as signs, symbols, figures, and emblems, may be selected from Tertullian, Ambrosius, Augustine Ephrem, Procopius, and Bede.[1] Jesus, according to Tertullian said at the first celebration of this mystery, "This is my body, that is, the figure of my body." Ambrosius, Augustine, Ephrem, and Bede, characterized the sacramental elements as figures; while Augustine and Procopius represent the bread as "the sign or emblem of his body."

Transubstantiation, therefore, is not to be found in the inspired canon. This, many of its partizans, such as Erasmus, Scotus, Bellarmine, Alliaco, Cajetan, Fisher, Biel, Tanner, and Canus, have conceded. These indeed believe the absurdity. Their faith, however, or rather credulity, was, according to their own confession, founded, not on the evidence of Revelation, but on the testimony of tradition and the authority of the church. Erasmus 'found no certain scriptural declaration of this dogma.' Scotus admits 'the want of express scriptural evidence in favour of transubstantiation,' and Bellarmine grants 'the probability of the statement.' 'The opinion,' says Cardinal Alliaco, which maintains that the bread and wine preserve their own substance, 'is not unscriptural; and is more rational and easy of belief than the contrary.' Cajetan's admission, that 'transubstantiation is not expressly taught in the gospel,' was so pointed that Pius the Fifth ordered it to be expunged from the Roman edition of the Cardinal's works. 'The true presence in the mass,' says Fisher, 'cannot be proved from the words of institution.' This theory, according to Biel, Tanner, and Canus, 'is not revealed in the sacred canon.'[2] Similar concessions have been made by Occam, Alphonsus, Cantaren, Durand, and Vasquesius.

Transubstantiation is a variation from ecclesiastical as well as Scriptural antiquity. The church, in its days of early purity,

[1] Corpus suum illum fecit dicendo 'hoc est corpus meum,' id est figura corporis mei. Tertul. Contra Marcian. IV. 40. p. 458. Est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini. Ambros. IV. 5 Domianus non dubitavit dicere 'hoc est corpus meum,' cum daret signum corporis sui. Aug. 8. 154. Contra Adiman. c. 12. Fregit in figuram immaculati corporis. Ephrem, De Natur. 681. Παραδωκε εικονα του ιδιου σωματος μαθηταις. Procop. in Gen. 49. Suae carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in panis et vini figura substituens. Beda, 5. 424. in Luc. 22.

[2] Nullum reperio locum in Scripturis Divinis unde certo constet Apostolos consecrasse panem et vinum in carnem et sanguinem Domini. Erasmus, 3. 1193. Scotus dicit non extare locum ullum scripturæ tam expressum ut sine declaratione ecclesiæ evidenter cogat transubstantionem admittere, et id non est omnino improbabile. Bellarm. III. 33. Nec repugnat rationi nec authoritati Bibliæ. Alliaco, XI. 6. 1. Evangelium non explicavit expresse. Cajetan, III. 75. 1. in Aquin. 3. 348. Nec ullum hic verbum positum est quo probetur, in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam. Fisher, c. 10. Non invenitur expressum in canone Bibliæ. Biel. Lect. 40. Quæ in Scripura sola non continentur, Tanner Comp. c. 6. Non sit proditum in sacris. Canus, III. 3.

disowned the ugly monster. The Fathers as well as the Apostles disclaimed the absurdity, which insults reason, outrages Revelation, and degrades man. This appears from several considerations. Ecclesiastical antiquity represents the bread and the wine as retaining their own nature or substance; and as conveying nourishment to the human body; and ascribes a transmutation, similar to that effected in these elements, to the water of baptism; and to man in regeneration.

The monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity represent the sacramental elements as retaining their own nature or substance, without any change or transubstantiation. Such is the statement of Gelasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Facundus.[1] 'The elements in the sacrament,' says Pope Gelasius, who flourished in the fifth century, 'are divine, yet cease not to be the substance or nature of bread: and are certainly the image and similitude of the Lord's body.' Chrysostom, the saint and the patriarch, declares that 'the bread after consecration, is worthy of being called the Lord's body; though the nature of the bread remains in it.' Theodoret, in his First and Second Dialogue, is, if possible, still plainer. 'The Lord,' says this Bishop, 'hath honoured the visible signs with the appellation of his body and blood; not having changed their nature, but having added grace to nature. The mystic symbols, after consecration, do not change their proper nature; but remain in their former substance, form, and species.' According to Facundus an African bishop, 'the sacrament of his body and blood, in the consecrated bread and cup, is denominated his body and blood; not that the bread is properly his body and the cup his blood; but because they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood.'

The authors of these quotations were men, who, in their day, stood high in erudition and catholicism. Their theological learning must have secured them from mistaking the opinions of the age on the subject of the sacrament. Their works were widely circulated through Christendom, and their arguments were never contradicted or even suspected. These citations, therefore, must decide the question in the judgment of every unprejudiced mind.

These statements from Gelasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and

[1] Esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Gelasius. adv. Euty. 589.
Dignus habitus est Domini Corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit. Chrysostom, ad Cæsarium, 3. 744.
Ουτος τα ορωμενα συμβολα τη του σωματος και αιματος προσηγορια τετιμηκεν, ου την φυσιν μεταβολων αλλα την χαριν τη φυσει προστεθεικως. Theod. Dial. 1.
Ουδε γαρ μετα τον αγιασμον τα μυστικα συμβολα της οικειας εξιστανται φυσεως; μενει γαρ της προτερας ουσιας, και του σχηματος, και του ειδους. Theod. 4 18. 85.
Non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis ejus et sanguinis contineant. Facund. ix. 5.

Facundus have sadly puzzled and perplexed the partizans of transubstantiation. The testimony of Gelasius silenced Cardinal Cantaren in a disputation at Ratisbon. Cardinal Alan admits Gelasius's and Theodoret's rejection of a substantial change in the sacramental elements; but maintains that these two alone in their age embraced this heresy. Du Pin, having quoted Facundus, refers the reader to others for a resolution of the difficulty. Harduin, Alexander, and Arnold, however, have attempted the arduous task.[1] The nature or substance, according to these authors, signifies, in this case the species or accidents, which remain unchanged in the sacramental elements. But Theodoret, in the above quotation, distinguishing the substance from the accidents, represents the sacramental elements, as retaining their former substance and species. The substance is here discriminated from the species or accidents, and all these, which he enumerates, remain in the mass without any transmutation.

The answer of these authors shews their skill at transformations. The substance of the sacramental bread, in their hands becomes, at pleasure, either accidents or the body of our Lord. These theologians could not only, as priests, transubstantiate the substance of the elements into flesh and blood, but also, as authors, when it served their purpose, into accidents or species. A few words from their mouths could convert the substance of wine into blood, and a few strokes from their pens could metamorphose the same into accidents. These jugglers should have displayed their extraordinary powers, in transforming accidents into substance as well as substance into accidents; and they would then have exhibited the perfection of their art.

The ancients represent the bread and wine as conveying nourishment to the human body. Such are the statements of Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian.[2] 'The sacramental bread and wine,' says Justin, 'nourish our flesh and blood by digestion.' According to Irenæus, 'the consecrated elements increase our body.' Tertullian represents 'our flesh as feeding on his body and blood.' Ludovicus lived entirely on the host for forty days, and Catharina subsisted on the same from Ash-Wednesday till Ascension. The consecrated elements therefore are food for the body as well as for the soul; and in consequence preserve their own substance. None surely will maintain the impiety, if not

[1] Chrysostom, 3. 740. Alex. 19. 569.

[1] Εἰς ἣς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν. Justin, Apol. 96. Αφ' ὧν τὰ ἡμέτερα αὔξει σώματα. Iren. V. 2.

Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur. Tertullian, de Resur. c. 8. p. 338. Catharina inventa est aliquando a die cinerum usque ad ascensionem Domini jejunium perduxisse, sola Eucharistiæ communione contenta. Brev. Rom 763.

blasphemy, that the flesh of man is, by digestion and nutrition, formed of the flesh of Emmanuel.

Innocent the third resolved this difficulty by granting that something of the bread and wine remain in the sacrament, to allay hunger and thirst.[1] His infallibility, for once, was right, for which he was afterward anathematized by the holy council of Trent. This infallible assembly, in its thirteenth session, heartily cursed all who should say that the bread and wine remain with the Lord's body and blood, or should deny the transformation of the whole bread and wine. This denunciation was a retrospective dash at the vicar-general of God. Whether the imprecation sent his holiness to purgatory or to a worse place, the friends of transubstantiation and the papacy may determine.

Aquinas, Godeau, Du Pin, and Challenor endeavour to evade the difficulty by an extraordinary distinction and supposition.[2] These distinguish the substance from the species; and with the former, which is not subject to corruption, would feed the soul; and with the latter, which some might perhaps think light provision, would sustain the body. The accidents, Aquinas and Godeau make no doubt, may, by an operation of the Almighty, produce the same effects as the substance and nourish the human frame. The angelic doctor confers on the host, 'the efficacy of substance without the reality.' Du Pin and Challenor entertain a similar idea. The learned divines, it seems, have discovered a method of fattening men on accidents, such as form, quality, taste, smell, colour, signs, and appearances. Signs without signification, shadow without substance, shew without any thing shewn, colour without any thing coloured, smell without any thing smelled, present, it appears, an exquisite luxury, and form, according to these theological cooks, an excellent sustenance for the human constitution.

Challenor, however, doubtful of this theory, and suspicious of this unsubstantial food, has, by a happy invention, provided a kind of supernatural meat, if his immaterial diet should happen to be condemned for inefficiency. Some miraculous nourishment of a solid kind, he thinks, may be substituted by Omnipotence, when, by deglutition and digestion, 'the sacramental species are changed,' and the sacramental substance is removed. Aquinas, Godeau, Du Pin, and Challenor, in this manner, rather

[1] Innocent. III. avouoit lui meme, qu'il restoit dans l'eucharistie une certaine paneité et vineité, qui appaisent la faim et la soif. Innocent, in Bruy. 3. 148 Labb. 29. 84.

[2] Non sint substantia, habent tamen virtutem substantiæ. Aquin. III. Q. 77 Art. VI.

Les accidens par l'operation miraculeuse de la toute-puissance Divine produisent les mêmes effets, que la substance. Godeau, 5. 378. Du Pin, 2. 84. Challenor, 48

than renounce a nonsensical system, condescend to talk balderdash. The credulity and blind zeal of Aquinas, Godeau, and Challenor indeed prepared these superstitionists for the reception of any absurdity; and the greater the absurdity the more acceptable to their taste, and the better calculated for the meridian of their intellect. But more sense might have been expected from Du Pin, who, on other occasions, shews judgment and discrimination.

Many of the fathers, indeed, have been quoted in favour of transubstantiation. Some of these express themselves in strong language. A person unacquainted with the hyperbolical diction of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the forms of speech used in these days, might be led to suppose that some of the fathers held a doctrine similar to modern transubstantiation. An opinion of this kind, however, must arise from indiscrimination in the reader, and from the exaggeration of the author. The ancients, through want of precision, often confounded the sign with the signification. This confusion led them to exaggeration, and to ascribe to the sign what was true only of the signification; and this communion and exaggeration of antiquity have been augmented by the misrepresentations of the moderns, in their garbled and unfair citations.

Ignatius and Cyril supply a specimen of such confusion and misstatement. Ignatius, who so nobly faced the horrors of martyrdom, has been characterized as the friend of transubstantiation. The martyr desired 'the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus, and the drink, which is his blood:' and he mentioned some persons, who, in his day, denied the sacrament to be the flesh of the Saviour.

The apparent force of this quotation arises from its want of precision, and its separation from a parallel part of the author's work. Ignatius elsewhere calls 'the gospel, and the faith that comes by the gospel, the flesh of Jesus, and love, his blood."[1] A comparison of these two citations removes every difficulty.

Cyril affords another specimen. According to this saint, 'the Lord's body is given under the emblem of bread and his blood under the emblem of wine. Consider them, therefore, not as mere bread and wine; for they are the body and blood of Emmanuel.'

But the same author ascribes a similar change to the oil, used at that time in baptism. He represents 'the oil of baptism after consecration, not as mere oil, but as the grace of Jesus,

[1] Προσφυγων τω ευαγγελιω, ὡς σαρκι Ιησου. Ανακτίσασθε ἑαυτους εν πιστει, ὁ εστιν σαρξ του Κυριου, εν αγαπη ὁ εστιν αιμα Ιησου. Ignat. ad Trall. et ad Phil. Cotel. 2, 23, 31

as the bread is not mere bread, but the body of our Lord."[1] The argument, from these two words, is as conclusive for the transubstantiation of the baptismal oil as for the eucharistical bread.

Cyril also represents the manducation of the Son of Man, mentioned by John, in a spiritual sense which does not imply the eating of human flesh. This communion, he adds, 'consists in receiving the emblems of our Lord's body.'

Antiquity furnishes no stronger proofs of transubstantiation, than those of Ignatius and Cyril. But these two saints, when allowed to interpret themselves, disclaim the absurdity. The monster had not appeared in their day. All the monuments of Christian antiquity, in like manner, when rightly understood, concur in the rejection of this modern innovation.

The fathers ascribe the same change, the same presence of Jesus, and the same effect on man, to the water of baptism, as to the bread and wine of the Lord's supper. His substantial presence in baptism, and the consequent participation of his blood by the baptized is declared by Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Prosper, and Bede.[2]

Chrysostom represents the baptized as 'clothed in purple garments dyed in the Lord's blood.' Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, describes men as 'made partakers of the Saviour's holy flesh by holy baptism.' Jerome represents Jesus as saying to all Christians, 'ye are baptized in my blood.' The eunuch, says the same saint, 'was baptized in the blood of the Lamb.' Augustine, on this subject, is very express. He depicts 'the faithful, as participating in our Lord's flesh and blood in baptism.' This is cited by Fulgentius, and, therefore, sanctioned by his authority. The redeemed, says Prosper, 'are in baptism, tinged with the blood of Jesus.' Augustine, Prosper, and Bede pour-

[1] Ο αρτος της ευχαριστιας, μετα την επικλησιν του αγιου Πνευματος, ουκ ετι αρτος, αλλα σωμα Χριστου, ουτως και το αγιον τουτο μυρον ουκ ετι ψιλον μετα επικλησιν, αλλα Χριστου χαρισμα. Cyril, 290, 292, 293, 300.

[2] Την πορφυραν περιβαλλησθε τω αιματι βαφεισαν δεσποτικω. Chrysos. 2. 226. ad illumin. Cetech. I.

Γεγονε μετοχα της αγιας αυτου σαρκος δια του αγιου δηλονοτι βαπτισματος. Cyril, 4. 662 in John 26.

Baptizemini in saguine meo. Jerome, 3. 16. in Isa. i. Baptizatus in sanguine agni. Jerom, 3. 385. in Isa. liii.

Unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque dominici participem fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum Christi efficitur. Fulgentius, de Bap. Unde rubet baptismus, nisi sanguine Christi consecratus. Augustin, Tract. 11. Beda. 6. 356. in 1 Corin. x. August. ad Bonif. c. 130. Labb. 17. 944. Aquinas, 3. 341. Paulinus, 892. August. 10. 473.

Baptismo Christi in saguine tinguntur. Prosper, c. 2. P. 84. Per Mare Rubrum Baptismum sacratum Christi sanguine liberantur. Prosper, 2. 233.

Baptismo Christi sanguine consecrato. Augustine, 1. 1206. Ascendas de fonte Christi consecrata in sanguine. Augustin. 6. 600.

tray 'the true Israel as consecrated in baptism, with the blood of the Lord.'

The ancients also represent the same substantial change communicated to men, especially in baptism and regeneration, as to the elements of the communion. Such are the representations of Cyril, Gregory, Etherius, Beda, and Leo.[1] According to Cyril, 'water transforms by a divine and ineffable power.' Regeneration, says the same author, 'changes into the Son of God.' Gregory's statement is to the same purpose. 'I am changed' says this author, 'into Christ in baptism.' The faithful, say Etherius and Bede, 'are transformed into our Lord's members and become his body. Pope Leo the First is still more express. 'Receiving the efficacy of celestial food,' says his infallibility, 'we pass into his flesh who was made our flesh. Man, in baptism, is made the body of Christ.'

Our Lord, therefore, in the monuments of antiquity, is represented as present in baptism as well as in the communion. The water, in the one institution, is represented as changed into blood, in the same way as the wine in the other. Man's nature or substance, according to the same authority, is transformed in baptism and regeneration. The person who is renewed and baptized is, in these statements, changed into the nature, body, flesh, or substance of the Son of God. The language of the fathers is as strong and decided for transubstantiation in baptism as in the communion; for the corporeal presence in the former as in the latter; and for the substantial change of man in regeneration as for the elements in the sacrament. The abettors of the corporeal presence, notwithstanding, with awkward inconsistency, admit transubstantiation in the communion and reject it in baptism and regeneration.

The truth, however, is, that the use of such language in the literary and ecclesiastical monuments of antiquity was, in general, the consequence of confounding the sign with the signification, and ascribing to the former the attributes of the latter. The appellation and properties of the Lord's flesh and blood were, by a natural tendency of the human mind, transferred to the bread, the wine, and the water of the two sacramental institutions. The change, however, in the elements was considered

[1] Ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄρρητον μεταστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν. Cyril. 4. 147. in John 3. Μεταστοιχειουσθαι πρὸς τοῦ ἰον. Cyril, 5. 474. Dial. III

Χριστῷ μεταπεποιῆσθαι τῷ βαπτίσματι. Gregory, orat. 40

In membris ejus transformamur. Nos in illo transformamur. Etherius adv. Elipan. I. Canisius, 2. 322, 324. Nos ipsius corpus facti sumus. Fideles fiant corpus Christi. Beda, 6. 365. in Cor. x. et 5. 509. in Joan. VI.

Accipientes virtutem cælestis cibi, in carnem ipsius qui caro nostra factus est, transeamus. In Baptismate, efficiatur homo corpus Christi. Leo. I. Ep. 23. Labb. 4, 815, 817

not as physical but moral. The bread and wine altered not their substance but their signification, not their nature but their use. This may be illustrated by a citation from Cyril of Jerusalem. 'The meat of the pomp of Satan,' says the Saint, 'is, in its own nature, pure, but, by the invocation of demons, becomes unholy, as the elements of communion, before consecration, are mere bread and wine; but afterward became the body and blood of our Lord.'[1] The immolations of Gentilism, all will admit, might, according to Cyril, contract impurity, but not alter their nature: and the elements in the sacrament might, in like manner, change their signification, but would retain their substance.

Transubstantiation, therefore, is without any foundation in scriptural or ecclesiastical antiquity. Many ages elapsed before the monster, which was the child of darkness and superstition, appeared in the world. The deformity, however, in the progress of time, the change of system, and diversity of opinion raised at length its portentous head in Christendom. Several causes concurred to facilitate its introduction into the church. The mind of man, in the contemplation of emblematical representations, delights to confound the sign with the signification. The sacramental symbols, in consequence, were often, in ancient works on Christian theology, not sufficiently discriminated from the objects which they were intended to notify. The ancients in consequence used strong language and bold metaphors in celebrating this institution, and in discoursing on it in their literary productions. Accustomed, on all topics, to flash and rhetoric, these authors, in treating on this mystery, dealt even beyond their usual style, in superlatives and exaggeration. Habituated to such phraseology, men were prepared for the reception of a novelty, which added the corporeal to the spiritual presence in the communion.

Man is also prone to form a material deity, whom he can see while he worships. A pure spirit seems too impalpable and refined for a being like man, whose soul is embodied in matter. He seeks something, therefore, to attract and engage the external senses. This principle, deep-rooted in human nature, has given rise to all the idolatry which has deformed and dishonoured Pagan, Jewish, and Popish worship. The idols of Gentilism exceeded all enumeration. The Jews, though blessed with a divine revelation, and warned, in a special manner, against idolatry, often forgot Jehovah, and adored Baal and other gods of heathenism. The votaries of Romanism, in like manner, and from the same principle, have formed a material divinity and bow to the host.

[1] Cyril, 281.

The Aristotelian philosophy which had become the reigning system, facilitated the reception of transubstantiation. The philosopher of Stagira supposed a primary matter and substantial forms, which compose the constitution of all things. This primary matter, without quantity, quality, figure, or any propriety of body, was the subject on which substantial forms might be impressed, and to which they might adhere. The forms were a convenient coverlet for the matter. This nonsense was exceedingly useful for the fabrication of transubstantiation. The internal matter or substance, in the papal theology, was, in the host, changed into flesh and blood, which were inclosed in the form or species of bread and wine. A theological fiction, in this manner, was countenanced and illustrated by a philosophical vision: and the philosophy, in inconsistency, yields only to the theology. Transubstantiation annexed a few motley additions to the airy theory of the Grecian speculator; and, in consequence, became the consummation of absurdity. The climax of nonsense ended in the faith of the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

The state of the Latin communion, at the introduction of transubstantiation, was perhaps the chief reason of its origin, progress, and final establishment. The tenth century was a period of darkness and superstition. Philosophy seemed to have taken its departure from Christendom, and to have left mankind to grovel in a night of ignorance unenlightened with a single ray of learning. Cimmerian clouds overspread the literary horizon, and quenched the sun of science. Immorality kept pace with ignorance, and extended itself to the priesthood and to the people. The flood-gates of moral pollution seemed to have been set wide open, and inundations of all impurity, poured on the Christian world through the channels of the Roman Hierarchy. The enormity of the clergy was faithfully copied by the laity. Both sunk into equal degeneracy, and the popedom appeared one vast, deep, frightful, overflowing ocean of corruption, horror, and contamination.[1] Ignorance and immorality are the parents of error and superstition. The mind void of information, and the heart destitute of sanctity, are prepared to embrace any fabrication or absurdity,

Such was the mingled mass of darkness, depravity, and superstition, which produced the portentous monster of transubstantiation. Pascasius, in the ninth century, seems to have been the father of this deformity, which he hatched in his melancholy cell. His claim to the honour and improvement of this paradox is admitted by Sirmond, Bellarmine, and Bruys.[2]

[1] Baron. An. 900. Platina, in Bened. Geneb. An. 901.

[2] Genuinum ecclesiæ Catholicæ sensum ita primus explicuit, ut viam cæteris aperuerit. Sirmon. in Radb.

Pascasius, says Sirmond, 'was the first who, on this question, explained the genuine sense of the church.' This monk, according to Bellarmine, 'was the first who, in an express and copious manner, wrote on the truth of the Lord's body and blood.' Men, says Mabillon, 'were from reading his work, led to a more full and profound knowledge of the subject.' Bruys candidly confesses that transubstantiation was a discovery of the ninth century, and unknown in the darker ages of antiquity.' The celebrated Erasmus entertained a similar opinion. He represents 'the church as late in defining transubstantiation, and accounting it enough, during a long period, to believe that the Lord's true body was present under the consecrated bread or in any other way.'[1] Scotus acknowledges, that transubstantiation was no article of faith before the council of the Lateran in 1215.

The celebrated Arnold, in his perpetuity of the faith, has endeavoured to prove the antiquity of transubstantiation from the tranquillity, which, he says, always reigned on the subject in the church. Its introduction, he alleges, had it be an innovation, would have been attended with tremendous opposition. The commotion and noise, he seems to think, would have been little inferior to the shock of an earthquake, or the explosion of a world. Arnold's attempt, however, proves nothing but the effrontery of its author, who, on this occasion, must have been at a loss for an argument, and presumed much on the reader's ignorance. Mabillon, more candid than Arnold, admits the opposition of many against Pascasius, who ascribed too much to the divine sacrament. Frudegard, with many others, doubted, and with Augustine, understood the words of institution in a metaphorical sense. These, with the African saint, accounting it shocking to eat the flesh that was born of the virgin, and to drink the blood that was shed on the cross, 'reckoned the consecrated elements, the Lord's flesh and blood only in power and efficacy. 'Some,' says Mabillon, 'assented, and many doubted. Some resisted Pascasius, and many were brought to understand the mystery.'[2]

Primus autor qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini. Bel. in Pas. Ex hoc lectione ad pleniorum peritionemque ejus cognitionem perducti fuerint. Mabillon, 3. 67.

Le dogme de la transubstantiation, ou de la présence réelle, etoit inconnu avant le IX. Siecle. Bruy. 2. 349.

[1] Sero transubstantionem definivit ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi. Erasm. 6. 696. in Corin. 7. Bellarmin, III. 23.

[2] Qui dicunt esse virtutem carnis, non carnem, virtutem sanguinis, non sanguinem. Pascasius in Matth, 26. Plusieurs entendoient, avec Saint Augustin, les paroles de l'institution dans un sens de figure. Moreri, 7. 68. Multi dubitant. Mabillon, 3, 67. Pascasius ad Frudegard. Du Pin, 2. 80.

Multi ex hoc dubitant. Nonnullis haud placuit quod dixerat. Fatendum est quosdam contra insurrexisse et scripsisse adversus Pascasium. Mabillon, 3. 67

The Pascasian innovation was opposed by nearly all the piety and erudition of the age. A constellation of theologians rose in arms against the absurdity. Raban, Walafrid, Herebald, Prudentius, Florus, Scotus, and Bertramn, the ablest theologians of the day, arrayed themselves against the novelty. All these, the literary suns of the age, resisted the Pascasian theology. Raban, Archbishop of Mentz, who was deeply skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, had a taste for poetry, and was accounted the glory of Germany, resisted the Pascasian theory with determined hostility. Heribald and Raban, says Marca, 'wrote against Pascasius, while Pascasius and Raban divided the people into two factions.'[1]

Scotus and Bertramn were the most distinguished opposers of Pascasius. Scotus was eminent for his skill in languages and theology. He was the companion of Carolus, the French sovereign, who patronized his work against Pascasius. During his whole life, he incurred no suspicion of heresy; and his work, for two hundred years, circulated through Christendom without any mark of reprobation from pope or council, from clergy or laity.[2]

Bertramn, like Scotus, replied to Pascasius at the instance of the French king. He was esteemed for his sanctity, and for his profound attainments in science and theology. His book on the body and blood of the Lord, in answer to the Pascasian speculation, was widely disseminated through the Christian world, and was never during that age, condemned for heresy.[3] The free and extensive circulation, which these publications of Scotus and Bertramn obtained without even an insinuation of error, must to every unprejudiced mind, supply an irrefragable proof of their conformity to the theology of the ninth century.

The treatment of Betramn's work after the Reformation argued little for the unity of Romanism. This production, which, during the dark ages, had lain concealed and unknown, was discovered in 1533, and published by the Protestants of Germany. The Reformed, who rescued it from oblivion, accounted it favourable to their system. The Romish reckoned it a work of heresy, and a forgery of Œcolompadius. This production, though afterwards extolled as the perfection of orthodoxy, was condemned as heretical by a pope, by councils, cardinals, the expurgatorian index, and a whole phalanx of theologians.

Clement the Eighth exercised his infallibillity on Bertramn's

[1] Heribaldus et Rabanus statim contrariis adversus Pascasium scriptis certaverunt. Pascasio et Rabano ducibus, fideles populos in duos veluti factiones scindebat. Marca, Ep. in Dachery, 3. 853.

[2] Du Pin, 2. 87. Dachery, 4. 513. Labb. 11. 1425.

[3] Bruys. 2. 38. Morery, 7. 40

production, and denounced it, after due examination, for heresy. The synod of Treves, for the same reason, interdicted its circulation. The general council of Trent, by its expurgatorian index, pronounced its reprobation and prohibition. This assembly, which was clothed with infallibility, had as great a concern in the index, which proscribed Bertramn's work, as in its catechism. The sentence, therefore, may be considered as sanctioned by its supreme authority. These pontifical and synodal decisions were approved by the cardinals Bellarmine, Quiroga, Sandoval, Alan, and Perron. The theologians of Louvain, who conducted the Belgic expurgatorian index, submitted the performance, which these doctors represented as interpolated, to correction. These censors expunged many of the pretended interpolations, which, in their estimation, contained rank heresy; and allowed its publicity in this state of mutilation. This sentence of error and Protestantism was re-echoed by Turrian, Sixtus, Genebrard, Espenceus, Marca, Possevin, Claudius, Valentia, Paris, and Harduin. All these, in concert indeed with the whole popish communion, continued, for the extended period of more than one hundred and forty years, to represent Bertramn's treatise as a forgery and full of error and heresy.[1]

But this book, decried in this manner in the popish communion, for heterodoxy, was in process of time, transformed by a sudden revolution in public opinion, into orthodoxy. A church, which boasts its unity and unchangeableness, proceeded, after the lapse of many years, to transubstantiate Bertramn's work, without any useless ceremony, into catholicism. Mabillon, in 1680, by the aid of manuscripts and arguments, evinced, beyond all contradiction, the genuineness of the work; and endeavoured, by partial statements and perverted criticism, to shew its orthodoxy.[2] The learned Benedictine's discovery effected, on this point, a sudden change in Romish christendom. The book, which, for near a century and a half, had been denounced as unsound and suppositious, became, all at once, both true and genuine. The church transformed heresy into Catholicism with as much facility, and in nearly as short a time, as a priest transubstantiates a wafer into a God.

The controversy, for two hundred years after the Pascasian age, seems to have slept. The noisy polemic, on this topic, resigned his pen, and Christendom, entombed in Egyptian darkness, sunk into immorality and superstition. Transubstantiation, in this destitution of literature, continued to gain ground: till, at last,

[1] Moreri, 7. 40. Boileau, 8. Bell. I. 1. Du Pin, 2, 81, 86. Torrian, I. 22 Possey, 1. 219.
[2] Mabillon, 3. 68. Dachery, 4. 17.

its pestilential breath infected all orders and ranks of men. The priesthood soon perceived its tendency to the advancement of sacerdotal influence and emolument. Their alleged power of creating God excited the veneration and liberality of the admiring populace. Miracles were supposed to be wrought by the consecrated wafer; and this, opening another source of imposition and astonishment, endeared the wonder-working theology to the clergy and laity. The dogma, indeed, is calculated for the meridian of superstition. The idea of a visible deity must be ever welcome to an ignorant crowd. The innovation, besides, made no direct or violent attack on the popular prepossessions. The error effected no mutilation of the ancient faith; but an addition, which is calculated to become the idol of superstition. The Pascasian theory superinduced the corporeal on the spiritual presence, and tended, not to the diminution, but to the augmentation of the fabric of faith, the structure of superstition, and the mass of mystery. The novelty added a change of substance to the ancient admitted change of use and signification, and was fitted for becoming the food of credulity.

The controversy was awakened from the sleep of two hundred years by Berengarius in the eleventh century. This celebrated character was principal in the public school of Tours, and afterward archdeacon of Angers. He was distinguished, according to Paris, for genius, learning, piety, charity, holiness, and humility. Following Bertramn and Scotus on the sacrament, he publicly, in 1045, opposed Pascasius. Many adopted and many rejected his system. Romanism displayed a diversity of faith inconsistent with modern boasts of unity. The clergy and the laity, in the ninth century, united, in general, against Pascasianism; but differed, about two hundred years after, about Berengarianism. This shews the progress, which transubstantiation in this period, had made in the spiritual dominions of the popedom. The controversy was agitated in many verbal and written disputations.[1] Berengarianism, however, according to cotemporary and succeeding historians, was the general faith of England, France, and Italy. All France, says Sigebert, abounded in Berengarians: and the same is repeated by Matthew of Paris and William of Malmesbury. Alan represents the evil as extended, not only to France, but also to the neighbouring nations. The heresy, says Matthew of Westminster, had corrupted nearly all the French, Italians, and English.[2]

Berengarianism was denounced, with determined hostility and tremendous anathemas, by the Roman pontiffs. Its author

[1] Berengarius commença à dogmatizer de l'eucharistie selon la doctrine que Bertramnus et l'Escot avoient 170 ans auparavant enseignée. Vignier, 2. 696.

[2] Contra eum et pro eo, multum a multis et verbis et scriptis, disputandum est Sigebert, An. 1051.

was persecuted by Leo, Victor, Nicholas, and Alexander. He was compelled to sign three different and conflicting confessions, in three Roman councils under Nicholas and Gregory.

Nicholas, in 1058, convened a council at the Lateran against Berengarius. This assembly consisted of one hundred and thirteen bishops; and the patron of the reputed heresy was summoned to attend. He complied; and supported his system with a strength of reason and eloquence, which, Sigonius, Leo, and Henry attest, withered all opposition. All shrunk in terror, while the Vatican resounded with the thunder of his oratory. His infallibility urged his clergy to the contest. He endeavoured to rouse his veterans to the battle. But no David appeared against this Goliath. No hero of orthodoxy dared, in single combat, to encounter this dreadful son of heresy. His holiness, in this exigency, sent an express for Alberic, a cardinal deacon of great erudition, who, it was hoped, could face this fearful champion of error.[1] Alberic, after a warm discussion, solicited a cessation of arms for a week, to employ his pen against the enemy.[2]

The council, finding the insufficiency of their dialectics, threatened the application of more tangible and convincing arguments, which they could wield with more facility. Anathemas, excommunication, fire, and fagot were brought into requisition. The mention of this kind of logic soon converted Berengarius, who was unambitious of the honour of martyrdom. Humbert was appointed to compose a confession for Berengarius, and executed his task to the satisfaction of his infallibility and the whole council. This formulary declared, that 'the bread and wine on the altar are the Lord's real body and blood, which, not only in a sacramental, but also in a sensible manner, are broken by the hands of the priest and ground by the teeth of the faithful.'[3] His infallibility and his clergy were for submitting the flesh of Emmanuel, when created by their power of transubstantiation, to the action of the teeth, particularly the grinders. His flesh, it appears, is, according to the sacred synod, subject to mastication, deglutition, digestion, and all the necessary consequences. His holiness and his council seem to have entertained the same refined sentiments as the ancient citizens of Capernaum, who

[1] Afficiebatur omnis Gallia ejus doctrina. M. Paris, 12, Scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrina. Malm. III. P. 63. Omnis pene Gallia ac vicinæ gentes eo malo quam citissime laborarent. Alan. de Euch. I. 21. Omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos suis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus. Westm. in Ush. c. 7.

[2] Ei, cum nullus valeret obsistere, Albericus evocabatur ad synodum. Leo. III. 33. Non erat, qui Berengario responderet, licet Papa fortiter institisset. Henry, II. 5. Nullus Berengario resistere valeret. Mabillon, 5. 139. Sigonius, IX Bin. 7. 273.

[3] Fidelium dentibus atteritur. Gibert, 3. 330. Crabb. 2. 766. Labb. 12 46 Lanfranc, 233. Dachery, 4. 515. Canisius, 4. 468.

understood the Lord's words in a literal sense. Christians, according to the holy Roman council, enjoy a carnival in the sacrament, similar to the festivals of the polite cannibals of Fegee and New Zealand. The confession remains a foul stain on the synod from which it emanated, and a filthy blot in the annals of the papacy.

Lombard censured the grossness of this confession. Simica denounced it, if not interpreted with caution and ingenuity, as a greater heresy than Berengarianism. Aquinas refers the attrition of the teeth to the species or accidents. The angelic doctors invented a plan, by which the jaws could chew form without substance, and masticate colour, taste, and smell. The synod of Arras, however, in 1025, denied that 'the Lord's body is consumed by the mouth or ground by the teeth.' The moderns have abandoned the absurdity. Caron characterizes the Roman synod's creed, as a heresy. Challenor warns the communicant against 'chewing with the teeth;' though, in so doing, he subjects himself to an anathema of a holy Roman council.[1]

This precious specimen of blasphemy and absurdity, issued by a Roman council headed by a Roman pontiff, Berengarius, through human frailty and horror of death, signed and swore to maintain. This profession, however, was only hypocrisy and extorted by intimidation. Shielded by the protection of his ancient patrons, he relapsed into heresy, declared his detestation of the creed which he had subscribed, and characterized the Roman synod as an assembly of vanity, and the popedom as the throne of Satan.

Berengarius signed a second confession, in the year 1078. Gregory the Seventh assembled a Roman council for the purpose of terminating the controversy. This synod differed from the former in its decisions. Gregory and his clergy allowed Berengarius to renounce his former confession and substitute another. This, in reality, was a virtual, if not a formal condemnation and repeal of the creed prescribed by Nicholas and his synod, and sanctioned by their authority. This new confession, which Berengarius composed and signed, merely signified that 'the bread and wine, after consecration, became the Lord's true body and blood.'[2] This form of belief might have been subscribed by Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, or Knox. The Zuinglians, in fact, at Marpurg, admitted the true presence of the body and blood in the sacrament. Expressions of a similar

[1] Attritio dentium referatur ad speciem. Aquin. 3. 372. Haec gratia non consumitur morsibus, nec dentibus teritur. Duchery, 1. 611. Labb. 11. 1161, 1426 Caron, 90. Chellen. 61.

[2] Profitebatur. panem altaris post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi Dossart, 2 ?8 Mabillon, 5. 125.

or identical kind may be found in the reformed confessions of Switzerland, France, Strasburg, Holland, and England.[1]

The Roman clergy were divided in their opinion of this confession. One party acknowledged its catholicism; while another faction maintained its heresy. The latter insisted on the prescription of another creed, which might be free from ambiguity. Its error and inadequacy have, in modern times, been conceded by Alexander, Cossart, and Mabillon. Alexander complains of its trickery, Cossart, like many others, of its heresy, and Mabillon of its equivocation and insufficiency.[2]

Gregory seems to have embraced the same opinions as Berengarius on the communion. His infallibility declared 'that he entertained no doubt but Berengarius had, on this institution, adopted the scriptural idea, and all that was necessary for the faith of catholicism.'[3] This, in his holiness, was an unequivocal profession of Berengarianism.

Pope Gregory was countenanced in his heterodoxy by Lady Mary. His infallibiliiy, actuated by hypocrisy or fanaticism, was accustomed, on every difficult or important emergency, to consult her ladyship. Mary, on this occasion, answered with oracular decision, that 'nothing should be acknowledged on this subject, but what is contained in authentic scripture,—against which Berengarius had no objection.'[4] The mother of God, it appears, a thousand years after her assumption, became a heretic, opposed transubstantiation, and patronized Berengarianism. This was a sad defection in the queen of heaven and star of the sea. The blessed Virgin should have been transported to purgatory or the inquisition, to atone for her apostacy from the faith.

His infallibility, whatever may have become of her ladyship, was, in 1080, condemned for Berengarianism by thirty bishops, in the council of Brescia. This assembly found his holiness guilty of attachment to 'the Berengarian heresy, and of calling in question the apostolic truth of the Lord's body and blood.'[5]

[1] Neque negare volunt verum corpus et sanguinem Christi adesse. Seckendorf, 138. Chouet, 67, 109, 110, 120, 204.

[2] Fidei professionem edidit subdolis verbis conceptam. Alex. 18. 246. Quidam Catholicam agnoverunt, sed alii latere in illa veneni aliquid hæretici. Coss. 2. 28. Berengarius brevem fidei suæ formulam sed insufficientem ediderat. Sub his veri corporis et sanguinis verbis æquivoca latere, non immerito crederetur. Mabillon, 5. 25, 139.

[3] Ego plane te de Christi sacrificio secundum scripturas bene sentire non dubito. Marten. Thesaur. 4. 108. Fidei professionem ab ipso Berengario editam, ad fidem Catholicam sufficere dixisset Gregorius. Mabillon, 5. 140.

[4] Nihil de Christi sacrificio cogitandum, nihil tenendum præter id quod haberent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas Berengarius nihil sentiret. Mabillon, 5. 140. Marten, 4. 108.

[5] Catholicam de eucharistia fidem in quæstionem poneret, et Berengarii antiquus discipulus esset. Mabillon, 5. 140. Coss. 2. 48. Labb. 12. 646.

The vicar-general of God and the queen of Heaven, in this manner, patronized a heretic and encouraged one another in heterodoxy.

Gregory's partiality to Berengarianism appears also from his treatment of its author. He honoured him with his friendship, and protected him against his persecutors. He anathematized all who should injure his person or estate, or call him a heretic. He recommended him to the protection of the Bishop of Tours and Angers against the enmity of Count Fulco. He shewed no resentment against his renunciation of his former profession. He refused to attempt any thing against Berengarius, and left his enemies, who endeavoured to overwhelm him with invective and perplex him with sophistry, to fret, and fume, and growl without a remedy or opportunity to gratify their malevolence.[1]

Gregory, however, importuned by some of the disaffected clergy, who persecuted Berengarius and hated his theology, was induced, notwithstanding his predilection for this author and his system, to summon another council for the final settlement of the controversy. A Roman synod accordingly met in 1079. This assembly consisted of the prelacy from 'the adjoining and different other regions,' and therefore represented the faith, which, on this topic, was, in the eleventh century, entertained in various nations of the Christian commonwealth.

The holy Roman synod, however, displayed, in the Lateran, the head-quarters of catholicism, the utmost diversity of sentiment. Some held one opinion, and some another. One party maintained transubstantiation. The other patronized Berengarianism; and endeavoured, according to the partial accounts of these transactions, to support their error and deceive themselves and others with cavils. The majority advocated a substantial change of the elements in the communion. The minority represented the bread and wine only as signs, and the substantial body as sitting at the right hand of God. The disputation continued for three days. The council, in the end, came to an agreement, which, when compared with the two former decisions, seems to have been effected by mutual concessions. A confession was imposed on Berengarius, declaring the change in the bread and wine after consecration, to be, not merely sacramental and figurative, but also true and substantial.[2]

This confession differed, both by omission and addition, from the former, issued under Nicholas and Gregory in two holy Roman councils. The impiety of breaking the Lord's body with

[1] Du Pin, 2. 199. Labb. 12. 630. Dachery, 4. 514.

[2] Multis hæc, nonnullis illa sentientibus. Quidam vero cæcitate nimia et longa perculsi, figuram tantum, substantiale illud corpus in dextera. Patris sedens esse; se et alios decipientes quibusdam cavillationibus. Labb. 12. 629. Bin. 7. 488.

the hands and grinding it with the teeth, enjoined by Nicholas and his clergy in 1059, was omitted; and the epithet substantial was added to the prior formulary enacted in 1078. This is no convincing proof of unity. The third is a medium between the other two, and seems to have been a compromise for the sake of peace and harmony. Two factions opposed each other in this theological campaign. Each, for the purpose of terminating the war, made concessions; and the result was a creed intermediate between the two previous forms of belief.

Transubstantiation, after the death of Berengarius, advanced by slow and gradual steps to maturity. Some continued to resist its inroads on the truth of Christian theology. But the majority of the clergy and laity, in the spirit of perversity and the phrenzy of superstition, adopted the deformity. Its patrons, however, found great difficulty in moulding the monster into form. Many editions of the novelty were circulated through Christendom; and all exhibited the changes of correction and the charms of variety. The council of the Lateran, in 1215, enrolled it among the canons of the Romish communion: and the Lateran decision was confirmed at Constance and finally established at Trent.[1]

The partizans of transubstantiation, having by numbers, if not by reason, defeated the enemy, quarrelled among themselves. The foreign war against the adversary was followed by internal sedition among its friends. The subject, indeed, opened a wide field for refinement and ingenuity. Some believed, some doubted, and some speculated. Lombard could not define whether the transmutation of the sacramental elements was substantial, or formal, or of some other kind. Aquinas and Gabriel, says Erasmus, grant the diversity of opinions on this question, even among orthodox theologians. Cajetan admits similar variations. Guitmond and Algerus, in the eleventh century, mention many variations of opinion circulated on this topic in their day. Some, according to these contemporary historians, imagined that the transformation extended only to a part, and some to the whole of the elements. Some allowed a change in the wine of the communion, but such as in the water of baptism. One party fancied that the bread and wine, though changed to the worthy, resumed their own substance when presented to the wicked. Another faction, in the wild wanderings of imagination and extravagancy, admitted a transmutation of the bread and wine into flesh and blood; but not into those of the Son of God. One class alleged the same union between the consecrated elements and the Divine Emmanuel as between

[1] Crabb. 2. 946. Labb. 18. 519. Bin. 9. 380. Labb. 13. 930.

his Deity and humanity, or a hypostatical union of the Mediator to the substance of the bread. Another alleged, that not the substance, but the entity remained, but changed into Christ's body. Some believed the digestion and the corruption of the bread and wine; while others denied this theory. Some speculators thought that the metamorphosis was effected by the change of the elements, and some by their annihilation. The creed-makers, on this innovation, seem, according to their taste or fancy, to have embraced impannation, consubstantiation, or transubstantiation. Many of the sage and useful theologians of the day diversified their systems with lofty speculations on the sublime and fragrant topic of stercoranism, with all its attendant and lovely train of grandeur and purity.[1]

The schoolmen subtilized theory into nonsense and hair-breadth distinctions. These doctors brought all their attenuated discriminations into requisitions on this mystery, and divided and subdivided without end or meaning, on the topics of matter, form, substance, and accidents. The real body, according to Scotus, is present by circumscription; but according to Aquinas and his followers, not by circumscription, but by penetration, and the modality, not of quantity, but of substance.[2] These metaphysicians, of course, knew their own meaning in these 'words of learned length and thundering sound.' Scholasticism, indeed, like metaphysics, is a learned and ingenious way of talking nonsense, and of shewing an author's ignorance.

The Dominicans and Franciscans, as usual, encountered each other in theological combat on this subject at the council of Trent. The Dominicans contended, that the substance of the bread is changed by transmutation, into the substance of the Lord's body. No new matter, according to this system, is added, but the old transformed. The Franciscans maintained that transubstantiation is effected, not by the conversion of the bread into the Lord's body, but by the recession of the former, and the accessions of the latter. The bread, except the species, politely retires, according to this theory, for the purpose of giving place to the flesh of Emmanuel. Dominican and Franciscan enmity, in this manner, evaporated in mutual nonsense and contradiction.

The jargon of the two schools on substance, form, matter,

[1] An formalis, an substantialis, an alterius generis, definire non sufficio. Lombard, IV. Nec ipse Thomas, nec hoc recentior Gabriel dissimulant varias theologorum, hac de re, fuisse sententias etiam orthodoxorum. Erasm. 9. 1065.

Variæ fuerunt opiniones eruditorum. Cajetan, in Aquin. 3. 348. Alger. Prol Bruy. 2. 398. Du Pin. 2. 203, 204.

Substantiam et naturam panis hypostatice unire Christo. Faber, IV. D. 11, c. 3

Alii dixerunt, nec substantiam panis manere sed entitatem panis manere tamen conversam in corpus Christi. Faber, 1. 183. Aquinas, 3. 385.

[2] Aquin. III. 66. V. P. 350, 360, 363. Cajetan in Aquin. 3. 348.

nature, body, quantity, magnitude, locality, annihilation, and transformation was unintelligible to all others, though clear to its several advocates, who, with reason, represented the contrary as attended with infinite absurdity. Forms of faith were composed, which, adopting something from each, might satisfy both. But the accomodation pleased neither party. The general congregation therefore resolved to employ only a few words and general expressions, suited, as much as possible, to the ideas or rather to the balderdash of the several contending factions.[1] Such, on the important subject of the sacrament, was the harmony and management of the holy, apostolical, infallible, Roman council of Trent.

The advocates of the corporeal presence, jarring in this way, about the doctrine, differ also about its evidence. Some found their faith on Revelation; some on tradition; some on miracles; and others again on these united. Its modern partizans commonly endeavour to found their system on scriptural authority. The scriptural arguments, on the contrary, were resigned by Scotus, Bellarmine, Alliaco, Cajetan, Occam, Alphonsus, Durand, Biel, Fisher, Cusan, and Canus, who rest their belief, not on the Bible, but on the testimony of tradition, and the authority of the church. The majority wish to draw their proofs from both scriptural and traditional declarations.

Many, on this subject, have called in the extraordinary aid of miracles. The Lord's body and blood, according to Pascasius, the father of the deformity, has often appeared visible on the altar. 'God, from heaven,' says Binius, 'confuted Berengarius by miracles.' 'God,' says Dens, 'hath confirmed this truth by open and frequent miracles, wrought in various places and times.' Pope Gregory, in 600, convinced a Roman lady by similar means. A Roman matron, when his holiness was celebrating mass, had the audacity to smile at the idea of calling a morsel of bread the body of the Lord. The pontiff, pitying the woman's incredulity, prayed, in conjunction with the people, to God for a sensible manifestation of the mystery, to overcome the woman's unbelief. The sacramental bread, in consequence, 'was changed into bloody flesh.'[2] The lady, of course, could have no objection to an argument of this kind, and immediately believed. This, the silly and superstitious Mabillon considers as a powerful corroboration of the truth.

Odo, in 960, undeceived, by this means, several unbelieving

[1] On ne put s'accorder. Ils ne pouvoient s'entendre eux-memes. Paolo, 1. 530. Du Pin. 3. 475. Labb. 17. 818.

[2] Deus e caelo miraculis Berengarium confutavit. Bin. 7. 275. Veritatem præsentiæ realis, Deus confirmavit per aperta et frequentia miracula, variis locis et temporibus facta. Dens, 5. 283. Partem digiti sanguine cruentam advertit. Mabil. 1. 263. Nangis, An. 1098. Dach. 3. 19.

clergymen. Seduced by the spirit of error, some of the clergy maintained that the bread, and wine even after consecration, retained their substance, and were only the signs of flesh and blood. But Odo prayed, and the host, in consequence, during the solemnization of mass in the priest's hands, 'began to drop blood.'[1] The phenomenon, it may be easily conceived, silenced all opposition.

Wonders of a similar description have sometimes appeared, not to remedy unbelief, but to reward sanctity. This was the case with Mary, Hugo, and Nativity. These saints had the pleasure, during the solemnity of mass, to see Jesus in the form of an infant of unparalleled beauty. The child, which sister Nativity beheld, was living and clothed with rays of light; while eager to be received, or in other terms, swallowed, he desired, in infantile accents, to be devoured. This ridiculous if not blasphemous tale constitutes part of a Revelation which has been lately eulogized by Rayment, Hodgson, Bruning, and Milner.[2]

The variations of the transubstantiated God are diversified as the opinions of his votaries. The Protean God of the Greeks and Romans, famed in ancient mythology and song for his multiplicity of forms, has been eclipsed in his own department by the popish Deity. All the metamorphoses recorded in Ovidian verse are nothing compared with the transformations of this divinity. His godship, in his variations in his pre-existent state prior to his deification, presents a curious specimen of natural history. His materials are enclosed in a wheaten grain, and he blooms in the wheaten field. He imbibes the sap of the earth, sucks the dews of night, and drinks the rain of the clouds. The future god, by these means, ripens to maturity under the suns of heaven. The flail and the mill advance his deityship a few more steps towards his final apotheosis. The confectioner moulds this new god into new forms, and introduces him to new acquaintances. He is exhibited to the eye in a mass of pastry, composed of flour and water. His chief chemical elements are carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. He is, however, in this state, near his promotion. He is rounded into a wafer, handed to the altar, and, at the muttering of some sorry priest, wonderful to tell, starts into a god. The new-made Deity is immediately exhibited for adoration on the bended knee. He is then placed in the mouth, swallowed down the throat, and safely lodged in the stomach of his manufacturer and worshippers. He is next, by digestion or some other way, destined to undergo a chemical analysis, and to be resolved

[1] Sanguis guttatim defluere coepit. Mabillon. 3. 556. Osbern, 83.
[2] Andilly, 648, 719. Dachery, 1. 612.

into his constituent principles. But his future history and transmigrations may be left to the filthy historian of stercoranism.

Transubstantiation, varying, in this manner, from scriptural and ecclesiastical antiquity, and diversified by the jarring opinions of its patrons and the transformations of its God, varies also from reason and common sense. Nothing, indeed, invented by man ever equalled it in irrationality. The theory presents the last test of human credulity, and the grand consummation of unqualified absurdity. Search the vast range of religion and philosophy; examine the wide amplitude of folly and superstition; and you will find no other opinion so utterly incompatible with reason, so completely fraught with inconsistency, and so entirely irreconcileable with common sense. The whole system is like the fairy fiction of some visionary labouring with nonsense, some speculator straining to invent an absurdity, or some satirist resolved to ridicule the faith of its partizans.

Transubstantiation varies from our ideas of matter and the evidences of the senses, while it presents the absurdity of creating the Creator, and the horror of cannibalism in eating an incarnated God. This dogma contradicts all our ideas of material substances. Matter, it represents as divested of dimension, figure, parts, impenetrability, motion, divisibility, extension, locality, or quantity. Length, breadth, and thickness, according to this theology, exist without any thing long, broad, or thick. Matter exists without occupying space or time. Substance remains without accidents, and accidents without substance. The same body is in many places at the same time. Jesus, at the same instant, is entire in heaven, on earth, and on thousands of altars; while millions of bodies are but one body. A whole is equal to a part, and a part equal to a whole. A whole human body is compressed into an host, and remains entire and undivided in each of ten thousands hosts. The person who can digest all these contradictions, must have an extraordinary capacity of faith or credulity.

This popish dogma also contradicts the information conveyed by our senses. Sight, touch, taste, and smell declare flesh and blood, if this tenet be true, to be bread and wine. No man can see, feel, taste, or smell any difference between a consecrated and unconsecrated wafer. The senses, not merely of one, but of all men, even when neither the organ or medium is indisposed, are, according to this theory deceived without any possibility of detecting the fallacy. The senses too, in this case, are acting in their own sphere and conversant about their peculiar objects. Many subjects, such as the Trinity and the Incarna-

tion, are beyond the grasp of our bodily senses and indeed of human reason. These are to be judged by the testimony of Revelation. But bread and wine are material, and level with the view of our organs of perception. The sacramental elements can be seen, smelled, touched, and tasted. Our external organs, say the friends of transubstantiation, are, in this institution, deceived in all men, at all times, and on all occasions.

The patrons of this absurdity, driven from all other positions, have recourse to the omnipotence of God. Almighty power is a very convenient resource to the abettor of inconsistency in the day of difficulty and confusion. This shield, the advocate of absurdity opposes to all the assaults of reason and common sense. Intrenched behind Omnipotence, he mocks the suggestions of probability, and laughs at the artillery of the logician. But even this plea will not support irrationality, or rescue its partizans from the grasp of the dialectician. Scriptural language is not to be explained so as to involve a frightful absurdity. The patron of the corporeal presence, for the support of his fabrication, modestly requires God to work an inconsistency. But incomprehensibility is to be distinguished from impossibility, and mystery from contradiction. God works many things incomprehensible to man; but nothing which, in itself, is contradictory. Omnipotence extends only to possibility, and not to inconsistency, to things above, but not contrary to reason.

The creation of the Creator, which, according to Urban, Biel, and many others, is implied in this dogma, is another deviation from common sense, and an inroad into the dominions of blasphemy. 'The hands of the Pontiff,' said Urban in a great Roman Council, 'are raised to an eminence granted to none of the angels, of creating God the Creator of all things, and of offering him up for the salvation of the whole world.' This prerogative, adds the same authority, as it elevates the pope above angels, renders pontifical submission to kings an execration. To all this the Sacred Synod, with the utmost unanimity, responded, Amen.[1]

Biel extends this power to all priests. 'He that created me,' says the cardinal, 'gave me, if it be lawful to tell, to create himself.' His holiness not only manufactures his own God, but transfers, with the utmost freedom and facility, the same

[1] Dicens, nimis execrabile videri, ut manus, quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverunt, quod nulli angelorum concessum est, ut Deum cuncta creantem suo signaculo creent, et eundem ipsum pro saluti totius mundi, Dei Patris obtutibus offerant. Et ab omnibus acclamatum est 'Fiat, fiat.' Hovedens, ad Ann. 1099. P. 258. Labb. 12. 960. Bruy, 2. 635.

prerogative to the whole priesthood. This power, Biel, shews, exalts the clergy, not only above emperors and angels; but, which is a higher elevation, above Lady Mary herself. 'Her ladyship,' says the cardinal, 'once conceived the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world; while the priest daily calls into existence the same Deity.'[1] This is very clear. Her ladyship effected only once, what the clergy repeat every day or as often as they please: and these creators of God, therefore, excel the Mother of God. These sacerdotal artizans have established a manufactory on earth, in which they can, by the easiest process and in the shortest time, forge new gods, or, at least, new editions of the old one. Lady Mary, in this manner, is the Mother of God, and the creating priest, in Urban's system, is his father.

The Deity, created in this manner, is a very convenient article. He may be deposited on the altar, put into the pocket, carried in a box, swallowed down the throat, or used for more detestable purposes. Pope Theodorus, in 648, anathematized Pyrrhus the Monothelan Patriarch, and subscribed his condemnation with the consecrated wine, which, of course, was his infallibility's God. This transaction was accompanied with all that is calculated to strike the mind of superstition with terror. The pontiff, standing at the tomb of the chief of the apostles, called for the vivifying cup, and taking a drop from the living blood of Jesus, signed, with his own hand, the excommunication of Pyrrhus and all his communion. Gregory the Seventh, on one occasion, committed the Host to the flames. The Council of Constantinople, in 869, signed the condemnation of Photius with a pen dipped in this transubstantiated God. The Emperor Michael and Basil his chamberlain subscribed an oath for the safety of Bardas on a Cretan expedition with the consecrated wine, which was supplied, on the occasion, by Photius the Byzantine patriarch; and this engagement, Basil afterwards violated.[2]

The popish clergy, as they make, so they eat their God, and transfer him to be devoured by others. The papist adores the God whom he eats, and eats the God whom he adores. This divinity is tasted, masticated, swallowed, and, accidents excepted, digested. The partizan of popery, in this manner,

[1] Qui creavit me, si fas est dicere, dedit mihi creare se. Semel concepit Dei filium, eundem Dei filium advocant quotidie corporaliter. Biel, Lect. 4.

[2] Αιτησας το θειον ποτηριον εκ του ζωοποιου αιματος του Χριστου επιστασας τη ιδια χειρι, καθαιρεσιν Πυρρου. Theoph. 219, 370.

Qui jetta la sainte Hostie dans le feu. Bruy, 2. 472. Mabillon, 1. 407.

Tous les evêques souscriberent a ce decret, avec le sang de Jesus. Moreri, 7 201.

worships and swallows a God of pastry, which, if made big enough, would furnish a breakfast for himself or for his dog.

The manducation of the sacramental elements, if transubstantiation be true, makes the communicant the rankest cannibal. The patron of the corporeal presence, according to his own system, devours human flesh and blood: and, to show the refinement of his taste, indulges in all the luxury of cannibalism. He rivals the polite Indian, who eats the quivering limbs and drinks the flowing gore of the enemy. The papist even exceeds the Indian in grossness. The cannibals of America or New Zealand swallow only the mangled remains of an enemy, and would shudder at the idea of devouring any other human flesh. But the partizans of Romanism glut themselves with the flesh and blood of a friend. The Indian only eats the dead, while the Papist, with more shocking ferocity, devours the living. The Indian eats man of mortal mould on earth. The Papist devours God-man, as he exists exalted, immortal, and glorious in heaven. Papal exceeds even Egyptian stupidity. The Egyptians indeed worshipped sheep, oxen, garlic, and onions. But even these deluded votaries of idolatry and superstition, in all their barbarism and indelicacy, abstained from eating the objects of their adoration. But the believer in the corporeal presence at once worships and swallows, adores and devours his Deity. This oral manducation would, shocking to say, make Jesus more inhuman than Saturn. Saturn, according to Pagan Mythology, devoured his own offspring. Jesus, according to the Popish theology, swallowed his own flesh. He ate the consecrated bread and drank the hallowed wine, which he administered to his apostles. Such are the horrors which follow in the train of this absurdity.

This is the light in which the corporeal presence has been viewed, not only by Protestants, but also by Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens. 'Christians,' said Crotus the Jew, 'eat their God.' I have travelled over the world, said Averroes the Arabian philosopher, and seen many people; but none so sottish and ridiculous as Christians, who devour the God whom they worship.[1] Cicero entertained a similar opinion. Whom, said the Roman orator, do you think so demented as to believe what he eats to be God![2] Roman philosophy shames and confounds Romish theology.

Aimon, Lanfranc, Hugo, Durand, Aquinas, Bernard, Alcuin, Pithou, Faber, Lyra, and the Trentine Catechism have indeed

[1] Christiani comedunt Deum suum. Dachery, 3. 60.
Qui adorent ce qu'ils mangent. Bayle, 1. 385. Perron, III. 29. Morery, 1 754. Aquin. 3. 397.

[2] Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo vescatur, Deum credat esse. Cicero, De Natura. Deor. III.

endeavoured to gild the Cannibalism of Popery.[1] These admit the horror of feeding on human flesh and blood in their own forms. But the sacramental elements, say they, appear under the species of bread and wine that conceal the human substance, which, in consequence, becomes, these theologians seem to think, a great delicacy.

The statements of these authors present a curious attempt to disguise the grossness and inhumanity of eating human flesh. Aimon, in Dachery, represents 'the taste and figure of bread and wine as remaining in the sacrament, to prevent the horror of the communicant.' Similar statements are found in Lanfranc. According to this author, 'The species remain, lest the spectator should be horrified at the sight of raw and bloody flesh. The nature of Jesus is concealed and received for salvation, without the horror which might be excited by blood' Hugo acknowledges that 'few would approach the communion, if blood should appear in the cup, and the flesh should appear red as in the shambles. Hunger itself, which would be disgusted at such bloody food.' Durand admits, that 'human infirmity, unaccustomed to eat man's flesh, would, if the substance were seen, refuse participation.' Aquinas avows 'the horror of swallowing human flesh and blood.' The smell, the species, and the taste of bread and wine remain,' says the sainted Bernard, 'to conceal flesh and blood, which, if offered without disguise as meat and drink, might horrify human weakness.' According to Alcuin in Pithou, 'Almighty God causes the prior form to continue in condescension to the frailty of man, who is unused to swallow raw flesh and blood.' The

[1] Propter sumentium horrorem, sapor panis et vini remanet et figura. Aimon, in Dach. 1. 42.

Reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus, et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus, ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent. Lanfranc, 244.

Christi natura contegitur, et sine cruoris horrore a digne sumentibus in salutem accepitur. Lanfranc, 248.

Si cruor in calice fieret manifestus et si in macello Christi ruberet sua caro, rarus in terris ille qui hoc non abhorreret. Hugo, de corp. 70.

Fragilitas humana, quae suis carnibus non consuevit vesci, ipso visu nihil hauriat, quod horreat. Durand, in Lanfranc, 100.

Non est consuetum hominibus, horribilem carnem hominis comedere et sanguinem bibere. Aquin. III. 75. V. P. 357.

Odor, species sapor. pondus remanent, ut horror penitus tollatur, ne humanae infirmitas esum carnis et potum sanguinis in sumptione horreret. Bernard, 1682.

Consulens omnipotens Deus infirmitati nostrae, qui non habemus usum comedere carnem crudam et sanguinem bibere, fecit ut in pristina remanens forma illa duo munera. Alcuin in Pithou, 467.

Similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror cruoris, Pithou, 469. Neque decuisset manducare carnem Christi sub propria forma. Faber, 1. 127.

Si daretur in propria specie et sicut laniatur vel venditur in macello, quod esset horribile. Lyra in Cossart, 4. 457.

A communi hominum natura maxime abhorreat humanae carnis esca, aut sanguinis potione vesci, sapientissime fecit, ut sanctissimum corpus et sanguis sub earum rerum specie panis et vini nobis administraretur. Cat. Trid. 129.

partaker, says Pithou in the Canon Law, drinks the likeness of blood, and therefore no horror is excited, nor any thing done which might be ridiculed by pagans.' The statements of Faber and Lyra are to the same effect. According to the Trentine Catechism, 'the Lord's body and blood are administered under the species of bread and wine, on account of man's horror of eating and drinking human flesh and blood.' These descriptions are shocking, and calculated, in some measure, to awaken the horror which they pourtray.

The accidents, it appears, which remain after consecration, are like sugar, which conceals bitter medicine from a child and renders it pleasing and palatable. This is actually the simile of Hugo. He compares the forms of the bread and wine to the ingredients with which a physician would sweeten a bitter draught for a squeamish patient.[1] Human flesh and blood, clothed in this manner with the external appearance of bread and wine, may, according to popish divinity, be swallowed without any disgust or nausea; and with pleasure and good taste. The apology, however, is a very silly device. The same reason might excuse the Cannibals of New Zealand. The American savage might mix human gore with other food, and cover human flesh with something less offensive to the senses, so as to disguise the outward appearance, and then glut his appetite with a full meal. He would then enjoy the substance clothed with another exterior. All this, however, would not exempt the barbarian from the brutality of anthropophagy. The Romanist, on the supposition of the corporeal presence, swallows human flesh and blood as well as the Indian.

Algerus has suggested another reason for the manner, in which the Lord's body is administered in the sacrament.[2] This arises from a man's incapability of swallowing a human body in its natural dimensions. The capacity of the mouth, the learned divine seems to think, would not admit so large a supply, which therefore could not be submitted to the action of the teeth. The quantity would be too great for the expansion of the jaws or the process of mastication. A whole human crasis would, according to this author, exceed the powers of deglutition. The throat, being too contracted for its object, might fail at the swallow. But the substance being reduced to the size of a wafer is managed with the utmost facility. The whole, when enclosed in the host, goes down the gullet with convenience, ease, and rapidity.

Transubstantiation exposes the popish deity to be devoured,

[1] Sicut medicus fastidienti aegro austeram potionem per alienas dulcedines temperando saporat. Hugo in Lanfranc, 70.

[2] Du Pin, 2. 204.

not only by man, but also by the irrational animals. This divinity may yield a rich repast to mice, rats, vermin, worms, and every reptile that crawls on the earth. The smallest mouse, says Bernard, sometimes gnaws the species of the bread. An event of this kind proselyted Gage, author of the Survey, from Romanism. A sacrilegious mouse sallied forth, seized, and, in triumph, carried off the wafer God whom the priest had made. The priest alarmed the people, who, distracted like Micah of old about his Gods, began to search for the thief that had stolen their Almighty. The malefactor, that committed the depredation, escaped. The God, however, was found, but mutilated and mouse-eaten. The half-devoured Jehovah was carried in procession about the church amidst joyful and solemn music.[1] The transaction was the means of showing Gage, though a priest, the absurdity of his opinion, and teaching him a more rational system.

[1] Bernard, 1683. Gage, 197. Judges, xviii. 24.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

ITS CONTRARIETY TO SCRIPTURAL INSTITUTION—CONCESSIONS—ARGUMENTS—IT CONTRARIETY TO THE USAGE OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES—CONCESSIONS—ITS CONTRARIETY TO THE CUSTOM OF THE ORIENTAL CHRISTIANS—ORIGIN OF HALF-COMMUNION—COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASIL—INCONSISTENCY OF THE CONSTANTIAN AND BASILIAN CANONS—INCONSISTENCY OF THE BASILIAN ASSEMBLY WITH ITS OWN ENACTMENTS IN GRANTING THE CUP TO THE MORAVIANS AND BOHEMIANS—COUNCIL OF TRENT—OPPOSITION TO THE TRENTINE CANONS IN FRANCE, GERMANY, BOHEMIA, POLAND, AND HUNGARY.

COMMUNION in one kind, the child of transubstantiation, consists in the administration of the sacramental bread only, without the cup, to the laity and non-officiating clergy. Both elements, indeed, are always consecrated and received by the administrator. The sacrificial character of the institution, according to papal theology, requires the distinct consecration of the bread and the wine, in order to represent the separation of the body and blood of the immolated victim. The officiating priest participates in both species; but the people only in one. The cup, for the prevention of scandal and accidents, is withheld from the laity.[1]

Communion in one kind is contrary to Scriptural institution. The Divine Institutor administered both the bread and the wine to all who communicated: and commanded them to drink as well as to eat. He neither dispensed the sacrament, nor authorized its dispensation, under one form.[2]

This, indeed, has been granted, in general, by popish doctors and councils. Such is the admission of Pascal, Ragusa, Bellarmine, Erasmus, Gibert, and Cajetan. These acknowledge that 'our Lord instituted the sacrament under both species;' and they have been followed, in more modern times, by Bossuet, Gother, Petavius, Challenor, Du Pin, and Milner. The council of Constance makes a similar concession. The Lord, according to this assembly, 'instituted the sacrament,

[1] Labb. 16. 218. et 17. 317. et 20. 122. Paolo, VI. Bass. §. 17. Gother, e 21. Challenor, 52.

[2] Matth. xxvi. 27. Mark, xiv. 23. 1 Corin. xi. 28.

and administered it to his disciples in both elements of bread and wine.' The admission of the Trentine Synod, which acknowledges 'our Lord's administration of each species in the original institution,' is to the same purpose.[1]

But these theologians and synods, notwithstanding their concessions, have urged the propriety of half-communion. Their attempts at proof, however, in which they endeavour to throw obscurity over a plain subject, and to puzzle, when they cannot reason, are of the most awkward and contemptible kind. This question was discussed in a general congregation at Trent; and the arguments used on the occasion supply a specimen of the most egregious sophistry, trifling, and dissension that ever disgraced the annals of theology.

The manna in the wilderness, said these precious divines, which, under the Jewish dispensation, prefigured the sacramental bread, was used without wine. The Hebrew, wandering in the desert, was destitute of wine, and had to be contented with water from the rock: and, therefore, according to Trentine logic, the sacramental bread, under the Christian establishment, is, notwithstanding Christ's precept and example to the contrary, to be administered without the accompaniment of the cup. One cannot sufficiently admire the clearness and cogency of the Trentine dialectics.

The Jewish laity, according to the same theologians, were permitted to eat the flesh of the sacrificed animals; but not, on the occasion, to drink the offered wine. The priesthood, on the contrary, were allowed both the meat and drink. The Christian clergy, therefore, according to the infallible fathers, may use both the sacramental elements; whilst the laity, notwithstanding our Lord's command, are entitled only to one.

The Old Testament afforded the sacred synod a third proof and illustration. Jonathan, when in pursuit of the enemy, tasted honey from the top of his staff; but had nothing, on the occasion, to drink. The honey which the Hebrew prince found in the wood, was unaccompanied with wine: and, therefore, the bread in the communion is, with respect to the laity and even the non-administering clergy, to be disconnected with the cup.[2]

These and a few other instances that might be added, afford

[1] Per se panem, per se vinum, ab ipso Domino traditum. Pascal, Ep. 32. Labb. 12. 999. Christus in coena sub duplici specie tradidit. Ragusa in Labb. 17. 865. Christus instituit sub duplici specie. Bell. IV. 4. Præter auctoritatem Scripturæ Divinæ dimidium ejus sacramenti subtraherent laicis. Erasm. Con. Mon 1066. Gibert, 3. 331. Cajetan in Aquin. 3. 393.

Christus instituit et suis discipulis administravit sub utraque specie, panis et vini, hoc venerabile sacramentum. Labb. 16. 218. Dominus hoc sacramentum in panis et vini speciebus instituit. Labb. 20. 122.

[2] Paolo, 2. 205. Estius, 1. 330.

a specimen of the understanding and intelligence manifested by the Trentine doctors. The bishops, who seem to have possessed rather more common sense than the divines, became weary of the discussion. The episcopal patience was fairly exhausted by the tedious balderdash and prolix verbosity of the theological orators. Courayer, on Paolo, admits the vexatious and provoking weakness of the arguments used at Trent by the learned doctors.

The statements of the Trentine divines were as discordant as they were nonsensical. Each had his own opinion, which, however foolish or unfounded, he held with the utmost pertinacity. The spirit of faction also actuated the learned doctors. One party, consisting of sixty-three divines, attacked the different opinions of the rest without discrimination or mercy. The theological gladiators, in this manner, displayed the unity of Romanism in the holy council by unwearied altercation, diversity, and debate.

Gerson, followed by Bossuet, resolves the contrariety in the Scriptural and Popish manner of administration by summoning ecclesiastical exposition to their aid. Divine Revelation, which is the rule of faith, admits, according to this author, 'some interpretation.' Bossuet and a thousand other Romish doctors sing to the same tune, and subject the Lord's expression to the arbitrary explanation of the church or popish hierarchy.[1]

This kind of theological alchemy is an easy mode of transforming Revelation and removing a difficulty. Gerson and Bossuet had only to assume, as right, the gloss of the popish hierarchy, which these doctors dignify with the name of the church. But assumption is no proof. The principle, asserted by Gerson and Bossuet, would if admitted, substitute the commandments of men for the Revelation of heaven, and like the traditions of the Jewish Rabbins, 'make the word of God of none effect.' The gloss, in this case, would make the inspired language mean the direct contrary of what it says. The Scriptural expression enjoins the use of the cup on all, clergy and laity; while the popish interpretation would restrict it to the priesthood, to the utter exclusion of the people.

The council of Trent, differing from Gerson and Bossuet, arrogated, for the church, the power, not only of convenient and accommodating explanation, but also, retaining the substance, of changing and ordaining the mode of administration, according to the variety of circumstances, times, and places. This extraordinary position, the unerring doctors attempted to evince by a quotation from the book of inspiration. The apostle calls

[1] Gerson in Du Pin, 3. 49. Bossuet, Expo. §. 17.

the administrators of this institution, "the ministers of Christ and the stewards of the mysteries of God." The sacred synod must have been at a woful loss for an argument, when they adduced this citation, which, instead of supporting, overthrows their whole system. A minister or steward possesses no authority to violate the instructions of his master. His duty, on the contrary, is to execute the commands of his Lord, who has a right to exact obedience. Pope Pascal, accordingly, in reference to this sacrament, declared that 'it is necessary for the faithful servant always to obey his Lord, nor to depart, by a human and novel institution, from the precept and example of Christ his master:' and the hierarch, in consequence, enjoined entire communion on the whole church. Similar laws were enacted by Leo, Gelasius, and Urban.[1] The salutary directions of these pontiffs, had they been followed, would have prevented a world of superstition.

Challenor, Arsdekin, and many other doctors endeavour to remove the difficulty by another process. All to whom the cup, at the time of institution, was presented, were not laymen, but priests: and the use of the wine by the clergy affords no example for its distribution to the laity.[2] But this argument, if it prove any thing, proves too much, and evinces that neither elements is to be dispensed to the people. The bread as well as the wine, at the first celebration of this institution, was given only to the apostles; and Challenor, therefore, might as well infer that the former as that the latter are to be withheld from the laity.

The apostles, on this occasion, even on popish principles, represented the people. Their office, when they did not act in a sacerdotal capacity, could give them no title to whole communion. The lay communicants and the non-officiating clergy, in this respect are, according to the general councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent, precisely on an equality. These councils allow the cup only to the consecrating priest, and withhold it from the clergy, when they do not administer, as well as from the people. Challenor himself declares that 'no priest, bishop or pope, even on his death-bed, when not saying mass, receives otherwise than in one kind.' Another catechist states that 'there is no priest, though in the most exalted degree, but in private communion, receives as others do, in one kind.' But the apostles, at the appointment of the sacrament, performed no official part in the ceremony. The Son of God, in

[1] Necesse est Domino servus fidelis obtemperet, nec ab eo quod Christus magister et præcepit et gessit humana et novella institutione, dicedat. Labb. 12. 129. Du Pin, 2. 286. Mabillon, 6. 13. Bin. 7. 507.

[2] Challenor. 52. Arsdekin, c. 5.

person, blessed and distributed the elements. He alone, therefore, according to the popish usage, was entitled to both kinds; while the rest, as they did not consecrate, could, notwithstanding their office, partake only of one element. The Divine Institutor, therefore, showed little respect for the future councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent; or rather, these councils, in their retrospective canons, manifested little deference for the Divine Institutor. Our Lord, contrary to these sacred synods, commanded and exemplified whole communion, with respect to all who partook of the sacrament.[1]

The patrons of half-communion argue from the name, which, they suppose, is sometimes given to this institution in the New Testament. This ordinance, it has been alleged, Luke in his gospels and in the Acts, calls "the breaking of bread," without any mention of the cup. But this language, if it refer to the sacrament, must be synecdochal. A part must be put for the whole. The wine as well as the other element, must, even on popish principles, have been consecrated and received, at least by the administrator. Consecration and reception in both kinds is indispensable, as has been shown by Boileau, Bellarmine, Bossuet, Challenor, and Milner. Valentia characterized consecration in one kind as sacrilege; and the Jesuit's sentence, Mondolfo, an Augustinian, averred at the council of Trent, to be consentaneous with all the doctors and the whole church. The person, therefore, who invented this sophism, as well as those who have adopted it, must have been at a miserable loss for an argument. Their situation must have been like a drowning man, who, in the moment of desperation and extremity, will catch at a straw or a shadow.

Milner and many other advocates of half-communion, argue from Paul's words to the Corinthians, "whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup." This phrase, Milner would render, "whosoever shall eat this bread OR drink this cup;" and he accuses protestants of mistranslation. The distributive or, indeed, is the usual version of the original term. But the Alexandrian and Royal manuscripts, as well as the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic versions, and some ancient editions of the Latin Vulgate, agree, according to Bengelius, Wetstein, and Whitby, with our translation. The same may be said of Clemens, Cyril, and Athanasius. The disjunctive, besides, is often, in Greek, equivalent to the copulative. Mark's expression, "and who gave thee this authority," is, in Luke, according

[1] Labb. 17. 370. et 20. 122. Challenor, 55.

[2] Luke xxiv. 30. Acts ii. 42. et xx. 7. Si enim una species absque altera conficiatur, sacrilegium committur. Boileau, c. 13. Du Pin, 3. 550. Bellarmin, iv. 4. Challenor, 52. Milner, 316.

to the original, "or who gave thee this authority." Matthew's diction, "the law or the prophets," is, in Luke, agreeable to the Greek, "the law and the prophets." Paul, addressing the Romans, says, "to Abraham or his seed;" but to the Galatians, the Apostle says, "to Abraham and his seed." Many other examples of the kind might be added. The copulative conjunction, in like manner, is used by Paul to the Corinthians in the preceding and two following verses: and this shows that the intermediate expression is to be taken in the same sense.[1]

Half-communion is contrary, not only to scriptural institution, but also to the usage of the early and middle ages. A host of fathers might be summoned to testify for the whole communion of primitive times. From these may be selected the unquestionable authority of Ignatius, Justin, Chrysostom, and Jerome.[2] 'One bread,' says Ignatius, 'is broken, and one cup distributed to all.' 'The deacons,' says Justin, 'give to every one present to partake of the blessed bread and wine.' Chrysostom's attestation is to the same effect. 'One body and one cup,' says the Grecian saint, 'is presented to all.' According to Jerome, 'the priests who administer the communion, divide the Lord's blood among the people.'

The authority of Ignatius, Justin, Chrysostom, and Jerome evinces the integrity of communion in the Christian commonwealth for 400 years. Their testimony is clear and express: and might be corroborated by the evidence of many others, such as Dionysius, Irenæus, Cyprian, Cyril, and Augustine. The usage of later ages will appear from Leo, Gelasius, Urban, and Pascal.[3]

Pope Leo, in 443, commanded the Manicheans, who refused the sacramental cup, to be excommunicated. This denomination abhorred wine, which they called 'the gall of the dragon;'

[1] Cor. xi. 27. Milner, 318. Bengel. 6. 70. Wetstein, 2. 149. Whitby, 2. 193. Clem. Srom. I. P. 318. Lyra, 5. 51. Walton, 5. 704. Mill, 2. 381. Mark xi. 28. et Luke xx. 2. Matt. v. 17. et Luke xxiv. 44. Rom. iv. 13. et Gal. iii. 16.

[2] Ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη. Ignat. ad Philad. Cotel. 2. 77. Διάκονοι δίδοασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου. Justin, Ap. P. 96. Πᾶσιν ἓν σῶμα προκεῖται καὶ ἓν ποτήριον. Chrysos. 10 568. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. Sacerdotes eucharistiæ serviunt et sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt. Jerom. 3. 1671. in Sophon. c. 3.

[3] Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino desinent. Deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et proditi a sanctorum societate sacerdotali autoritate pellantur. Leo, Serm. 4. Bin. 3. 618. Labb. 5. 283.

Divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. Gelasius in Pithou, 454. Aquin. III. 80. XI. P. 393. Baron. 496. XX. Bruy. 1. 265.

Corpus Dominicum et sanguis Dominicus singulatim accipiatur. Urban in Oderic, VI. Labb. 12. 897, 896, 905. Mabillon, 6. 13.

Novimus per se panem, per se vinum ab ipso Domino traditum, quem morem sic semper in sancta ecclesia conservandum docemus et præcipimus. Pascal, Ep. 32. Labb. 12. 999. Mabillon, 6. 13. Il ordonne de donner à la communion les deux espèces separement. Bruy. 2. 593.

but attended the holy mystery to conceal their infidelity, and, in consequence, were the first that practised half-communion. Their disconformity, by which they were discovered, Leo termed 'sacrilegious dissimulation,' and ordered them to be expelled, by sacerdotal authority, from Christian society. Communion in one species, which distinguished this sect from other Christians, his holiness accounted a sacrilege worthy of excommunication.

Pope Gelasius, on a similar occasion, in 495, used still stronger and more explicit language. These men, said his holiness in the end of the fifth century, partook of the sacred body; but actuated by superstition, rejected the sacred blood. The hierarch enjoined the entire observance or the entire relinquishment of the institution; because 'the division of one and the same mystery could not be effected without great sacrilege.' His infallibility, in prospective anticipation, denounced the future defalcation in the mystery as sacrilege and superstition: and by his pontifical authority, enacted that the sacrament should be celebrated in both kinds.

Aquinas avers that Gelasius, in this instance, addressed only the clergy. He condescends, however, to give no reason for his assertion. Baronius, on the contrary, admits that the pontiff makes no mention of the clergy, to whom, therefore, the words, which are general, should not be confined. The Roman cardinal styles the angelic doctor's account a frigid solution of the difficulty. Binius, also, differing from Aquinas, represents the pontiff's enactment as a mere temporary expedient, adopted for a short period, on account of the present exigence, and contrary to former usage, which was afterwards to be resumed. This statement, like the other, is a mere assumption without evidence. The two, disagreeing in opinion, agree in substituting affirmation for proof. Cassander grants that the determinations of Leo and Gelasius are conclusive for the antiquity of entire communion. The language of these pontiffs, indeed, is general, and cannot, without the utmost violence, be restricted to the priesthood.

Urban, in 1095, presiding with his cardinals in the council of Clermont, consisting of 238 bishops, with a multitude of abbots and other persons, followed Leo and Gelasius. This pontiff, in a synod more numerous than the generality of universal councils, commanded 'the separate reception of the Lord's body and blood.' According to his infallibility, 'no person, except in cases of necessity, is to communicate at the altar, but must partake separately of the bread and wine.' Baronius and Binius suppose that this canon was issued against Berengarius, who, these authors allege, interdicted the use of the cup.

This, however, Berengarius never attempted: and if he had he would only have anticipated an unerring communion, and his prohibition, which would then have been heresy, would now be catholicism. Marca and Mabillon, therefore, in diametrical opposition to Baronius and Binius, have shown that Urban's injunction was directed against intinction, and was published before the introduction of half-communion into the Romish form of dispensation.

Pope Pascal, so late as 1118, issued enactments on this topic, similar to those of Leo, Gelasius, and Urban. 'Our Lord himself' said the hierarch, 'dispensed the bread and the wine, each by itself; and this usage we teach and command the holy Church always to observe.' But Popish Christendom soon learned to disregard his infallibility's injunctions as well as our Lord's example.

The determinations of Roman pontiffs are corroborated by the acknowledgements of popish theologians and councils. Such have been the concessions of Bellarmine, Baronius, Lyra, Erasmus, Cajetan, Courayer, Cassander, and Petavius.[1] The ancient church, say Bellarmine, Baronius, and Lyra, celebrated this institution in both kinds. Erasmus represents half communion as contrary to the ancient ecclesiastical custom. The ancients, according to Cajetan and Courayer, made no difference, on this point, between the priesthood and the people; but admitted both to the participation of the wine as well as of the other element. Cassander, among other strong expressions, avers that the person who has the hardihood to deny this fact must possess an abundant stock of effrontery. Similar admissions have been made by Bona, Salmeron, Valentia, Alphonsus, Lindan, Aquinas, La Cerda, Vasquesius, and whole files of other popish divines and historians.

The concessions of councils, on this point, correspond with those of theologians. Similar acknowledgments have been made by the Councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent.[2] The General Council of Constance, in its thirteenth session, grants that 'the

[1] Ecclesia vetus ministrabat sub duplici specie. Bell. IV. 4. Fideleso lim in ecclesia sub utraque specie, panis et vini communicarunt. Baron. 57. XLIV. In primitiva ecclesia, populus sub utraque specie communicarunt. Lyra in Labb. 17. 874. Erasm. Con. Mon. 1066. Tunc populus communicavit sub utraque specie. Cajetan in Aquin. 3. 395. L'ancienne eglise n' a jamais mis aucune distinction sur ce point entre les pretres et les laiques. Couray. in Paolo, 2. 206. Non putem aliquem paulo cordatiorem tam impudentem esse. Cassan. Ep. 25. In prima impudentium hominum classe. Petavius, c. 5.

[2] In primitiva ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie. Labb. 16. 218. Ab ecclesia et sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta, et hactenus diutissime observata. Labb. 17. 370. Lenfant, 2. 70. Ab initio Christianæ religionis non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuit; tamen progressu temporis satissime jam mutata illa consuetudine. Labb. 20. 122. Gibert, 3. 331 Thuam 2. 251.

faithful, in the primitive church, received this sacrament in each kind. This language is clear, express, and decisive.

The general Council of Basil in its thirtieth session acknowledged that half communion was an innovation. The Basilians called this retrenchment 'a rational and praiseworthy custom, introduced by the church and holy fathers, and observed for a long lapse of time.' The usage, which, in this manner was introduced, though at a distant date, into Christendom, was later in its commencement than the era of redemption.

The general Council of Trent, in its twenty-first session, admitted the same in still clearer language. According to this convention, 'both elements were often used from the beginning of the Christian religion; but, in process of time, this usage was changed, for just and weighty reasons.' The sacred synod here expressly acknowledges the former use and posterior retrenchment of the sacramental cup.

The half-communion of the Latins, varying, in this manner, from all antiquity, is also a variation from the custom of all other Christians, Eastern and Western, at the present day. The Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians, and Syrians, all these, in word and deed, deprecate the popish mutilation of the sacrament. Some, as the Armenians, use intinction; and others, as the Greeks, administer the two elements mixed in a spoon. But all consider both as necessary, in some way, for the institution. The Western Waldensians agreed on this subject, with several oriental denominations: and these again have been followed by the friends of protestantism, dispersed through the world.[1]

The only denomination of antiquity who practised half-communion, were the Manicheans, from whom the Latins seem to have adopted it. The advocates of catholicism appear to have copied the error from the adherents of heresy. Leo and Gelasius in the fifth century denounced the system as sacrilege and superstition, and excommunicated its partizans.[2] Their successors, at a future day, transferred the heresy, with all its accompanying anathemas, into the theology of Romanism.

The Manicheans and Latins, however, in the rejection of the cup, were actuated by different reasons. The conduct of the one proceeded from deep abhorrence; but of the other, from excessive veneration, for the sacramental wine. The Manicheans accounted wine the gall of the dragon, and refused to drink. The Latins reckoned it the blood of the Messiah, and relin-

[1] Eamdem quam reliqui omnes in Oriente Christiani. Renaudot, 2. 614. Paolo, II. More, 199. Godeau, 1. 274, 275. Labb. 12. 905, 906.

[2] A sumptione calicis superstitiose abstinebant. Bin. 3. 618. Labb 5. 282 Aquinas, 3. 393. Bruy. 1. 224, 265.

guished its use through fear of profanation, effusion, or other accidents. The two extremes, in this instance as in many others, met. Half-communion is the child of transubstantiation, and was the consequence of the superstitious dread or horror which men began to harbour for the supposed blood of Emmanuel.

This mutilation of the sacrament entered Christendom by slow progressive steps. These steps were intinction, suction, and then half-communion. Intinction, which consisted in dipping the bread in the wine before its presentation to the communicant, entered at an early date. The council of Braga, in 575, condemned this superstition, which had so soon begun to infest the Christian commonwealth. Micrologus wrote against this error, which had become frequent in the eleventh century: and Urban, in the Council of Clermont, issued an enactment against this superstitious mode of communion.[1]

The second step to the defalcation of the cup consisted in suction. Pipes or quills were annexed to the chalice, through which the devout communicant sucked the wine, or, as it was then thought, the blood, with great piety and precision. These sacred tubes were commonly made of silver, as they were the channels through which, as was alleged, flowed the blood of Emmanuel.[2]

The design of this ecclesastical instrument was to prevent the spilling of the Divine fluid, or the irreverent intrusion of the men's beards. Its introduction, however, must have thrown an air of ridicule over the whole scene. The act of sucking, practised in this manner, could only tend to burlesque the institution, provoke the satirist to laugh, and cover the whole ceremony with contempt. The mummery of the mass, indeed, has, in every age been a ludicrous spectacle. An apostle or primitive Christian, could he lift his head from the grave and behold such an exhibition of folly, would be wholly at a loss to unriddle its meaning: and, if informed of its design must be filled with indignation at the parody on the Divine ordinance, and with pity for the deluded, but ridiculous votary of superstition.

The era of half-communion can be ascertained with facility and precision. No vestige of it appears in the annals of the twelfth or any preceding century. Anno 1095, the council of Clermont enjoined the separate dispensation of the bread and

[1] Labb. 7. 580 et 12. 832, 1000. Micrologus, c. 26. Mabillon, 6. 13.

[2] Erat fistula, qua sanguis Christi a communicantibus hauriebatur. Du Cange, 2. 167. Mabillon, 4. 496. Fagillaris quibus sanguis a Domin. co calice exugebatur. Du Cange, 5. 963. On se servit de chalumeaux comme on faisoit autrefois dans l'eglise Romaine. Paolo, 2. 214.

wine to the people. Pascal, in 1118, enacted a similar regulation. Bernard, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, writing expressly on the subject of the Lord's supper, stated 'the form of administration,' which, in his account, 'comprehended bread and wine, dispensed separately and received by the people.'[1] The retrenchment, therefore, was unknown in his day. The Saint of Clairvaux, in all his stores of knowledge, had heard nothing of this innovation.

The integrity of the sacrament in the twelfth century, has been acknowledged by Mabillon and Mezeray. Whole communion, says Mabillon, flourished without any change in the year 1121. He fixes the introduction of the mutilation in the middle of the twelfth age. But its use, at that time, could extend only to a few instances. According to Mezeray, 'the people communicated in both kinds, in the twelfth century.' Similar concessions have been made by Bona, Cassander, Petavius, Marca, Courayer, Valentia, and other Romish authors.[2]

Communion in one kind was the child of the thirteenth century. The deformity was ushered into life at this era, and, nourished by the belief of transubstantiation, the superstition of the human mind, and the dread of profaning the supposed blood of God, soon grew from feeble infancy to full maturity. Its reception was partial in the begining of the age; but extended towards its close, through nearly the whole of popish Christendom.

Its origin and spread, during this period, appear from the testimony of Bonaventure and Aquinas. Bonaventure, who died in 1274, mentions its introduction 'into some churches.' Aquinas, Bonaventure's contemporary, makes a similar statement. According to both these saints, its observance was not universal, but restricted, and did not extend to the whole, but only to a part. Marca, in consequence, remarks that 'the use of one sacramental emblem did not simultaneously invade all the Occidental churches.' Some received it at an earlier and others at a later period. Aquinas, says Marca, was consulted on the propriety of this usage: and on his answer in the affirmative, all with emulation embraced the novelty.[3]

[1] Formam præscriptio in pane et vino. Sacrum panem, sacrum tradens et vinum. Bernard, in Coen. Dom. 1079. Curo Christi et sanguis, qui in altari a fidelibus sumitur. Bernard in Coen. Dom. Serm. 14. p. 1360. Du Pin, 2. 222. Mabillon, 6. 13. Labb. 12. 999.

[2] Communionem sub utraque specie adhuc immutabiliter vigebisse, anno MCXXI. Communio sub utraque specie jam desierat medio sæculo duodecimo. Mabillon, 6. 14. On communioit encore en ce temps là sous les deux espèces. Mazeray, 2. 679, 680. Bona, II. 18. Petav. c. 3. Marca, in Labb. 12. 905. Courayer. in Fool. 2. 208. Veten. c. 10.

[3] Adhuc in aliquibus ecclesiis servatum, ut solus sacerdos communicet sanguine; reliqui vero corpore. Bonaven. in John VI. In quibusdam ecclesiis observatum,

This usage, adopted by the people, was afterward established by the Councils of Constance, Basil, and Trent. 'This reasonable custom, introduced by the church and very long observed,' the General Council of Constance, in its thirteenth session, enacted into a law, and denounced all its impugners as heretics, who should be punished by the diocesans, their officials, and the inquisition.'[1] The space which the council accounted very long from its adoption by the church, was about 200 years.

The Constantian council in its decision, declared the reasonableness of curtailing the wine in the communion of the laity. These reasons, which are ludicrous rather than convincing, have been enumerated by Gerson, Ragusa, and the council of Trent. The expense of wine sufficient for such multitudes of people; the danger of spilling it at the altar, or in carrying it over fields, woods, and mountains, to the sick; the fear of contamination in dirty vessels, or by the touch of the laity; its liability to sour and become vinegar, and by this means to occasion idolatry; its tendency to putrefy and produce flies and worms; the disgust which might arise from so many drinking out of the same cup; the dread of the holy fluid's freezing and becoming ice; the apprehension of the men's beards dipping in daring and unseemly irreverence into the sacred liquor, which was accounted the blood of Emmanuel; all these reasons and several others, were urged in favour of the retrenchment.[2]

The reasons are better fitted to provoke laughter, than to produce conviction. But the Cardinal of Angelo adduced a reason which is shocking rather than ridiculous. The cardinal, in a Roman consistory, and without any reprehension from his holiness, declared that 'the sacramental wine, if administered to laymen, is poison rather than medicine; and that the death of the patient would be better than his recovery effected by such a remedy.' Francisco, a Jesuit, urged similar blasphemy in a general congregation at the council of Trent. 'Satan,' the Jesuit averred, 'was tempting the synod to grant the people a cup of poison, under the appearance of the Lord's blood.'[3]

The enactment of Constance was renewed and confirmed at

at populo sumendus sanguis non detur. Aquinas, III. 80. XII. Consuetudo illa unius symboli non statim invasit omnes ecclesias occidentis. Marca, in Labb. 12. 905.

[1] Hujusmodi consuetudo habenda est pro lege, quam non licet reprobare. Asserentes oppositum, tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt, et graviter puniendi per diocesanos locorum seu officiales eorum, aut inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis. Labb. 16. 218.

[2] Ragusa in Labb. 17. 883. Paolo, 2. 212. Du Pin, 3. 552. Arsdekin, 1. 223

[3] Il ne donneroit jamais pour medicine aux Francois un calice rempli de poison. Paolo, 2. 117. Satan faisoit presentement presenter au people une coupe de poison sous le veale du calice. Paolo, 2. 212.

Basil. The general council, in 1437, in its thirtieth session, 'denied the obligation of the laity or non-officiating clergy, by any divine command, to partake in both kinds; admitted the profitableness of communion, in each way, to the worthy, according to the institution and observance of the church; and established by law the custom of participating in one element.'[1]

The Basilians varied from the Constantian decision. The Constantians denounced as heresy, what the Basilians represented as agreeable to the institution of the church. The former excommunicated as obnoxious to punishment and the inquisition, those whom the latter described as worthy of communion and salvation. The one authorised as Catholicism, what the other condemned as heresy.'[2]

The Basilians differed from themselves, as well as from the Constantians.[3] The sacred synod, notwithstanding their own decision, granted the participation of the cup to the Bohemians and Moravians. This indeed became, in some measure, a matter of necessity. Mathias, Jacobel, and Huss had, at the hazard of martyrdom, taught and established whole communion in the kingdom of Bohemia. Determined to maintain their freedom, and headed by Zisca, the ablest general, though blind, that ever took the field, the brave Bohemians withstood all the temporal and spiritual artillery of the popedom; and extorted by force, the concession which was refused to reason. The integrity of the sacrament, which the Basilians allowed the Bohemians, was a violation of their own law, issued in favour of half-communion.

This subject, on which the councils of Constance and Basil had decided, came before the council of Trent in its twenty-first session. The Trentine discussion, poll, and canons, on this topic, as delineated by the pens of Paolo and Du Pin, opened a scene of diversity, contention, chicanery, and folly, unequalled in all the annals of the Reformation, or in the records of any assembly, civil, ecclesiastical, or literary.

The Trentine discussion of this question exhibited all the charms of variety. The divines, in a general congregation, wrangled in endless altercation, and exhausted the patience of the bishops. A faction of sixty-three doctors opposed the opinions of all the rest. The prelates differed like the theologians. Cardinal Mandruccio argued in the council for the restoration of the cup, and was followed by the bishops of Otranto, Praga, Coimbra, Modena, Leria, and Ossimo. The patriarchs of Aquileia, Venice, and Jerusalem, supported the contrary, and

[1] Sive sub una specie, sive sub duplici quis communicet, secundum ordinationem seu observantiam ecclesiæ, proficit digne communicantibus ad salutem. Labb. 17 370. [2] Bray. 4. 119 [3] Labb. 17. 1271. Lenfant, 2, 42

were followed by the bishops of Rossano, Philadelphia, Lava, Braga, Leon, Almeria, Lugo, and Imola. Fifty, possessing the greatest intelligence and piety, advocated a return to the primeval usage. This the Spanish and Venetians, actuated by various motives, opposed with the utmost obstinacy.[1]

This diversity in the discussion was succeeded by equal variety in the poll. A hundred and forty-six voted. Twenty-nine voted for the restoration of the cup, and thirty-eight against it. Fourteen were for deferring the decision, and ten for sending a delegation to Germany, to investigate the subject. Twenty-four would refer the question to the pontiff, and thirty-one to the prelacy.[2]

The majority that voted against the restoration of the cup, was changed into a minority by legatine cabal and finesse. The legates, who wished to refer all to the pope, engaged Lamellino and Visconto to use their influence for this purpose with the opposition. The patriarchs yielded to the address of the two bishops, and drew with them the Venetians, who were numerous. Their plans, in consequence, succeeded, and a discretionary power of granting or refusing the cup to the laity was vested in the Roman pontiff. The majority of an unerring synod, in this manner, issued a decision, which was afterward reversed by a minority, augmented by intrigue into a majority.[3]

The Trentine canons, notwithstanding the jarring debate and suffrage, were strong and express in favour of half-communion. The infallible assembly declared the lawfulness and validity of participation in one species, the illegality of rejecting the synodal sentence or attributing error to the church, and cursed, as usual, all who dissented. Divided among themselves, and changing their decisions at the nod of the pontiff, or the cabals of the prelacy, the holy synod launched its anathemas, with the most liberal profusion, against all who should suspect them of error or resist their tyranny.[4]

The popish priesthood and people, dispersed through the European nations, were, like those which met at Trent, divided in their opinions. Spain and Italy dissented from France, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The Spanish and Italians were against the restoration of the sacramental cup. The application for this purpose, the Spanish and Italian clergy opposed with all their oratory and influence in the Roman consistory and council of Trent: and even stigmatized the French

[1] Paolo, 2. 264, 265. Du Pin, 3. 544—570.

[2] Du Pin, 3. 568, 569.

[3] Totum negotium ad Pontificem retulit. Thuan. XXXIII. 1. Paolo, 2. 290.

[4] Ecclesia hanc consuetudinem sub altera specie communicandi approbavit, et pro lege habendam decrevit. Labb. 20. 122, 123. Gibert, 3. 331.

and Germans, who solicited the return of this privilege, with the imputation of heresy.[1]

The French king, clergy, and people, on the contrary, insisted on the integrity of the sacrament. The king of France, in 1561, requested this favour for himself and his subjects. The petition was afterward renewed at Trent. The French sovereign supplicated the renewal of the law of Leo and Gelasius, which enacted the use of both elements in the communion. The petition, indeed, was rejected; but it showed, nevertheless, the mind of the nation, on the integrity of the institution.[2]

The Germans, clergy, and laity, supported the motion of the French. The Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, and the other princes of Germany laboured for this purpose both in the Trentine council, and afterward at the Roman court. The Emperor's ambassador in the council represented whole communion as the anxious desire of Germany, Hungary, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, Bavaria, and Swabia. All the friends of Catholicism, in these states, which contained such an immense population, urged the claims with an impatience that bordered on rebellion. One fact, mentioned in the council of Trent, will show the zeal of the Germans in this cause. These, when asked for supplies against the Turks, who were ready to enter not only Hungary, but also Germany and the neighbouring nations, refused, till the integrity of communion should be restored.

The people of Bohemia and Hungary showed, if possible, still more anxiety. This appears from the strong, but indeed unwarrantable arguments which they used to effect their purpose. The laity, in these states, forced the clergy to dispense the sacramental cup by threatening them, if they refused, with the loss of life and property. Such conduct, indeed, was indefensible. The use of menace and compulsion, on questions of religion and conscience, is unscriptural. But the fact manifested their zeal, if not their knowledge, in their efforts to obtain their end.[3]

Such were the variations of Romanism, on the subject of the communion. A church boasting of immutability, changed and disputed in reckless inconsistency. The usage of Jesus, his apostles, and antiquity, observed for 1200 years, was repealed by the infallible council of Constance, followed by those of Basil and Trent. The change was adopted from the Manicheans, who were the partizans of heresy, and whose aversion to the eucharistic cup was denounced by Leo and Gelasius, as sacrilege

[1] Paolo, 2. 219, 220, 399. Thuan. 2. 416. Du Pin, 3. 552.
[2] Paolo, 2. 116. Du Pin, 3. 522. Thuan. 2. 361.
[3] Paolo, 2. 220. Du Pin, 3. 551. 552, 564. Thuan. 2. 361. 441. Bruy. 4. 621.

and superstition. The synod of Basil, which confirmed the law of half-communion, but admitted the utility of reception in both kinds, varied from the assembly of Constance, which consigned the participators in the cup to the inquisitors of heretical pravity. The council of Trent, disputing and divided among themselves, determined by a majority for withholding the cup from the people: and shortly afterward, changed by papal intrigue, resolved, by another majority, to confer on the Roman pontiff a discretionary power of granting whole communion to the laity. The popish clergy and laity dispersed through European Christendom, differed about the canons issued, on this question, at Trent. Spain and Italy, in general, condemned whole communion, which was demanded with ardour and anxiety in France, Germany, Bohemia Poland, Hungary, and several smaller states.

CHAPTER XV.

EXTREME UNCTION.

VARIATIONS ON ITS EFFECTS—DISAGREEMENT ON ITS INSTITUTION—THE SCRIPTURAL AND POPISH UNCTION VARY IN THEIR ADMINISTRATOR, SIGN, FORM, SUBJECT, AND END—RECOVERY OF HEALTH THE SCRIPTURAL END OF ANOINTING THE SICK—TRADITIONAL EVIDENCE—HISTORY OF EXTREME UNCTION

EXTREME unction in the Popish system, consists in the sacramental application of oil to the sick, for the remission of sin. The administrator is a priest or bishop. The subject is the sick, who, to all human appearance, are at the point of death. The sign is oil, consecrated by episcopal benediction. The form requires the application of the sign to the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, feet, and, if the patient be a male, to the reins, accompanied with prayer.

Popish doctors, notwithstanding their pretended unity, vary, as Faber, Bellarmine, Estius, and Dens have shown, on the effect of this unction. Dens has enumerated no less than ten different opinions, entertained on this point in the Romish communion. The chief differences, however, may be reduced to four, which have given rise to four factions in Papal Christendom.

One faction, patronised by Bonaventure, Fleury, Challenor, and the Trent Catechism, reckon the effect of this ceremony, the remission of venial sins. But this opinion has been rejected by others, such as Aquinas, Soto, Valencia, Scotus, Faber, and many moderns. A second party, supported by Estius, Dens, and the council of Mentz, as well as by other divines, extend its effects to the dismission of mortal transgressions. This theory, however, has been deprecated by Aquinas, Soto, Valentia, Scotus, Bellarmine, Faber, and many other theologians, because mortal offences are pardoned in baptism, and afterwards in penance. A third class include both venial and mortal sins in the effect of this unction. This, according to the interpretation of Estius and Calmet, was the doctrine of the council of Trent, which conferred on this ceremony the power of cancelling unexpiated and remaining transgressions.

This explanation, therefore, embracing both trifling and heinous sins, sins both of frailty and enormity, is clothed by the Trentine dictators with all the glory of infallibility.

A fourth description ascribe the effect of this institution neither to venial nor mortal iniquity, but to weakness, infirmity, and the remains of sin. This, which some reckon the common opinion, has been sanctioned by Aquinas, Soto, Valentia, Durandus, and many moderns. But these doctors, differing from others, differ also among themselves on the meaning attached to the remains of sin. Valentia, in the remains of sin, comprehends aversion to good and inclination to evil; while Bellarmine and others, at the expense of a little inconsistency, extend it to venial and mortal offences, as well as to sorrow and anxiety.[1]

Popish doctors vary in the institution of this sacrament, as well as on its effects. Lombard and several since his day, refer its institution to mere apostolic authority; while others attribute its appointment to our Lord, and its promulgation to the apostle James. Some identify this ceremony with the anointing mentioned by Mark in his gospel. Such were Beda, Cajetan, Arsdekin, Maldonat, and the Rhemish annotators, as well as the Trent Catechism, and the councils of Milan, Sens, and Augsburg. Many, on the contrary, distinguish between the apostolic ceremony recorded by Mark, and the sacramental rite mentioned by James. Such were Jonas, Valentia, Bellarmine, Faber, and Dens, as well as the councils of Worms, Cologne, Florence, and Trent.[2]

The council of Trent, puzzled and inconsistent, displayed, on this occasion, a striking variety. This unerring assembly

[1] Effectus non uno modo ab omnibus explicatur. Quidam de remissione venialium intelligunt. Alii de peccatis mortalium Apostolum exponunt. Ad omnia cujuscumque generis peccata extendendum videtur. Peccati reliquias abstergit. Estius, 2. 1145. Labb. 19. 1412.

Peccata venialia remittit. Cat. Trid. 169. Fleury, 246. Challenor, 113. Rivera, c. 7. Faber, 2. 262.

Quidam dicunt contra veniale ordinatur; sed hoc non videtur verum. Aquinas, 3. 465. Faber, 2. 259.

Aquinas, Soto, Valentia, et multi recentiores asserunt proprium effectum hujus sacramenti non esse abstergere et delere peccata venialia; sed esse sanare et abstergere peccatorum reliquias. Non conveniunt Doctores hujus opinionis. Faber, 2. 259, 260.

Peccata mortalia remittit. Dens, 7. 18. Estius, 2. 1145. Non intelligitur de peccato mortali. Faber, 2. 259.

Infert Scotus illud non potest intelligi de peccatis mortalibus. Omnes asserunt peccata mortalia dimitti solum per poenitentiam. Faber, 2. 253, 261.

Concilium Tridentinum inquit effectum hujus sacramenti esse peccata, si quæ sint, delere, et reliquias peccati abstergere. Faber, 2. 260.

Delicta, si quæ adhuc expiandæ et peccati reliquias abstergit. Labb. 20. 98.

[2] Unctiones adhibitæ ab Apostolis, non erant sacramentales. Dens, 7. 2. Faber, 2. 257. Paolo, 1. 377. Jonas, III. 14. Dachery, 1. 316. Arsdekin, 1. 246. Beda, 5. 693. Labb. 10. 467, and 19. 269.

had declared that this sacrament was instituted by Jesus and recorded by Mark. But a divine who was present, and who possessed rather more sense than his fellows, remarked that this ceremony could not have been observed at that time, as the apostles, even according to the Trentine assembly, were not then priests, and were, therefore, incapable of administering it. The meddling theologian disconcerted the sacred synod. The holy fathers, embarrassed by the inconsistency, began to invent means of disentangling themselves from the contradiction. Extreme unction, said the infallible assembly, was not instituted, but merely INSINUATED in Mark, and afterward published in James. The institution was, with the utmost facility, transubstantiated by these theological jugglers into an insinuation. The holy men insinuated what they feared to affirm. The unction of the Evangelist became, in the hands of the wise and learned Trentines, an insinuated sacrament. But the insinuation of the sacred council was, under the auspices of its authors, destined to make another change, and return to its ancient form. The insinuation was again transubstantiated into an institution. The council's canon declared extreme unction a true sacrament, instituted by Jesus and published by James: and then thundered anathemas against all who should gainsay.[1]

The Rhemists, with a happy versatility, discovered another plan of interpretation. These expositors, by their magic touch, transformed the anointing related in the gospel into the figure of a sacrament. The apostles, it seems, though at that time no priests, and incapable of performing this ceremony in reality, administered it in metaphor. The Trentine insinuation became a Rhemish trope. The sacrament of the council degenerated, in the laboratory of these annotators, into a mere emblem. This, no doubt, was very clever and ingenious, and, though a little at variance with many other expositions in the same unchangeable communion, removed all difficulty. Popish councils and commentators, in this manner, could transform an unction into a metaphor, an institution into an insinuation, and the insinuation back again into an institution, with as much ease as an alchemist, in his own crazy mind, could transmute copper into gold, or a priest, in the credulity of superstition, could transubstantiate a wafer into a God.

Extreme unction is a variation from scriptural unction. The Scriptural and Romish institution differ in the administration, sign, form, subject, and end. The Popish unction requires but one administrator. This has been defined by Pope Alexander

[1] Paolo, 1. 570. Faber, 2. 253. Cat. Trid. 167. Labb. 20. 98. 102. Estius, 3. 1443. Rivers, c. 7.

and Benedict, as well as by the Trentine council. A solitary priest, unaided and alone, can, with facility and dispatch, perform the whole ceremony in all its diversified evolutions, and in all its modern additions and improvements. The scriptural unction, recommended by the pen of inspiration, requires, on the contrary, a plurality of administrators. The sick person was to 'call for the elders of the church.' The words which signify the anointing and the prayer are in the plural number, indicating beyond all question, the necessity of more than one dispensator.[1]

Extreme and Scriptural unction differ also in their sign. The sign of both, indeed, is oil. But the oil of the popish ceremony must be consecrated by a bishop, and the consecration is attended with a world of superstition and chicanery. The Romish institution, celebrated with any other kind of oil, is invalid. Should the administrator, through mistake, use chrism, he is instructed by the council of Milan to repeat the ceremony, and apply the proper sign. The holy oil only, is, in this ordinance, possessed of any efficacy. The primeval Christians knew nothing of these superstitions. The use of the ceremony, stated by the sacred historian Mark, was, according to the council of Trent, prior to the existence of the priestly or episcopal order: and the unguent, therefore, employed at that time, was guiltless of episcopal benediction.[2]

The modern and primitive unctions differ in their form, as well as in their administrator and sign. The form of the Popish rite, consisting in anointing and prayer, is one continued scene of superstition, balderdash, and indecency. The priest makes the sign of the cross three times on the sick person, in the name of the Trinity. The imposition of the sacerdotal hands, and the invocation of angels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, are used for the extinction of the power of the devil, and every unclean spirit in the patient's members, marrow, and every joint of his limbs. The priest then dips his thumb in the holy ointment, and anoints the sick person in the form of a cross on the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and feet. These organs are then wiped with cotton, which is burned, and the ashes, for fear of profanation, are thrown into the sacrarium. Even the water with

[1] Minister hujus sacramenti est sacerdos. Labb. 20. 101. Bin. 8. 866. Non a pluribus, sed ab uno. Estius, 2. 1142. Dens, 7. 25.

[2] Materia est oleum olivarum. Consecratio episcopalis est necessaria. Faber, 2. 254. Bin. 8. 866. Crabb. 3. 506.

Non nisi oleo per episcopum benedicto fas est hanc sacram unctionem peragi. Estius, 2. 1142. Rit. Rom. 96.

Les Apôtres n'etoient point encore prêtres. Calmet, Com. 19, 20.

which the priest washes his hands is, for the same reason, poured into a clean and retired place.[1]

The administration of this observance adds indecency to superstition. The patient, except in women and Monks, is anointed on the loins or reins, because, says the Roman Ritual, this is the seat of lasciviousness and pleasure.[2] This part of the ceremony is of the most revolting description, and is expressed in the language of grossness and indelicacy. The whole scene, as represented in their formulas, must, to every mind possessing the least sensibility or refinement, present a spectacle of loathing and disgust.

This ceremony sometimes assumes a truly ridiculous appearance. The sacerdotal thumb is the usual instrument in conveying the greasy application. But when pestilence prevails and contagion threatens, the priest may apply the sacramental oil with a long rod. This, he dips with due gravity into the blessed fluid: and standing at a respectful distance to avoid infection, he extends his wand in proper form and in a graceful manner, to the sick, whom, to escape danger, he anoints with this simple but useful ecclesiastical machine, instead of his precious thumb. The rod, having by this means administered the sacrament of the dying, and communicated all the virtues of the holy ointment, is burned, and the ashes, with proper attention, cast into some sacred place.[3] The simplicity of the Apostolical institution presents a complete contrast to this display of complicated folly, uncountenanced by one hint of revelation or a single monument of Christian antiquity.

The Apostolic and Popish unctions differ in the persons to whom they are to be administered. The latter is applied only to those who, in all human appearance, are departing, and, in consequence, has been called the sacrament of the dying. The sacerdotal physician never administers this spiritual prescrip-

[1] Intincto pollice in oleo sancto, in modum crucis ungit infirmum. Sacerdos tingat loca inuncta novo globulo bombacii, et comburat, cineresque projiciat in sacrarium. Rit. Rom. 96, 97.

Lavat manus et lavatio non nisi in loco mundo et abdito solet effundi. Ulderic III 28. Dachery, 1. 700. Dens, 7. 6.

[2] Septima in organo principali generativæ. Faber, 2. 254. Renes, velut voluptatis et libinis sedes, unguntur. Cat. Trid. 168. Super inguines per ardorem libidinis. Dachery, 1. 700.

Quoad renes, non est decens, præsertim in foeminis et viris religiosis. Arsdekin, 2. 378. Rit. Rom. 93.

[3] Peste grassante, potest uti virga oblonga oleo tincta, quam postea comburat Arsdekin. 2. 378

Penicillo inungatur corpus ægrotos peste infecti. Licet, in eo casu, inungere ægroadhibita virga, cujus extrema parte sit gossypium oleo sacro imbutum. Dens, 8. 79, 166.

tion, while there is any expectation of recovery. The sacred unction is always intended as a mittimus to eternity.[1]

The Apostolic unction was administered to weak or infirm persons. Mark and James, indeed, use two different terms on this subject; but both, according to their derivation and their usual acceptation, signify 'without strength,' and include all who are in a state of weakness and infirmity. The words of the Evangelist and the Apostle never imply that severity of sickness or of pain, which preclude all hopes of recovery, and which, in a short time, commonly issues in death. The expression used by James is applied to the woman who had 'a spirit of infirmity' eighteen years, whom Jesus healed in Judea, and to the diseased persons who came to Paul in the island of Melita and were cured. Those who could visit Jesus and Paul could not be labouring under severe complaints, or such as would indicate a speedy dissolution.[2]

But the great and leading distinction between the Scriptural and Romish unction consists in the end or effect. The effect of the former referred to the body; but of the latter to the soul. The ancients anointed the infirm for the expulsion of sickness and the restoration of strength. The moderns anoint the dying for the pardon of sin and the conveyance of grace. The one used it as a miraculous and temporary remedy for the recovery of health; and the other as an ordinary and permanent sacrament for the attainment of salvation. The design of the primitive ceremony was to enable men to live; but of the present superstition to prepare them to die.[3]

The popish communion, indeed, both in its ancient and modern rituals, refers, on this topic, to the body as well as to the soul; and to the recovery of health as well as to the pardon of sin. But its modern usage displays a striking aberration from the scriptural model. Romanism makes the recovery of health conditional, which revelation makes absolute: and the remission of sins absolute, which revelation makes conditional. The Lord, says James, without any condition, "will raise him up." But the recovery, in the Romish theology, is clogged with the condition of expedience. The expiation of iniquity, on the contrary, is, in scriptural language, united with the condition, "if he have committed sin." But forgiveness, in the

[1] Hoc sacramentum nisi infirmo, de cujus morte timetur dari non debet. Labb. 18. 550. Exeuntibus à corpore detur. Aquin. 3. 146. Cat. Trid. 168. Rit. Rom. 91. Labb. 20. 98. Erasmus, 6. 174.

[2] Mark, vi. 13. James v. 14. Luke xiii. 11. Acts xxviii. 9.

[3] L'onction qu' employient les Apostres regardoit principalement les maladies du corps; au lieu que l'onction des malades, qui se fait dans l'eglise, a pour premier objet les maladies de l'âme. Calmet, Comm. 19. 50. Le salut de son ame est l'objet de ce sacrement. Calm. Comm. 24. 80.

popish system, is attached to the unction without any condition. This variation and perversion are evidently intended for the purpose of accommodating the statement of revelation to a system of superstition.[1]

The declaration of Mark, compared with the injunction of James, will clearly shew the truth of the protestant interpretation, which refers the words to the body and the recovery of health. The two inspired penmen, it is plain, allude to the same ceremony. Both mention the same agents, actions, patients, and effects. This has been shewn by Bede, Œcumenius, Jonas, Lyra, Cajetan, Erasmus, D'Achery, Maldonat, and Arsdekin, as well as by the Rhemish annotators, and the councils of Milan, Sens, Augsburg, and Trent. The latter assembly, in all its infallibility, identified the history of Mark and the direction of James.[2]

The effect, therefore, of these two identical rites must be the same. The healing of Mark and the upraising of James may be reckoned synonymous expressions. The former, it is clear, refers to recovery from disease and restitution to bodily health. This exposition is sanctioned by the authority of Bede, Jonas, Œcumenius, Calmet, Cajetan, and many other popish commentators. The statement of James, says Cajetan, 'does neither in word nor effect signify sacramental unction, but that ceremony instituted by our Lord, and applied by his disciples for the recovery of the sick.' The cardinal, like Bede, Jonas, Œcumenius, and Calmet, delivered the plain meaning of the passage, which will approve itself to every unprejudiced mind.[3] Let the Romish priest, then, in this way, cure the patient, and the Protestant has no objection. Let him accomplish the original design of the scriptural institution, and in this convincing manner, shew his power and authority. Let him free the sick from the pains of the fever, the dropsy, the consumption, or any other

[1] Estius, 2. 1114. Rit. Rom. 90. James v. 14, 15.

[2] Hoc et Apostolis fecisse in evangelio legimus. Beda, 5. 693. Jonas, iii. 14. Dachery, 1. 316.

Τουτο δι Αποστολοι εποιουν. Œcumen. in loc. Ex hoc patet, quod unctio extrema fuit instituta à Christo. Lyra in Mark vi. 13.

Cajetan soutient que ce passage ne regarde que l'onction miraculeuse, dont les Apôtres se servoient pour la guerison des malades. Luc et Maldonat le soutiennent. Calmet, 19. 49. Maldonat, 754.

Hoc relictum erat ex precepto evangelico. Erasmus, 6. 1037. Sacramentum extremæ unctionis fundatur in Scripturis Marci 6. Arsdekin, 1. 245. Bin. 9. 197, 619. Crabb. 3. 746, 855. Cat. Triden. 167.

[3] Nec in verbis nec in effectu, verba hæc loquuntur de sacramentali unctione extremæ unctionis, sed magis de unctione quam instituit Dominus Jesus a discipulis exercendam in ægrotis. Cajet. in loco. Faber, 2. 257. Beda, 5. 693. Jonas, iii. 14. Dachery, 1. 316.

On voit le même sentiment dans Œcumenius. Calm. Comm. 24. 78.

Caietanus negat absolute hoc loco, Jacobum loqui de sacramento extremæ unctionis. Faber, 2. 257.

of the ills that attack frail fallen man; and he will, by the triumphs of his art or his faith, disarm all opposition. He may then claim credit for his commission. But the constant application of a sign, which is never attended with the proper or primitive signification, only renders its author ridiculous. The continuation of the means, when the end cannot be effected, merely exposes the vain pretender, as well as his credulous dupes, to merited contempt.

This healing of the diseased, like other miraculous powers granted for promoting the establishment of Christianity, was extraordinary and temporary. This, resembling other miracles, scarcely survived the apostolic age. The oil, in this respect, was similar to the water of Bethesda. This pool, when the descending angel troubled its water, cured the diseased who immediately bathed in its healing wave. But this effect was miraculous and transitory. The efficacy was not native or inherent, but supernatural and communicated, and ceased on the cessation of the angelic visits. Bethesda, at the present day, is as cureless as any other pool. The effect of unction, in like manner, was preternatural and transient. Its application, accompanied with prayer, can, at the present day, effect no recovery. The use of unction and the use of Bethesda, in the nineteenth century, are equally silly. The patient, who should seek to expel disorder in the pool of the holy city, would only meet with a laugh from the passing spectator. His simplicity might excite a smile, but his folly would convey no health: and the application of oil to the sick, whatever the deceiving and deceived may fancy, is equally ridiculous and absurd.

The remission of sin, mentioned by James, might, on a superficial view, appear to militate against this interpretation, which limits the effect of the ancient ceremony to the recovery of health. But this difficulty, on a close inspection, will vanish. The sins, pardoned through 'the prayer of faith,' were such as in God's judicial or chastening providence, were punished with sickness. Infirmity, disease, and even death were sometimes inflicted by the Creator, as a punishment or correction for certain offences. This has been granted and indeed proved by Bede, Jonas, Lyra, Estius, and Calmet. God, as these and many other authors attached to Romanism have shown, often, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, visits flagrant transgression with disease and even mortality.[1]

[1] Multi propter peccata in animo facta, infirmitate aut etiam morte plectuntur. Beda in Jacob. V. 15. Jonas, III. 14. Dachery, 1. 316.

Multi propter peccata etiam corporis plectuntur morte. Ananias et Sapphira puniti fuerunt subitanea morte pro peccato. Lyra, 6. 52, 217. in Corin. xi. et Jacob v.

Plurimum causæ morborum sint peccata. Estius, 2. 1145.

Souvent Dieu punissoit les pèches par des maladies. Calm. Com 24. 81.

The fact, which these authors have stated, was exemplified and evidenced in the Corinthians, with respect to whom, as depicted by Paul, many were weak and sickly, and many slept. Our Lord, therefore, in allusion to this truth, said to the man whom he healed of the palsy, "thy sins be forgiven thee." He also admonished the man whom he cured of an infirmity at Bethesda, to "sin no more," for fear of a severer sentence. These instances show the connexion in some cases, between trangression and disorder, as well as between remission and recovery.

James, had he meant iniquity in general, need not have used the supposition, 'if he have committed sins.' All, in this respect, are guilty. But only some were visited with a particular malady, on account of a particular crime. He declared, in the expressive language of Estius, that 'the cause, which was iniquity, would be removed, that the effect, which was disease, might cease.'[1] The indisposition and the punishment had the relation of cause and effect, and the one was remitted for the removal of the other. All this, however, shows that the institution was intended for lengthening the days of the living, and not, as it has been falsely called, a sacrament designed for the use of the dying.

Romanism is here guilty of another variation and perversion. The inspired penman ascribes the recovery of health and the remission of sin to "the prayer of faith." But these effects, the popish theologians attribute to the application of the ointment. The prayers, says Fleury, may, in case of necessity, be omitted, and the unction alone used. The moderns depend, for the effect, on the unguent plastered on the patient in the form of a cross. The ancients relied on 'the prayer of faith,' offered with devotion for the recovery of the afflicted and the pardon of sin.

This explanation of the Apostolic injunction is open only to one objection. None of the primitive Christians, say Faber and Bellarmine, need, on this supposition, have been subject to mortality. The unction and accompanying prayer of the elders would have saved all from death. This argument, on a slight view, is specious. But its plausibility, on a closer examination, will totally disappear. The objection, if it have any weight, presses as hard on popery as on protestantism.

The Romish as well as the Reformed must admit the existence of the healing gifts among the early Christians. Our Lord cured the sick, and even raised the dead. His apostles anointed and healed many. Paul, addressing the Corinthians, mentions "the gifts of healing," communicated to the pristine

[1] Causa remota morbus cesset. Estius, 2. 1145.

Christians, whose possession of this extraordinary power, infidelity only would venture to deny. A belief of this fact, whatever may be the conclusion, forms, in this case, an article in the objector's faith, as well as in that of his adversary.

But the conclusion from this fact is not, that all the sick recovered. This power of restoring to health could not, at all times, be exercised, even by those on whom it had been bestowed. The prophet could not always prophesy; nor could the supernatural gift of healing always expel disorder or prevent death. The apostles themselves were enabled to command this miraculous power only on some occasions. Paul healed the father of Publius and others who had diseases in the island of Melita; but left Trophimus, his friend, sick at Melitum. He also advised Timothy to use wine, as an ordinary means, and an approved medicine for his infirmity. This supernatural endowment, therefore, was occasional, and brought into operation only by the permission and assistance of God. The extraordinary power, sometimes inactive, had to be called into energy by the Divine impulse.[1]

This may be applied to the pastors mentioned by James. These could wield the healing power only when actuated by the Spirit of God. Their petition, in consequence, is styled 'the prayer of faith,' because it inspired assurance of success. James, accordingly, in the English version, denominates the prayer effectual, which, according to the original, should be translated inwrought or inspired. This miracle-working faith is the kind, which, says Jesus and Paul, is capable of removing mountains, and enabled its possessor to expel indisposition, and convey health to the subjects of sickness and infirmity.

This objection, inconsistent with the objector's own belief, recoils also, with tremendous destruction, on his own acknowledged system. The modern ceremony would, even on popish principles, as certainly save every soul, as the ancient institution would have healed every body. All, on the former supposition, would as surely be transmitted to heaven, as on the latter have, according to the objection, been restored to health. The one would as unquestionably deliver from spiritual as the other from temporal death. The modern unction, according to the council of Trent, pardons remaining and unexpiated sins, which, in the interpretation of Estius and Calmet, comprehend both venial and mortal offences: and, at the same time, conveys grace and strength, and heals all weakness and propensity to transgress. This freedom from sin and attainment of purity would inevitably transfer all the dying, who receive the greasy

[1] La guerison de malades par les onctions etoit une chose accidentelle et d'un usage passager. Calmet, 24. 81.

application, to happiness, and reserve for a worse situation, only the protestant who contemns the unctuous plaster, and the child, the idiot, and the executed criminal, who are incapable of becoming candidates for this holy sacrament.[1]

The modern ointment, therefore, must, in a great measure, unpeople purgatory. The heretic, who despises this unguent, must march, not to the middle place, but to a worse country. The Romish unction, if, according to the popish theology, it remit venial and mortal sins, heal infirmity, impart strength, and fortify the soul against temptation, will certainly transfer the recipient 'with safety, to the port of eternal happiness.' Heaven and hell, therefore, being, in this manner, forestalled by the use or rejection of this sacramental ointment, the prince of the intermediate district, if it have any, must want subjects, or accept of youths, madmen, or sentenced offenders.[2] The intermediate empire, by these means, will be reduced to a waste. Its plains will become a wilderness, and its palaces and cities fall into ruin.

Extreme unction is a variation from tradition, as well as from revelation. The ceremony is destitute of written and unwritten authority, and was unknown both to the apostles and fathers of antiquity. Fleury, Ward, Sclater, Mumford, and Challenor, in consequence, forbear, on this topic, to make any quotations from the record of early Christianity. The omission, indeed, was dictated by prudence. Antiquity could afford no authority for such an innovation, but which, by its impertinence, would have disgraced, if possible, even the popish system of superstition and absurdity. Bellarmine endeavours to excuse the ancients for omitting the history of this sacrament in their works, by alleging their want of occasion. The cardinal, for once, was right. The early Christian authors had no opportunity of discussing a non-entity.

The Rhemists admit that the fathers of the first four centuries make no mention of this institution. These annotators indeed refer to Origen, who flourished in the third century; but, at the same, insist not on his testimony, clearly from a consciousness of its utter inadequacy. The concession, in reality, is an abandonment of the cause so far as concerns this source of evidence. Four hundred revolving years ran their ample round, and left no trace of this sacrament. The apostolic men, Clemens, Hermas, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp lived, and wrote, and departed, without once mentioning the sacrament of the dying. The successors of the apostolic men,

[1] Aquinas, 3. 467. Cat. Trid. 166. Rit. Rom. 91. Estius, 2. 1145. Calmet.
[2] Challenor, 113. Fleury, 246.

such as Justin, Irenæus, Clemens, Tertullian, Cyprian, Athenagoras, Tatian, Epiphanius, and the apostolic constitutions are, on this theme, equally silent and disobliging. The pretended Dionysius, who has left circumstantial details on similar topics, has, says Aquinas, made no mention of extreme unction.[1] These authors have emblazoned the other sacraments in their works, and drawn minute delineations of baptism and the communion. These topics meet the reader's eye in nearly every page of their literary productions. But extreme unction, wonderful to tell, is never mentioned. This ceremony, which, in modern days, remits sin and strengthens the soul of the dying, forms no part of either the light or shade of the picture sketched by the pen of antiquity. This was a woful and vexatious omission in the good fathers, and has put many moderns to a sad puzzle.

The Christian men and women of old, such as Constantine, Helen, Anthony, Basil, Chrysostom, Monica, and Augustine, whose death-bed biography has been transmitted to the present day, seem never to have been anointed. Their biographers never so much as mention the sacrament of the dying. All these, it is to be feared, departed without the application of the blessed oil. The holy men and women, in all probability, contrived getting to heaven without being greased for the journey. But the modern saints and sinners of Romanism are prepared for heaven or purgatory by consecrated oil. The death of many, in latter days, has been recorded by Surius and Butler: and these, on their death-bed, were always complimented with a plaster of blessed ointment. The modern saints make their exit from time and their entrance into eternity, ornamented in seven different places, with the cross-streaks of the oily figures, formed by the graceful motion of the sacerdotal thumb.

The friends of this ceremony have endeavoured to prop the baseless fabric by historical testimony, extracted from the annals of the fifth and following centuries. All this evidence, worthy of any attention, is taken from Innocent, Bede, and the councils of Chalons and Worms.

Pope Innocent, who flourished so late as the fifth century, is their first witness. Decentius, bishop of Eugubium in Italy, had occasion, on this subject, to consult the pontiff, who returned the following answer. 'The diseased faithful, to whom James refers, may be anointed with the consecrated oil of chrism. This ointment may be used not only by priests, but also by all Christians, who may anoint not only themselves,

[1] Dionysius non facit aliquam mentionem de extrema unctione. Aquinas, III. 29. I. p. 462.

but also their friends. But the chrism may not be poured on penitents, for it is a kind of sacrament."[1]

The utter ignorance of Decentius and Innocent, on this subject, irrefragably shows the non-existence of extreme unction in the fifth century. Decentius, a dignified clergyman of Italy, knew so little of the ceremony, that he could not, without instruction, administer the pretended sacrament of the dying. He applied in his difficulty, to the Pope, the father and teacher of all Christians: and the pontiff, who has been eulogized for genius and learning by Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Bellarmine, knew no more of it, except in his own conceit, than the bishop. He called the rite 'a KIND of sacrament.' This appellation would have called down on his holiness the anathemas of the Trentine council, that pronounced this observance 'a true and proper sacrament.' His infallibility, besides, mistook the administrator and the sign of this 'kind of sacrament.' Its minister, in his infallibility's hands, was not only a priest, but every Christian, both for himself and his friends. The layman, however, who, in modern times, should make the attempt, would, says Faber, 'not only sin, but effect nothing.' The sign, according to his holiness, was chrism, which, in modern days, is utterly unfit for this use. This unction, performed now with chrism, is invalid, and the whole process, in this case, must, says the council of Milan, be repeated with the proper element. His infallibility's 'kind of sacrament,' administered according to his pontifical directions, would, in modern times, be perfectly useless. Innocent and Decentius, the pontiff and the bishop, were, in reality, strangers to one of the seven sacraments, and would have needed a fugleman to show the motion of his spiritual exercise. Both would have required a modern priest to drill these two raw recruits, and teach them the manœuvres of sacerdotal duty and the use of ecclesiastical arms.[2]

Bede's testimony, more than 300 years later, is similar to Innocent's. The sick, says the English monk, 'is, according to ecclesiastical use, to be anointed with consecrated oil and healed. This is lawful, not only for the pastors, but also, as Innocent hath declared, for all Christians, both for themselves and their friends."[3] This only shows that the unction of the sick remained in the same state in the eighth century as in the fifth, and that

[1] De fidelibus ægrotantibus accipi vel intelligi debere, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi possunt. Non solum sacerdotibus, sed omnibus uti Christianis licet in sua et suorum necessitate inungendo. Pœnitentibus illud fundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti. Carranza, 187. Labb. 3. 6. Jonas iii. 14. C' est une espèce de sacrement. Bruys, 1. 175.

[2] Si laicus attentet, non solum peccat, sed nihil facit. Faber, 2. 254. Labb. 18. 550. et 21. 368. Bin. 8. 866. et 9. 619. Crabb. 3. 506.

[3] Infirmi oleo consecrato ungantur a presbyteris, et, oratione communitante, sanetur, etc. Beda, 5. 693.

the unction of Romanism was as little known in the days of Bede as of Innocent, and in England as in Italy. Bede and Innocent would have needed some modern adept in superstition to teach them the proper movements and evolutions in applying the sacramental plaster. Bede, besides, represents the recovery of health as the end or effect of this ceremony: and this shows that the unction of the sick, in the English monk's time, was still used for the original design, and referred, not to the soul, but to the body.

The provincial synod of Chalons' testimony has been added to that of Innocent and Bede. This assembly met in 813, and in its forty-eighth canon enjoined the unction of the sick with oil blessed by the bishop. 'This kind of medicine,' said the council, 'is not to be despised, which heals the infirmity of soul and body.'[1] This canon only shows that the unction of the sick was in the ninth century, still confined to its primeval intention. The sign is called medicine, and the effect is spiritual and corporeal health. The body, by its application, recovered its strength, and the soul obtained pardon of the sin which occasioned the malady. The convenient modern condition of this rite being beneficial to the body, when pleasing to God and good for the patient, was unknown in the ninth century. Recovery of health, according to this synod, attended the unction as uniformly as the remission of crime. The only addition which the ceremony, in the long lapse of eight hundred years, seems to have received from the spirit of superstition, consisted in the episcopal consecration of the ointment, and its indiscriminate application to the infirm. The council also erred in continuing an extraordinary and temporary observance, when the age of miracles had passed, and when its administration had ceased to convey its original and proper effect.

The provincial council of Worms has been added to that of Chalons, as evidence of this superstition. But this assembly affords no additional testimony: its seventy-second canon merely embodied Pope Innocent's reply to Bishop Decentius. The fathers of Worms only adopted and repeated his infallibility's decision without preface or explanation. The subject was no better known, and the future sacrament had made no farther progress than 450 years before, in the fifth century. The unction still remained a kind of sacrament. Hundreds of years had elapsed from the commencement of Christianity, and still the sacrament was misunderstood. Decentius, Innocent, and Bede, as well as the councils of Chalons and Worms,

[1] Non est parvipendenda hujuscemodi medicina, quæ animæ corporisque medetur languoribus. Bin. 6. 222. Crabb. 2. 628. Labb. 9. 370.

were ignorant of the administrator, the sign, and the end of the ceremony, which the Trentine fathers of infallible memory, pronounced a true and proper sacrament, insinuated by Mark, published by James, and instituted by Emmanuel.

The history of this innovation is easily traced. Extreme unction in its present form, was the child of the twelfth century. The monuments of Christian theology for eleven hundred years, mention no ceremony, which in its varied and unmeaning mummery, corresponds with the unction of Romanism. The patrons of this superstition have rifled the annals of ecclesiastical history for eleven ages, and have failed in the discovery of either precept or example for a rite, which, they affirm, was practised as a sacrament in every nation of Christendom since the era of redemption.

The twelfth century, of which this filthy ceremony is the offspring, was the reign of ignorance and superstition. Science and literature seemed, in disgust, to fly from a tasteless and degenerated world. Philosophy refused to shed a single ray on a grovelling race, who hated or despised its light. Immorality, as usual, kept pace with barbarism. Moral and intellectual darkness commingled their clouds around man, for the purpose of forming a night of concentrated horror and atrocity. The king and the subject, the clergy and the laity, conspired against all information; while the Sun of Righteousness seemed to withdraw his beams from a wicked and a wandering world.

Amid this intellectual and moral darkness, the apostolic ceremony, noticed by Mark and James, degenerated, by accumulated innovations, into the Romish sacrament. Superstition, from her overflowing fountain, poured her copious streams, which mingling, but not united with the scriptural spring, formed the heterogeneous and unsightly mass. The simple rite was transformed into the clumsy sacrament. The original unction, intended for the recovery of health to particular individuals, continued, while the gift of healing and the power of working miracles remained. But these, in process of time, ceased, and the weakness of man prompted many to use the external rite after the miraculous power was suspended. The patient's health, not indeed by the miraculous application of the oil, but by the ordinary operations of Providence, was sometimes restored: and the recovery, in these cases, was ascribed to the ointment. But many, though anointed, died: and the observance, in these instances, though the body suffered, was supposed to be beneficial to the soul. The recovery of health, therefore, was accounted conditional, and the good of the soul was reckoned certain. Superstition, from day to day and from age to age, appended new additions to

the growing ceremony. The episcopal consecration of the oil its indiscriminate application and other innovations, dictated by the demon of superstition, were superinduced on the pristine institution. The filthy progeny of ignorance and superstition came, at last, to maturity. Bernard, Victor, and Lombard, in the twelfth century, speak of the unction of the sick in modern language, enlarged with the multiplied accessions of eleven hundred years. Albert, Aquinas, and other schoolmen touched the picture with characteristic subtilty. These theological projectors brought the system to perfection, and exhibited it to the world in a finished form. The novelty, in 1439, was adopted by Pope Eugenius and the Florentine council, and stamped with the seal of their unqualified approbation and synodal infallibility.

The subject came afterwards before the council of Trent. But the doctors who attended that assembly differed, and quibbled, and argued, and squabbled on this, as on every other subject without harmony and often without meaning.[1] Each maintained his own opinion with warmth and obstinacy. The Legates, therefore, in forming the canons, omitted many of the jarring opinions of the angry theologians, and inserted only those in which they agreed. These, the sacred synod in the fourteenth session, ratified with dreadful anathemas, discharged from their spiritual artillery against all who should gainsay. These canons, therefore, though hardly intelligible, became, on this topic of theology, the professed standard of faith, and form of external conformity among the patrons of Romanism. The veering vane of popery, which had shifted in ceaseless variation round all the points of the theological compass, rusted, in motionless inflexibility, during the long sessions of the Trentine congress, and, on this, as on every other topic of divinity, fixed, in a great measure, the modern system of superstition.

[1] De là etoiénť nées les contestations, qui les empechoient d'être tous bien unis contre les Lutheriens. Paolo, 1. 556. Du Pin, 3. 481. Labb. 20. 102.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMAGE-WORSHIP.

THREE SYSTEMS—ONE ALLOWS THE USE OF IMAGES—THE SECOND PATRONIZES THEIR INFERIOR OR HONORARY WORSHIP—THE THIRD PREFERS THE SAME ADORATION TO THE REPRESENTATION AS TO THE ORIGINAL—IMAGE-WORSHIP A VARIATION FROM SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY—A VARIATION FROM ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITY—MIRACULOUS PROOFS—ADMISSIONS—INTRODUCTION OF IMAGES INTO THE CHURCH—THEIR WORSHIP—ICONOCLASM—BYZANTINE COUNCIL—SECOND NICENE COUNCIL—WESTERN SYSTEM—CAROLINE BOOKS—FRANKFORDIAN COUNCIL—PARISIAN COUNCIL—EASTERN VARIATIONS—FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF IDOLATRY BY THEODORA.

BELLARMINE and Juenin distinguish the Popish systems on image-worship into three classes.[1] One class recommends the use of images, but rejects their worship. This party allows the superstition of Romanism, but forbids its idolatry. A second class patronizes both the use, and the imperfect or inferior worship of these painted and sculptured representations. This faction countenances the idolatry as well as the superstition. A third class prefers the same adoration to the copy as to the original: and, therefore, with respect to the images of God and his Son, are guilty of the grossest idolatry.

The class that permits the use of painted forms in the worship of God, have touched the subject with a deceitful pen. God only, according to these authors, is worshipped in the presence of the image, which is not honoured for its own sake. A picture or statue is neither God, the place of His residence, the symbol of His presence, nor the seat of His power. The painted or sculptured representation possesses neither divinity nor power, and is the object of neither prayer nor confidence. The suppliant prays not to, but, before the effigy, for the purpose of fixing his thoughts and preventing distraction of mind. He offers no adoration to the work of the pencil or the chisel, as if it were substituted for God. The supplication is addressed not to the material representation, but to the person represented. The likeness, the production of the painter or the statuary, is a mere memorial of the original, as a portrait is

[1] Bell. ii. 20 Juenin, 4. 414.

of a friend. The sensible resemblance, in the one case, awakens friendship: and, in the other, kindles devotion, assists the memory, and communicates instruction. The copy raises the soul, in holy gratitude and piety, to the great exemplar, as time, painted with its hour-glass, reminds the spectator of its motion and fleetness.[1]

Pictures, in this system, are the books of the unlearned, which, in the unlettered mind, awaken trains of holy thought and meditation. The effigy or painting, which, in this manner, is the book of the illiterate, is also the ornament of the temple. These partizans of modern refinement seldom use the term worship or adoration, but honour, esteem, homage, respect, or veneration. These allow no more respect for the material form, than a Jew would feel for the ark, or the altar, or a Christian for the Bible or the sacramental elements.[2]

Such, on this topic, is the refined system of many, and among the rest, of Thomassin, Bossuet, Alexander, Juenin, Du Pin, Gother, Challenor, and Lanciano. Statements of this kind are very convenient in the kingdoms of Protestantism and safety; but the authors were prudent in publishing their opinions at a respectful distance from Spain, Portugal, Goa, and the inquisition.

The second class honour images with an inferior or imperfect worship. These, however, offer no Latria or supreme adoration to the pencilled resemblance. This homage, they ascribe only to the Almighty. But the copy, they contend, is entitled to veneration, on account of its dedication and similarity to the prototype. This worship, Bellarmine calls imperfect, and Juenin internal or absolute. This faction include a numerous party in the Romish communion, among whom are Bellarmine, Baronius, Estius, Godeau, and Spondanus.[3]

This class, Bellarmine has shewn, maintain the same system as the second Nicene council. The Niceans represented images as holy, communicating holiness, and entitled to the same veneration as the gospels. The infallible synod also condemned those who used pictures only for assisting the memory, and not for adoration.[4]

The Trentine professed to follow the Nicene council. The former, however, seems on this subject to have modified, if not contradicted the latter. The Niceans characterized images as

[1] Non quod credatur inesse aliqua Divinitas vel virtus, vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum, vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda. Labb. 20. 171.
Bell. II. 20. Juenin, 4. 415. Gother, c. 1. Boss. §. 4. Fleury, 197. Challon. c. 27.

[2] Godeau, 5. 13. Crabb. 3. 748. Personne n'adore le bois. On adore Dieu, et en un certain sens, on n'adore que lui seul. Bossuet, Op. 1. 445, 448

[3] Bell. II. 20, 25. Godeau, 5. 512. Labb. 8. 700.

[4] Du Pin, 2. 42. Bell. II. 21. Bin. 5. 530.

holy, while the Trentine accounted these painted and sculptured forms void of any virtue. The worship and adoration of the Nicene assembly are, in the canons of Trent, reduced to honour and veneration. The Latin synod, which met after the reformation, had, in some measure, to follow the advanced state of literature and philosophy, and to present a more rational view of the subject than the Grecian convention, which issued its decisions in an age of barbarism and superstition.

The third class prefer the same adoration to the representation as to the represented. The copy, taken in connexion with the pattern, is, according to these authors, entitled to equal veneration, as the royal robe, which adorns a king, shares the honours of majesty. The likeness of God or his Son, in mental conjunction with the original, is therefore the object of Latria or divine adoration. The effigy of Lady Mary is to receive Hyperdulia or intermediate worship; while the statue of the saint or the martyr can claim only Dulia or inferior honour and veneration. This honour, however, is only relative. Bellarmine, entangled in the intricacy and absurdity of his statements on this topic, extricates himself by hair-breadth and unintelligible distinctions. This is the system of Aquinas, Cajetan, Bonaventure, Antoninus, Turrecrema, Turrian, Vasquez, and the schoolmen.[1]

The Romish communion, in general, ascribes supreme worship to the cross. Aquinas, with the utmost perspicuity and without any equivocation, attributes Latria or sovereign worship to the cross as well as to our Lord's image. According to the Angelic doctor, 'the cross is to be worshipped with Latria, which is also to be addressed to Jesus and his image.'[2] The schoolmen, in general, supported the same system, and maintained that 'Latrian adoration is due to the holy cross and to the image of Immanuel.'

Similar idolatry is encouraged in the Roman pontifical, missal, breviary, and processional. The Pontifical expressly declares that 'Latria is due to the cross.' Divine worship, in this manner, is addressed to a wooden deity. The missal, published by the authority of Pius, Clement, and Urban, enjoins, 'The clergy and laity on bended knees to adore the cross. The whole choir, in the mean time, sing, 'Thy cross, O Lord, we adore; for by the wood of the cross, the whole world is filled with joy.' The breviary, revised and corrected also by pontifical authority, contains the following hymns and petitions,

[1] Bell. II. 20. Juenin, 4. 414. Aquin. iii. 25. IV. P. 140.
Eadem adoratione, qua adoratur prototypum, adorandum esse imaginem ejus: et sic imago Christi et Dei adoranda est latriâ. Faber, 1. 121. Dens, 5. 38, 45.

[2] Saint Thomas attribue à la Croix, le culte de Latria, qui est le culte suprême. Bossuet, Oeuvres, 1. 448.

supplicating the cross for righteousness, pardon, and salvation. 'Hail, O cross, our only hope: increase righteousness to the pious and bestow pardon on the guilty. Save the present assembly, met this day for thy praise. O venerable cross, that has procured salvation for the wretched. Thy cross, O Lord, we adore, and we commemorate thy glorious passion.' Similar prayers are found in the processional, edited by Urban, Innocent, Alexander, and Clement: and stronger language of adoration could not be addressed to God.[1] This homage and these requests, offered to the wood and accompanied with all the mummery of bowing, kissing, kneeling, lighting, incensing, and prostration, are nothing less than bare-faced idolatry, exhibited in noon-day without a shadow to screen its nakedness or deformity.

Bossuet indeed would excuse the impiety, by representing the cross, though made of wood and so denominated, as a poetical expression or figurative language for Immanuel, who suffered crucifixion. The adoration, therefore, on the occasion, is, it would appear, only metaphorical idolatry. This, no doubt, was a happy discovery. The learned bishop, by his superior discernment, might see how lifeless timber could, by a trope, be transubstantiated into the living Saviour. He might plaster his conscience and display his ingenuity, by such evasion or subterfuge. But the unlettered worshipper might have less refinement, and possess less acquaintance with figures of speech and license of poetry. The metaphor might, to the people, be hard of digestion. A plain man might, in his simplicity, think that wood, though in the form of a cross, is wood, and not Jehovah.

The many kinds of worship, ascribed to images by Romish doctors, shew their disagreement, shuffling, and difficulty, as well as the absurdity of their system. Latria, Dulia, Hyperdulia, sovereign, supreme, divine, subordinate, inferior, improper, relative, outward, reductive, analogical, accidental, imperfect and honorary worship, all these epithets and distinctions and many more, have been used by Romish theologians, to

[1] Crux Christi est adoranda adoratione Latriæ. Aquin. III. 25. iv. Eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo; ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda. Aquinas. III. Q. 25. art. III. P. 140.

Scholasticos illos, qui Christi imagini, atque sanctissimae cruci Latriae cultum tribuendum esse. Spon. 787. VII.

Crux Legati Apostolici erit ad dextrum, quia Latria illi debetur. Pon. Rom. 205

Clerici et laici, ter genibus flexis crucem adorant. Proper lignum, gaudium in universo mundo. Miss. Rom. 157. 158.

O Crux, ave spes unica,
Auge piis justitiam,
Reisque dona veniam.

Salve praesentem catervam, In tuis hodie laudibus congregatem. O crux venerabilis quæ salutem attulisti miseris. Brev. Rom. 982, 983. Process. Rom. 306.

evade difficulty or explain nonsense. These, they wield with equal resolution and fury against heretics and against each other. The popish advocate finds himself opposed to the ancients, and exposed to their heaviest artillery. But he escapes by a distinction. His system differs from some Pope or council. But all is reconciled by the mediation of some lucky epithet or some useful discrimination: and these are numerous and ready on every occasion of difficulty.

Such, on this topic, is the unity of Romanism. Its councils and doctors, like the workmen of Babel at the confusion of speech, are unintelligible and contradictory. Papal theologians and schoolmen, for the purpose of reconciling their jarring systems, have recourse to hair-breadth distinctions, which involve their works in midnight obscurity. The discrepancy of their councils is augmented by the war of commentators, who rival each other in nonsense and hostility.

Image worship, in all its forms, is a variation from scriptural authority, and from Jewish and Christian antiquity. The Jewish theology and usage excluded all pencilled, graven, and sculptured representations. The God of the Hebrews, in the second commandment, which many popish catechisms have prudently omitted, forbids making and adoring the likeness of any thing in heaven or earth. The Jewish legislator, actuated by inspiration, cautioned Israel against the formation of any graven or stony effigy, for the purpose of bowing down to such a senseless statue. He warned the Jews against shaping the likeness of any beast, fowl, fish, or reptile, and against worshipping the sun, moon, or stars of heaven.[1] Perversity itself, one would think, could scarcely misunderstand or misrepresent language, which possesses such perspicuity and precision. The interdiction comprehends every likeness or effigy, which, if worshipped, become in a scriptural sense an idol.

Pope Adrian, the second Nicene council, and many moderns, have pretended to find examples of their system in the cherubim and brazen serpent. But these, unhappily for the Romish theology, were neither images of saints nor objects of worship. The cherubim overshadowed the mercy-seat in the inner court of the temple, where they were not even seen, and, if possible, still less worshipped by the Hebrews. No evidence of their adoration indeed has been attempted, Adrian and the Niceans, as an evidence of their infallibility, have, in this case, substituted an assumption for proof. Aquinas, Vasquez, Lorin, Azorius, and Visorius, Popish theologians, admit that no adoration was addressed to the cherubim.[2]

[1] Leviticus xxvi. 1. Deuteronomy iv. 15.

[2] Seraphim non ponebantur ad cultum, Aquin. 1. 328. Labb. 8. 1398. Crabb. 2. 480. Alex. 14. 589. Bell. II. 12.

The brazen serpent, typical of the healing Emmanuel, could not be the image of a beautiful saint. A serpent could not resemble 'the human face divine.' The beauty of the one could not be represented by the other's deformity, which is calculated to excite horror rather than veneration. Serpentine subtilty presents a contrast rather than a similarity to the holy men and women, especially to the latter, raised to the honour of Roman canonization. These, characterized, as all know, by innocence and purity, are a foil to an animal distinguished by its noxiousness and deceit.

The Jews, immured in barbarism, had established, it would seem, no manufactory of saints similar to the Roman process, which has been so useful in the days of modern improvement and popery. The Hebrews were allowed to pass to heaven or purgatory without any apotheosis or beatification. The serpent, which the Jewish legislator made of brass, was exposed to the view of Israel, but never recommended to their adoration. No insinuation of the kind is found in all the inspired canon. The Hebrews indeed, prone, like modern papists, to idolatry, began, in the reign of Hezekiah, to burn incense to that monument of Jewish antiquity. But the Jewish sovereign, moved, like the Emperors, Leo, Constantine, and Theophilus, with holy ardour for the honour of God, shattered the object of idolatry into fragments.[1]

Gregory the Second represents Ozias, who lived eighty-four years before the event and was great grand-father to Hezekiah, as the breaker of the brazen serpent. Ozias, says the pontiff to the emperor, was your brother and displayed the same pertinacity. His holiness, having spent in worshipping images the time, which he should have devoted to the reading of the Bible, was ignorant that the breaking of the serpent 'was right in the sight of the Lord.' His Infallibility also makes 'David bring the brazen serpent and the holy ark into the Jewish temple, though the Hebrew monarch, as all except his holiness knew, died before the erection of that sacred edifice which was built by Solomon.'[2] This was very clever in his holiness, and a fine specimen of this terrestrial god's infallibility. Few, it is probable, could have effected such an achievement. His supremacy, in his unerring wisdom, should have explained the means by which, with so great facility, he conveyed the serpent and the ark into a house that was a non-entity. He should have described the manner and wonderful machinery, which deposited the two Jewish implements with so much safety in

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. 4.

[2] Illum serpentem sanctificatus David, una cum arca sancta in templum invexit. Greg. in Labb. 8. 658. Bin. 5. 505. Chron. xxvi. 22. et xxvii. 9. xxviii. 27.

an unbuilt fabric and under an unformed roof. Gregory was a valuable head of the church, a precious vicar-general of God, and a useful teacher of all Christians. His infallibility, notwithstanding these and many other blunders of his own, had the hardihood to upbraid the emperor Leo with his ignorance and stupidity. Having characterized the emperor as a mere ninny, his holiness, in his sacerdotal modesty and Christian humility, represented himself as 'an earthly deity.'

Image worship is a variation from the Christian as well as from the Jewish revelation. The superstition receives no countenance from the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. Pope Adrian, in a letter read and approved in the second Nicene council, could muster only one quotation in the New Testament in favour of idolatry; and this, his infallibility was obliged to pervert to make it answer his purpose. Jacob, according to his holiness, followed by the Rhemists, 'adored the top of his rod.' The patriarch, on this supposition, must through age have been doting. His adoration, if his infallibility and the Rhemists were not mistaken, was addressed to a very humble deity; and was certainly the offspring of bad taste as well as little sense. Adrian, to maintain a silly system, makes an idiot of Jacob. All, however, is the effect of mistranslation and misrepresentation. The patriarch was not a fool; but the Pope, supported in the rear by the Nicene council and the Rhemish annotators, was a knave. Hoary Israel, worn out with age and infirmity, leaned on his staff, whilst, in faith, he adored God and blessed the sons of Joseph. The pontiff, the Niceans, and the Rhemists, unfaithful to the original, have, with unblushing impudence and perversity, omitted the preposition, and, in consequence, made the Hebrew prophet worship the worthless wood, the produce of the soil. The Rhemists besides have, with shameless effrontery, accused the Protestants of mistranslation and corruption of the Greek, which contains the preposition.[1]

The Niceans, varying on this topic from fact and reason, vary also from themselves. Having made the patriarch worship a walking-stick, the infallible fathers wheeled to the right about, and denied point-blank that his adoration was addressed to the wood. Jacob, says Adrian approved by the Niceans, worshipped not the stick, but Joseph.[2] The unerring synod, in sheer

[1] Jacob summitatem virgæ filii Joseph deosculatus est. Labb. 8. 754. Bin. 5. 558. Hebrews, xi. 21.

[2] Non quod virgam illam, sed tenentem eam, in signum dilectionis, adoravit. Crabb. 2. 480.

Lignum non adoravit, sed per lignum, Joseph. Labb. 8. 1400.

Jacob, in summitate virgæ Joseph adorasse dicitur, non sane ligno illum cultum exhibens. Labb. 8. 1423.

contradiction, proceeded, on the same subject and nearly in the same breath, both to affirm and deny.

The Rhemists on this point vary from the Niceans, who had differed from themselves. The former make the Jewish seer worship the end of a rod. The latter affirm that his adoration was addressed to his son; though, soaring nobly above all consistency, they had, in the preceding sentence, represented a walking-staff as the object of his homage. Agreed in imputing idolatry to Jacob, these two interpreters differ in attempting to account for the impiety. Jacob, say the Niceans, acted from regard to his son and a partiality to the staff, which, these fathers discovered by their infallibility belonged to Joseph. The patriarch, say the Rhemists, was moved by a veneration for the rod, which, the sage annotators discovered without any infallibility, perfigured the sceptre and kingdom of the Messiah.[1]

The council and the annotators, jarring in this way with one another, gainsay the ablest Jewish translators, Christian fathers, and Popish commentators. The English Protestant translation agrees with those of Aquila, Symmachus, and the Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem.[2] Aquila, Symmachus and Onkelos, in Origen, Calmet, and Walton, render the parallel passage in Genesis, 'Israel, worshipped, turning towards the head of his couch.' According to the Targum of Jerusalem, 'Jacob praised God on his bed.'

The Popish version, varying from the Jewish critics Aquila, Symmachus, and Onkelos, varies also from the Christian fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, and a Parisian synod.[3] Jerome translates the Hebrew, 'Israel, turning to the head of the bed, adored God.' According to the comment of Augustine on Paul's words taken from the Septuagint, "Jacob, leaning on the end of his staff, worshipped God." Theodoret's interpretation is similar to Augustine's. Israel, according to this expositor on Genesis, 'worshipped, reclining his head on his staff which he held in his right hand.' The Parisian council's interpretation in 824, coincides with that of Jerome, Augustine, and Theodoret.

The second synod of Nice and the translators of Rheims, differing from Jerome, Augustine, and Theodoret, differ also

[1] Crabb, 2. 480. Rhem. on Heb. xi. 21.

[2] Προσεκυνησεν Ισραηλ επι την κεφαλην της κλινης. Aquil. in Orig. Hex. 1. 52.
Προσεκυνησεν Ισραηλ επι το ακρον της κλινης. Orig. Hex. 1. 52. Calm. 23. 742. Walton, 6. 8.

[3] Adoravit Israel, conversus ad lectuli caput. Jerom. 1. 52.
Se inclinvait ad Deum adorandum, id utique fecisse super cacumen virgæ suæ quam sic ferebat, ut super eam, caput inclinando adoraret. Aug. 3. 418.
Προσεκυνησεν επικλινας τῃ ραβδῳ την κεφαλην. Theodoret, 1. 71.

from the learned translators Simon, Capellus, Houbigant, Hasselan, Cæsareus, Vatablus, Pagnin, and Montanus, as well as from the Syriac, Samaritan, and Vulgate. All these represent Jacob as worshipping, leaning on the head of his staff or bed. The Vulgate of Genesis, faithful to the Hebrew, inserts the preposition: and the Douay translators accordingly have followed the Latin, and allowed the patriarch to adore, not a rod, but Jehovah. The preposition, which is found in the Greek Septuagint cited by Paul, is now omitted in the Latin of the Vulgate; though used in the days of Augustine in some of the more correct manuscripts.[1]

The Niceans and Rhemists, clashing with other expositors and translators, disagree with the ablest Popish commentators, such as Bede, Lyra, Erasmus, Quesnel, and Calmet, who permit Jacob to worship the Almighty.[2] The patriarch, says Bede, 'adored God.' According to Lyra, 'Israel, being old, held a staff on which he reclined in adoring God. The meaning is not, that he adored the top of his staff; but that he adored God, leaning on the top of his staff.' Christians, says Erasmus, 'abhorred, at that time, the adoration of any created object, and kept this honour only for God. Jacob, says Quesnel, 'worshipped God, leaning on his staff.' The Jewish prophet, says the learned and judicious Calmet, 'adored God, supported on the end of his staff. He leaned his head on his staff to worship God.'

Pope Gregory, who had made Ozias break the brazen serpent before he was born, and David bring it into the temple before it was built, discovered another argument in the New Testament. Jesus said, "where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered." The Lord, says Gregory, was the carcass. The eagles were men of piety, who, according to his infallibility, flew aloft like eagles to Jerusalem, and pourtrayed Jesus, James, Stephen, and the martyrs.[3] The portraits, taken as they were from real life, being exhibited to the whole world, men, engaged by the holy representations, forsook the worship of Satan for the worship of these striking likenesses of Jesus, James, and

[1] Alex. 14. 753. Simon. in Loco. Calm. 23. 742. Estius, 2. 1049. Houbig. 1. 155. Montan. 1. 60. Walton, 1. 214. Aug. 3. 418.

[2] Adoravit Deum. Beda, 6. 811.

Quia erat senex, habebat baculum, super hujus summitatem nitebatur, in adorando Deum. Unde non est intelligendum, quod adoravit summitatem virgæ vel baculi, sed adoravit Deum, innixus super baculum. Lyra, 5. 156.

In tantum, eo tempore, abhorrebant ab adorandis ullis rebus creatis, soli Deo, hoc honoris servantes. Erasm. 6. 1015.

Il adora Dieu, appuyé sur le baton. Quesnel, 4. 333.

Il adora Dieu, appuyé sur l'extremité de son baton. Il pencha la tête sur son baton pour adorer Dieu. Calmet, 23. 741.

[3] Christus autem cadaver. Aquilæ, in sublime volantes, religiosi sunt homines Labb. 8. 655, 770. Bin. 5. 503. Matt. xxiv. 28.

Stephen. This was very sensible in the vicar-general of God, and makes the thing very clear. Some heretical critics, indeed, who are too officious, have wondered how the supreme pontiff obtained his information; while many have had the temerity to hint that the proselytism, on this supposition, was only from one kind of idolatry to another. Some, too, supposing through ignorance or mistake that the world was converted by the preaching of the gospel, have questioned the use of images in the important work. But these heretics, always meddling and troublesome, have, in these insinuations, shewn, as usual, their insufferable impertinence. The second Nicene council, on these kinds of topics, deprecated, in their usual prudence, all narrow and unnecessary scrutiny. The Roman hierarch's exposition contains a momentous discovery, which, in importance and utility, rivals those of Montanus, Swedenborg, and Southcott, and must have been very satisfactory to himself and his friends. His infallibility's comment is like the raving of a man who is crazy, and who has escaped from the responsibility which might be supposed to attend on sanity of intellect. The pontiff's interpretation presents an unequalled specimen of jargon. The father and teacher of all Christians, on this occasion, has carried nonsense to a state of unqualified perfection which fears no rivalry.

Such is the specimen of arguments, for this system, taken from the Bible and founded on Scriptural authority. Many others of the same kind and equally silly might be produced. But the Nicene logic, if it deserve the name, is unworthy of repetition. The reasoning resembles the mockery of a Swift or some other satirist, who, in a keen vein of irony, exposed the cause which he pretended to advocate. Gregory, Adrian, and the Nicene council, it would seem, wished to excite a laugh at their own expense.

Symbolical worship is a variation from ecclesiastical antiquity, as well as from Scriptural authority. The early fathers, copying the example of the Jewish prophets and Christian apostles, exploded the impiety from their system. These disclaimed the worship of images as the invention of Satan, injurious to devotion, and deceitful, as books for the unlearned, as monitors for the memory, or aids for piety.

The partizans of emblematic worship, driven from the fortress of Scriptural authority and authentic history, have intrenched themselves behind the wonders of legendary tales and miraculous testimony. Fabrications and miracles have, in the absence of Scriptural and historical evidence, been sought for the support of a system inconsistent with reason and Revelation. The second Nicene council collected a vast accumulation

of this rubbish, and have been followed in modern times by Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Turriano, Maimbourg, and Alexander, who have transcribed the fictions and emblazoned the 'lying wonders' of Evagrius, Nicephorus, Damascen, and Theodorus. A few of these will shew the ignorance and credulity of the ancient and modern patrons of idolatry.

The portrait of Jesus, sent to Abgarus, King of Edessa, claims the first place. His Edessan majesty, it seems, sent Ananias to Judea to draw the Messiah's likeness. This task the artist attempted, but could not perform, on account of the splendour which radiated from Emmanuel's countenance. Seeing the painter's embarrassment, Jesus washed his face, and, in a miraculous manner, impressed his sacred and divine likeness on a linen cloth, which, with the politest attention, he handed to Ananias. The Son of God, says Pope Gregory, sent Abgarus his glorious face, which the sovereign of Edessa worshipped with great devotion.[1] This portrait, wonderful to tell, the work of no mortal pencil, the creation of the Divine original, was left during a tedious lapse of five hundred years, to slumber on the niche of a wall, from which, after long oblivion; it was released by the hand of superstition or credulity. The unpencilled picture, made without hands, became the palladium of the nation's safety, and delivered the Edessans from the arms of the Persians. The silly fabrication, in reality, unknown in the days of Eusebius, was the invention of the sixth century. The Syrian legend, which adorned the annals of superstition and credulity, constituted the panoply of Gregory, Damascen, and the second Nicene council.

Images of lady Mary, as well as of her son, adorned the altar and edified the faithful. Arnold, it seems, in his peregrinations in Palestine, saw an extraordinary likeness of her ladyship. This portrait had been drawn on wood, which afterward, wonderful to tell, was transformed into human mould and assumed a living form and substance. Flesh grew over the wood of the tablet, and over the colours of the pencil.[2] The incarnated painting began to emit a fragrant oil, which healed the disorders of all kinds of men, Christians, Jews, and Saracens. The medicinal fluid continued, from age to age, to flow without any diminution either in quantity or effect.

John, who was a hermit and who lived in a cave in Palestine, twenty miles from Jerusalem, worshipped an image of lady Mary with her son in her arms, before which, in his cell, he

[1] Sacrum et gloriosum faciem suam ad eum misit. Greg. ad Leo. Labb. 8. 655. Spon. 31. XXIII. Evag. IV. 27. Cedren. 1, 140. Bin. 5. 716.

[2] Pictura super lignum est incarnata, et oleum maxime odoriferum emittere coepit. Spondan. 370. IX.

kept a candle always burning. The solitary made frequent peregrinations to Sina, to the great desert, and to Jerusalem, for the important purpose of adoring the holy cross. He was also a great votary of the martyrs; and shewing no mercy to his unfortunate feet, which he wore for the good of his soul, he visited Theodorus, John, Sergius, and Tecla. His journey would, at a time, occupy two, four, or six months; and, during his absence, he committed the light to the care of her ladyship, to prevent the mother and son from being in darkness. The anchoret travelled, and left the queen of heaven to snuff the candle. The mother of God executed the humble task with great fidelity. John, on his return from his holy and useful pilgrimages, found the candle always burning, and notwithstanding his long absence, remaining, through her ladyship's attention, not the least wasted.[1]

The cross, like the images of Jesus and Mary, became the object of worship and the agent of miracles. Theodorus, according to Bede and Godeau, brought the true cross from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and deposited it in the temple of Sophia. This wooden deity was there exhibited on the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of holy-week, for the adoration of the laymen, the women, and the clergy. The laymen on Thursday adored the jointed divinity, who, in all probability, was worm-eaten, but still perhaps respectable as Priapus. The women, on Friday, performed the sublime and august ceremony, and the clergy, on Saturday, engaged, with great piety and edification, in the same duty. The god was then locked in a chest to sleep for the rest of the year. During the display, and while the cross lay on the altar, the temple was filled with a wonderful odour. His transverse godship, it appears, was, among other attributes, distinguished by the superiority of his smell. A fragrant liquor, also, like oil, which healed all kinds of sickness, flowed in copious streams from the knots of the sacred wood, which composed the frame of this clumsy god.[2]

The authority, on which the second Nicene council as well as the moderns, Baronius, Bellarmine, Maimbourg, and Alexander rest these accounts, is, as the candid Du Pin has shewn, destitute of authenticity, pertinence, and antiquity. Many of their quotations for evidence are from suppositious productions. Works are ascribed to Basil, Chrysostom, and Athanasius, which these saints never saw, though cited in their name, by the Niceans, Baronius, and Bellarmine. Some of their authorities are impertinent as well as apocryphal. Many of the Nicene citations from Basil, Cyril, and Gregory, testify, says Du Pin, not the worship of images but merely their use.

[1] Labb. 8. 1451. Bin. 5. 718. [2] Beda, 323. Godeau, 5. 137. Horace, Sat 2

The authorities of the Niceans, Baronius, Bellarmine, and Alexander are as void of antiquity as of pertinence and authenticity. The sacred synod and their copyists could not, for their system, produce the testimony of a single father who lived prior to the fourth century. Their chief vouchers for this superstition are Chrysostom, Gregory, Athanasius, Basil, Cyril, Nilus, Simeon, Sophron, Anastasius, Leontius, Germanus, Damascen, and Evagrius. Chrysostom, Gregory, Athanasius, and Basil flourished in the fourth century, and the rest in the succeeding ages of Christianity. All these, it is admitted, lived after the introduction of symbolical worship. No author, for three hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era, is quoted. This tedious and lengthened period elapsed without a single individual, in all Christendom, to recommend or exemplify this impiety. The annals of these ages supply not a solitary testimony which ingenuity itself, and much less the stupidity of Gregory, Adrian, and the Nicene prelacy, could pervert into evidence for emblematic adoration.

The force of truth extorted confessions to this effect from many popish critics and historians. Many who were attached to Romanism have admitted the exclusion of images in the days of antiquity, notwithstanding the confident, but unfounded assertions of Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, Turriano, Juenin, Maimbourg, and many more of the same description. From among the number who have made this acknowledgement, may, as a specimen, be selected Petavius, Daniel, Mezeray, Alexander, Pagius, Du Pin, Erasmus, Cassander, Gyraldus, Mendoza, Bruys, Polydorus, Clemangis, and Crinitus. Petavius, Daniel, Mezeray, Alexander, Pagius, and Du Pin grant the scarcity or total want of painted or sculptured representations in primitive times, lest their use should have offended the Jews or tempted the Pagans to idolatry. Erasmus represents men of piety as excluding painted, sculptured, and woven images from Christian temples till the age of Jerome in the fourth century. Christians, at the commencement of preaching the Gospel, detested, says Cassander, the use and veneration of any likeness in the worship of God. According to Gyraldus, Christians, like the Romans, remained for some time without images. Mendoza, Bruys, Polydorus, and Clemangis make similar admissions. Crinitus reprehends Origen, Lactantius, and some others of the ancients for condemning symbolical worship.[1]

[1] Imagines, per tria priora sæcula in oratoriis collocatas non fuisse, nec frequenter etiam in domibus privatis servatas. Petav. in Juenin, 4. 380.

Dans le commencement de l'eglise, l'usage des images n'etoit pas frequent. Dan. 2. 77.

Les peintures et les images de relief etoient fort rares dans les eglises avant Constantine le grand. Mezeray, Av. Clov. 451.

The use of images, which preceded their worship and which commenced in the fourth century, was, on this topic, the first variation from Romanism. The Simonians, Carpocratians, Manicheans, and Collyridians, at an earlier date, had, as appears from Irenæus, Augustine, and Epiphanius, begun this impiety. The Gnostics, in succeeding times, began to worship the statues of Jesus, Pythagoras, and Plato, and the Simonian, Manichean, and Gnostic absurdity of emblematic worship, was afterward copied by the mistaken friends of Christianity. Images, says Alexander, unknown in Christendom in the first ages, were uncommon in the fourth century, and unnumbered among the implements of the church by Eusebius, Athanasius, Optatus, and Jerome.[1]

The second variation of Romanism, on this subject, consisted in the worship of images which succeeded their use. Many adored these lifeless forms on their first introduction into the Christian commonwealth. Their adoration, however, was not general till the end of the sixth century. But the innovation soon advanced to maturity. The visible similitudes of Saints and Martyrs became admirable physicians; and, by application to diseased limbs, effected astonishing cures. The credulity of the populace was fed with tales, miracles, visions, and the dreams of fanatical monks. The rank superstition in consequence had arrived at full growth, and appeared in all its disgusting formality in the beginning of the eighth century.

The use and worship of images, adopted from Gnosticism or Gentilism, became, in this way, an adventitious appendage of Christianity. The ugly excrescence was affixed to a fair system, as the deformity of a wen on the cheek of beauty. Idolatry, inconsistent indeed with Christianity, is congenial with the human mind. The Jews under a theocracy and the immediate tuition of heaven, often adored idols insteads of Jehovah. The

Vix ullum fuisse imaginum usum, tribus prioribus sæculis. Alex. 14. 655. Pagius, Ann. 56. Du Pin, 2. 43.

Veteres qui tanto studio obstiterunt, ne quid imaginum in templo Christiano reperietur. Erasm. 11. 1770.

In templis nullam ferebant imaginem. Erasm. 5. 1187.

Aliquanto tempore, inter Christianos imaginum usum non fuisse. Cassander, 162.

Nos dico Christianos, ut aliquando Romanos fuisse sine imaginibus, in primitiva quæ vocatur ecclesia. Gyraldus, I.

Abstinebant ad tempus. Mendoza. III. 5. Labb. 1. 1252.

Ils (les Empereurs) vouloient ramener la practique de primiers siecles. Bruys, 1. 608.

Simulachrorum cultum omnes fere veteres patres damnasse. Poly. Virg. VI. 13.

Statuit olim universa ecclesia ut nullæ in templis imagines ponerentur. Clemang. 151. Crinitus, IX. 9.

[1] Vix ullum fuisse imaginum usum tribus prioribus sæculis; nec admodum quarto etiam sæculo. Neque quarto sæculo statim in ecclesiis omnibus obtinuit, nec inter ecclesiæ instrumenta numeratæ fuerunt icones ab Eusebio, Athanasio, Optato, aut Hieronymo. Alex. 14, 654, 656. Iren. I. 24. Epiph. H. 27. Augustin, 8. 7.

heathen, forgetting the spiritual and invisible Deity, bowed to the sun, moon, and stars. The adoration of Gentilism, through a partiality to emblematic worship, was addressed to nearly every reptile of the earth and every luminary of the sky. The Christians, awed by the authority of heaven, were, for more than three ages, restrained from the headlong impiety. But the bias of the soul burst, at length, through the injunctions of the Creator, and launched with crowded canvass into the wide ocean of symbolical and popular superstition. The veneration of the cross and of relics was first introduced. The emblem of redemption or the remains of a saint were preserved with superstitious devotion. The portrait or the statue of the Saint or the Saviour succeeded, as more striking memorials of holiness or salvation. The painted or sculptured effigy, introduced indeed with caution, was allowed to adorn the oratory, instruct the ignorant, warm the frigid, or gratify the prepossessions of the convert from Gentilism. The new portraits and statues, though executed in defiance of all taste, spread from east to west, gratified the imagination of the superstitious, ornamented the Grecian Temple or Roman Basilic, and finally received the adoration of the deluded and degraded votary.

Symbolical worship, on its introduction, was opposed by Synodal, Episcopal, Pontifical, and Imperial authority. The impiety was interdicted by a synod in the beginning of the fourth century. The Council of Elvira in Spain, about the year 305, decreed, that 'pictures should not be in churches, lest what is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls.'[1] The decision of Elvira, which condemned the superstition, is in direct contradiction to the canons of Nicæa and Trent.

The popish theologians have exerted all their ingenuity to evade this unlucky enactment. Their comments display an amusing diversity; but an odd specimen of papal unity. Baronius and Bosius regard the council, or at least this canon, as a forgery of the Iconoclasts. This imputation is an admission of its hostility to the reigning system of Romanism. The groundless opinion, however, is now universally exploded. Vasquez, Sanderus, Turriano, and Bellarmine think that the Spanish prelacy forbad pictures, not on wood or canvass, but on walls, lest they should be defaced by the damp or profaned by the Jews and Pagans. Albaspinæus and Payva represent the interdiction as restricted to portraits of God. Mendoza, Pagius, and Bona would limit the prohibition to similitudes of the Trinity, lest that mystery should be divulged to the uninitiated. The Spanish episcopacy, according to Alan and Alexander, were

[1] Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur. Bin. 1. 235. Labbeus, 1. 995.

afraid of idolatry which then prevailed in the kingdom. Fleury accounted the canon a mere temporary decision, suited to the times of persecution. This explanation, says Bruys, is calculated to afford a laugh to the adversary.[1]

Carranza, Canus, Petavius, Alexander, Bruys, and Du Pin admit the genuineness and natural signification of the canon. but with different designs. Carranza accuses the Spanish bishops of error, and Canus of imprudence and impiety. Petavius, Alexander, Bruys, and Du Pin candidly confess that the primitive discipline still prevailed in Spain, to the exclusion of the use and worship of the portrait or the statue.[2] This indeed is the plain meaning of the canon: and every other gloss makes the words signify the direct contrary of what they say.

Emblematic worship, at its introduction, was prescribed by episcopal as well as by synodal authority. The empress Constantia sent to Eusebius of Cæsarea for an image of our Lord. But the bishop, in return, objected to the painting of either Emmanuel's divinity or humanity. The Deity, said Eusebius, has no form, and the manhood, clothed with Divine glory, cannot be represented by the lifeless colours of the pencil.[3]

The popish critics, in reply to this relation, display their unity by the variety of their answers. Petavius and Alan, without any reason, account it a forgery of the Iconoclasts. This, however, is a plain confession of its hostility to symbolical adoration. The Nicene council, in reply, called Eusebius an Arian: though, in the quotation, he acknowledges, in the plainest terms, the Godhead of the Son. Du Pin admits the weakness of the Nicene answer. Alexander, notwithstanding his prepossessions, grants that the Cæsarean Christians, adhering to primitive simplicity, used in that age no images.[4]

Epiphanius, like Eusebius, deprecated the adoration of visible representations. The bishop of Salamis and Metropolitan of Cyprus, passing through Anablatha in Palestine, saw the image of Jesus or some saint hanging on a wall before the door of the church. This the bishop rent, and declared such an abuse to be contrary to Scriptural authority, inconsistent with the Christian religion, and unworthy of a professing people. Jerome, who translated the letter, which contains this relation, and which was written by Epiphanius to John of

[1] Labbeus, 1. 1021. Bosius, XII. 1. Sanderus, III. 4. Turrian. I. 2. Bell. II. 9. Albasp. c. 36. Mend. III. 5. Alan. IV. 16. Fleury. IX.

[2] Imagines per tria priora sæcula in Oratoriis collocatas non fuisse. Petav. in Juen. 4. 380. Sublatum fuisse in provincia Boetica imaginum usum et cultum. Alexander, 14. 662. Du Pin, 1. 593. Canus V. 4. Labb. 1. 1052. Bruy. 90

[3] Juenin, 4. 390. Du Pin, 2. 37.

[4] Petav. XV. 14. Alex. 14 665.

Jerusalem, throws no blame on the Metropolitan, but, on the contrary, calls him a pattern of pristine sanctity.[1]

The worship of images was, in the seventh century, condemned by pontifical authority, as it had, on former occasions, been denounced by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and the council of Elvira. Serenus, the Massilian bishop, had demolished some images, which his flock, in mistaken piety, had adored. Gregory the Great, in 601, wrote to Serenus on this occasion; and blamed the bishop for breaking these pictures, but praised him, in unqualified language, for preventing their adoration. These similitudes, said his infallibility, are erected, "not for the worship of any, but ONLY for the instruction of the ignorant. Allow images therefore to be made, but forbid them to be worshipped in any manner." Such are the statements of Du Pin, Bruys, and Godeau. Du Pin renders Gregory's words by a French expression, signifying "in any manner whatever." Bruys translates the pontiff's language, "in any way," and Godeau "in every manner."[2]

Dionysius, Bellarmine, Alexander, and Juenin represent Gregory as condemning, not the subordinate veneration of images, but their supreme adoration. His infallibility, according to these critics, allowed the inferior homage of these pictures but interdicted their sovereign worship. This is to make his holiness mean the direct opposite of what he says. The interpretation is a diametrical inversion of the expression. The reasoning of these authors is a beautiful specimen of dialectics. Images, says Gregory, are intended only for instruction, and therefore, say Dionysius, Bellarmine, and Juenin, they are also designed for adoration. Pictures, according to his infallibility, are to be worshipped in no way, and therefore, according to modern logicians, they are to be worshipped in some way. These theologians reason like men, who wish to ridicule the subject on which they treat. The allegation of Dionysius, says Bruys, is ridiculous in the view of sincerity and impartiality.[3]

Synodal, episcopal, and pontifical authority began, in the eighth century, to be supported by imperial power. The bishop, the pontiff, and the council, attempted in vain to stem the tide

[1] Contra autoritatem Scripturarum. Jerom. 1. 828.
In ecclesiâ Christi istiusmodi vela quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt. Indigna est ecclesiâ Christi et populis, qui tibi crediti sunt. Jerom, 4. 829. Ep. 110. Alex. 14. 666. Du Pin, 1. 296. Juenin, 4. 380.

[2] Quia eas adorari vetuisses omnino laudavimus. Labb. 6. 1156.
Non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum. Greg. IX. Ep. 9.
Adorare vero imagines omnibus modis evita. Greg. ad Seren. Evitez en toute maniere, qu'on ne les adore. Godea. 5. 14. Du Pin, 1. 574.

[3] Diony. IV. 1. Alex. 14. 682. Bruy. I. 375.

of popular superstition. The current of idolatry, so congenial with human depravity, overwhelmed or subverted all the barriers of ecclesiastical prohibition. The clergy, like the laity, were hurried down the overflowing and headlong stream of apostacy, and bowed with the multitude to the painted or sculptured idol. The priesthood and the people, yielding to the inundation of error, perpetrated high treason against God, and substituted the work of the pencil and chisel for the Creator of earth and heaven. The emperor, on this exigency, interposed the arm of power, and shattered into fragments the objects of idolatry.

Leo the Isaurian was the first emperor who ventured to oppose the threatening impiety. This prince, though descended from an humble origin, and devoid of literary or philosophical attainments, possessed extraordinary vigour and intrepidity. Disgusted with the new idolatry, and stimulated by the sarcasms of the Jews and Saracens, he resolved to exterminate the Antichristian innovation. Full of this design, he convoked an assembly of the bishops and senators; and all these, except Germanus, concurred in the plan of eradicating the superstition, as an innovation in the church, a scandal to Christianity, and the degradation of man. The emperor, however, proceeded at first with caution. He interdicted the worship of images, and removed the idols from the altars to a higher place in the temples. This remedy proving insufficient, Leo ordered their demolition without delay or restriction.[1]

The execution of the imperial edict was attended with dreadful commotions. Leo, stigmatized for irreligion and heresy, was resisted by Germanus and Gregory, the patriarch and the pontiff. The partizans of superstition, priests and laymen, flew to arms. The Byzantine citizens, man and women, attacked the imperial army and massacred several of the soldiery. Some of the women fell in arms, and received, says Andilly, a glorious death as the reward of their piety.[2]

Pope Gregory, in the meantime, attacked Leo with the pen, as the Byzantines had assailed him with the sword. The pontiff, in his letter, characterized the emperor as stupid and ignorant, and in the warmth and benevolence of his zeal, "prayed the Lord to set the devil upon his majesty."[3] His infallibility's petition, no doubt, showed great piety. But the holy viceroy of heaven, while he described the emperor as a ninny and invoked the aid of Satan, took special care to mention his own

[1] Leon, d'une naissance obscure, ne devoit l'empire qu' à sa rare valeur. Vertot, 7. Theoph. 272. Labb. 8. 646. Giannon, V. §. 2. Alex. 14. 70.

[2] Labb. 8. 646. Andilly, 381.

[3] Invocamus Christum ut immittat tibi Daemonem. Labb. 8. 671. Bin. 5. 583 Bruys, 1. 530.

dignity, and represented himself as an earthly God. Gregory, in his supplication for Leo, had evinced great piety, and in like manner, in his report of himself, displayed equal modesty.

Theophanes, Alexander, Baronius, Maimbourg, and Pagius have flattered Gregory with the grossest adulation, notwithstanding his invocation of his infernal majesty. Theophanes represents his holiness as 'excelling in word and deed.' Alexander calls the superstitious blasphemer a 'holy pontiff.' Gregory's letter, says Baronius and Maimbourg, was worthy of the high pontiff who was its author.[1] The pontifical production, in its politeness and devotion, was quite satisfactory to the Jesuits. The epistle remains a lasting monument of the earthly God's erudition and infallibility. Gregory's devotion, in his reply to Leo, far surpassed Luther's in his answer to Henry. The German reformer certainly did not spare the English king. His zeal often evaporated in abuse and scurrility. But the reformer, in the use of these weapons, was far excelled by the pontiff. Gregory's devotion also outshone Luther's as much as his zeal. Luther, though he used language which did not exceed in urbanity, never ventured to solicit the interference of the devil. But the vicar-general of God prayed that Satan might be let loose on Leo, and this was the pontiff's best supplication for the emperor.

His holiness wielded not only his pen, but, if credit may be attached to Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Nicephorus, plied, on this occasion, his spiritual artillery, and excommunicated his majesty. He circulated apostolic letters through the empire, stimulating all to resist the imperial edict for the destruction of images. The Romans, Italians, Venetians, and Lombards flew to arms, in support of the pontiff and their idols, against their sovereign, whom they accounted guilty of apostacy and a design of substituting Judaism for Christianity. These holy warriors, who contended for the faith which was idolatry, overthrew Leo's statues, rejected his authority, withheld, at Gregory's command, the public revenue, elected a new magistracy, and finally separated Ravenna, Venice, Pentapolis, and the Roman dukedom from the imperial dominions.[2]

Ecclesiastical was mingled with military war, and the fulminations of councils with the tangible logic of the legions. Gregory the Second, in 726, assembled a Roman synod, consisting of the neighbouring bishops. His holiness presided in person, and opened the convention with a speech fraught with silly sophistry. The assembled prelacy, as in duty bound, acquies-

[1] Theoph. 272. Alex. 14. 68. Baron. An. 726. Pagi. Brev. 528. Maimb. 282.
[2] Gregoire disoit aux peuples qu'ils ne pouvoient en conscience payer des tributs à un prince heretique. Vertot, 13. Giannone, V. §. 2. Bruy. 1. 520. Lib. Pon. 156.

ced in his infallibility's dialectics, and issued an enactment enjoining image-worship, and denouncing iconoclasm, as pestilence and heresy. Gregory the Third followed his predecessor's example. His holiness, in 732, headed a Roman synod of ninety-three bishops, who issued a constitution establishing the apostolic practice of symbolical worship, and denouncing the profane atrocity of Iconoclasm.[1]

These western synods, superintended by the Roman pontiff, were opposed by an eastern, sanctioned by the Byzantine patriarch and the Grecian emperor. Leo had designed a general council for the decision of this point, which had excited such commotions through Christendom. This, however, was opposed by the pope and finally relinquished. Constantine, his son and successor, having subdued the Saracens, Bulgarians, and other Barbarians, turned his attention to the ecclesiastical state of the empire. He resolved to assemble a general council for the final settlement of the contested topic of Iconoclasm. He accordingly summoned the eastern bishops to meet at Constantinople, for the purpose of deciding the long-agitated controversy. The metropolitans were instructed to hold provincial councils of their suffragans for discussion, and for the attainment of information on the subject of disputation.

The imperial directions were obeyed; and the Grecian prelacy, to the amount of 338, met at Constantinople in the year 754. Anastasius being dead, Theodosius exarch of Asia, and Postillus metropolitan of Pamphilia presided: and the assembled fathers were left free of all imperial control. The session lasted six months; during which time, the subject was investigated with perseverance and deliberation. The result was as might be expected. The council condemned both the use and the worship of images. Their use was represented as dangerous and hurtful. Their worship was stigmatized as the invention of Satan, the sin of idolatry, and the restoration of paganism under the name of Christianity. The adoration of images, the Byzantine Synod pronounced blasphemy. Deposition was pronounced against the clergy, and excommunication against the laity, who should be guilty of the impiety. This decision was delivered as founded on the word of God, the definitions of councils, the usage of the church, and the faith of the fathers. The chief fathers, whom the Byzantines quoted, were Eusebius, Epiphanius, Amphilochius, and Theodotus.[2]

The abettors of emblematic substitutions in the worship of God have made the Byzantine synod the mark of insult and obloquy. Damascen represented it as destitute of authority.

[1] Labb. 8. 191. Bin. 5. 460. Labb. 8. 217.
[2] Theoph. 285. Zonaras, 2. 85. Bray. 1. 554.

The Niceans and monks accused it of heresy, Judaism, apostacy, Mahometanism, and blasphemy. Labbeus calls it a mad conventicle: whilst Baronius and Bellarmine found it guilty of folly, absurdity, irreligion, and profanity. The Byzantine fathers, says Andilly, 'worshipped the Devil.' These allegations, however, are all slanders. The mutilated acts of the assembly display decided evidence of sense and piety. The Niceans only showed their weakness in their attempts to confute its arguments. No good reason can be alleged against its universality. Its bishops were convened by the emperor: and were free and unanimous. The patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, did not indeed assist either in person or by delegation. But the Roman pontiff assisted neither by personal or deputed authority in the second and fifth general councils. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were under the control of the Saracens, and, in consequence, prevented from attending the Byzantine synod. But the Caliphs, in the same manner, hindered these dignitaries from appearing in the second Nicene council, which, nevertheless, was in the end vested with the honour of œcumenicity.[1]

The emperor, having by rigour and severity repressed the opposition of the monks, who were the great patrons of this superstition, and, in the end, suppressed the whole lazy order, succeeded in establishing the enactments of the Byzantine assembly and restoring the purity of Christian worship. Idolatry fled from the sanctuary of the church and retired to the caves of the wilderness. Andilly complains that 'the whole world had embraced the heresy of Iconoclasm.'[2] The oriental or Grecian communion, clergy and laity, submitted to the Constantinopolitan decisions, rejected idols, and returned to the simplicity of pristine purity.

The ancient and modern partizans of Popery have exhausted language in abusing the emperor's character, and contended, on this topic, for the palm of scandal and calumny. Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Baronius, Alexander, Petavius, Maimbourg, and Labbeus, in their zeal for orthodoxy and in their rivalry of detestation to heresy, have compared Copronymus, while living, to Nero, Domitian, and Dioclesian, and consigned him, when dead, to unquenchable fire in the lowest abyss of perdition.[3]

[1] Labb. 8. 650. Andilly, 389. Labb. 8. 648. Du Pin, 2. 36. Alex. 14. 688.
[2] Tout le monde avoit embrassé cette heresie. Andilly. 413.
[3] Πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ παραδοθήν. Theophan. 300.
Ad quæ migraret supplicia non obscure monstravit. Labb. 8. 649.
Æterno damnatum incendio. Petav. 1. 394. Cedren. 370. Zonaras, 2. 89. Alex. 14. 74. Andilly, 451.

The emperor not only destroyed images and relics, but also deprived saints of their titles. Paul and Peter, Georgius and Theodorus were, by imperial authority, divested of saintship. The two former were to be denominated apostles, and the two latter, martyrs: and this regulation he extended to the whole canonized confraternity. The mother of God herself did not escape the emperor's impiety. He proscribed the invocation, intercession, and holy-days of her ladyship, whom he represented as destitute of all power either in heaven or on earth. He would not even allow a petition to be preferred, or a holy day kept, in honour of the queen of heaven. This, which Alexander calls execrable blasphemy, was, to be sure, a shocking sin and a pestilent heresy, for which his name deserved to be consigned to ignominy and his soul to Satan.

The accession of Constantine and Irene, who succeeded Leo and Copronymus, diversified Christendom with another variation from Iconoclasm to idolatry. Irene, who during Constantine's minority executed the imperial power, was the patroness and protector of emblematical adoration. This women possessed the ambition of Lucifer and the malignity of a demon. Many historians have accused her of being instrumental to the murder of her husband; and the circumstances of his death create strong suspicions. She swore against the worship of images, which she revived, and therefore was guilty of perjury. She put out the eyes of Nicephorus, and amputated the tongues of Christopher, Nicetas, Anthemus, and Eudoxas, Constantine's sons, for suspicion of conspiracy. She destroyed the eyes of her own son with such barbarity, that, according to Theophanes, he expired in agony. The sun, avenging the deed of cruelty, continued, say the Greek historians, to withhold his rays for seventeen days; while ships, deprived of light, wandered on the darkened ocean. Heaven, says Moreri, felt a horror at the work of inhumanity. An ambiguity in Theophanes deceived some moderns, whose error has been adopted by the credulity of Popery and copied by the zeal of Protestantism. The son of Irene, blinded indeed by the maternal tenderness of his parent, survived many years, oppressed by the court and forgotten by the world. 'No woman,' says Bruys, 'was ever less worthy of life than this princess.' 'Her ambition,' says Godeau, 'made her violate all the laws of God and man.'[1] These accomplishments fitted the empress for the agency of Satan in the restoration of idolatry. She was worthy of the task which she undertook and executed.

Many, indeed, both Greeks and Latins, have praised Irene's

[1] Zonaras, 2. 85, 95. Theoph. 317 Pentav. 1. 396. Moreri, 5. 168. Bruy. 1 696. Godeau, 5. 649.

purity, zeal, piety, and constancy. Theodorus and Theophanes extol her virtue and excellence. The Greeks placed her among the saints in their menology; and, in holy festivity, celebrate her anniversary. Hartmann and Binius, in more modern times, flatter her prudence and piety. Alexander lauds 'her religion and faith, as worthy of immortal honour,' though her ambition and the blinding of her son, he admits, 'exposed her to reprehension.' Andilly eulogizes 'the virtue and devotion of this princess, who soared above the weakness of her sex, and restored the church to its primeval beauty.' Baronius justifies 'the assassination of her son.' He commends 'the inhumanity which arose from zeal for religion.' The annalist even dares, in shocking and blasphemous misapplication, to abuse scriptural language in support of the atrocity.[1]

The empress, in the prosecution of her plan, began with an act, which in itself may be commendable, but which, in Irene as afterward in the papist, James II. king of England, was only an ostensible step to the accomplishment of a secret design, destructive in the end of the pretended project. She proclaimed liberty of conscience to all her subjects, which, in this deceiver, was only preparatory to the total destruction of all freedom of worship. She next, in furtherance of her scheme, promoted Tarasius her secretary, who was devoted to idols, and who possessed resolution and address, but a layman, to the patriarchal dignity. She summoned a general council for the settlement of the controversy and the restoration of peace. Adrian, the Roman pontiff, delegated two sacerdotal representatives of his holiness. The patriarch of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, oppressed by the Saracens, could attend neither in person nor by representation. But two vagabond monks, without any commission, assumed for the occasion their authority; though undeputed, say Baronius and Godeau, by these oriental prelates.[2] The bishops, amounting to three hundred, met at Nicæa, and were all from the eastern empire, which, owing to the incursions of the Saracens and the separation of the western provinces, was exceedingly contracted. No bishops attended from Africa, Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or Britain.

The council, after its convention, soon despatched the business for which it had assembled. Eighteen days of uproar and

m

[1] Mulier prudentissima et religiosa. Hartmann, in Ætat. VI.
Religione et pietate florentissima mulier. Bin. 5. 583.
Διεκρεκτεν ευσεβεια. Theoph. 273. Launoy, 4. 227.
Ob religionem, fidem, et pietatem, immortali laude digna Irene. Alex. 14. 413. Andilly, 451. Spon. 797. 1.

[2] Les patriarches ne les avoient pas proprement deputez. Godeau, 5. 597. Baron. Ann. 785. Theophanes, 369. Platina, 107. Bin. 6. 151. Crabb. 2. 458.

cursing, ended in a definition of faith in favour of idolatry. Painted, woven, and sculptured images of Jesus, Mary, angels, saints, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all holy men, were, according to the Nicene enactment, to be erected in churches, houses, and highways; on walls, tablets, holy vestments, and sacred vessels; and these were to be worshipped not with sovereign but honorary adoration. The person who should dissent, was, if an ecclesiastic, to be deposed, and, if a layman, to be excommunicated. This definition, which the good bishops in loud vociferation declared to be the faith of the apostles, the fathers, and the church, was signed by the council, the empress, and afterward by pope Adrian.

The sacred synod, having issued this Christian definition, had only one other duty to perform. This consisted in the ceremony of the parting benediction. The holy fathers, on this as on similar occasions, always concluded their sessions with bestowing their blessing in very evangelical terms, on all who should have the assurance to reject their infallible authority. This benediction consisted in an anthem of execrations, not indeed sung but shouted in concert, and in deafening yells, against all who should deny or oppose their oracular decisions.[1] "Cursed," roared the holy men, "cursed be all who do not salute, honour, venerate, worship, and adore the holy images. Cursed be they who call images idols. Cursed be all those who dissent. Cursed be all who gainsay. Cursed be all Iconoclasts. Cursed be all who hold communion with Iconoclasts." The holy men certainly showed themselves adepts in the Christian accomplishment of cursing, and delivered their maledictions with wonderful freedom and precision. The infallible fathers, whatever might have been their skill in theology, were masters in the art of launching imprecations. It was well they did not burst their precious lungs in pronouncing these anathemas. Their shoulders, after being delivered from such a load of denunciations, must have felt relieved, light, and easy.[2]

The Nicene council was an intriguing cabal of knaves and superstitionists. 'Its acts,' says Gibbon, 'remain a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly.' The French king and prelacy, in the Caroline Books, pronounced the Nicene assembly destitute of eloquence and common sense. The eighteen general councils indeed are so many instances of human perversity. But the Niceans, in this respect, seemed to have eclipsed all their predecessors and successors, and to have fairly carried away the palm of credulity, ignorance, jargon, and knavery. Partial as weak, the

[1] Caron. 490. Crabb. 2. 599. Bruy. 1. 584. Mabillon, 2. 280.
[2] Crabb. 2. 605. Bin. 5. 722. Caron, 401. Labb. 8. 1226

Nicene fathers were the mere tools of a superstitious empress, and were assembled not to examine but to dogmatize, not to try the cause, but to pronounce sentence. Their decision denoted 'a foregone conclusion.' The council were the passive creatures of an arbitrary and wicked woman, and submitted with crouching imbecility to imperial dictation.[1]

The Byzantine and Nicene councils of the Greeks were rejected by all the Latins, except the Italians, and exhibit in striking colours the diversity of Romanism. The Greeks were divided into two factions, the Iconolatrians and the Iconoclasts. The former were devoted to the use and worship of images: both of which the latter rejected. The Iconolatrians bowed to the decision of the Nicene Synod sanctioned by Irene; and the Iconoclasts submitted to the Constantinopolitan council sanctioned by Constantine. The Latins, except the mere creatures of the pope, patronized a third system, and admitted the use of painted and sculptured representations, but deprecated their adoration. These steered a middle course between the adoration and the destruction of the portrait and the statue, which they admitted into the temple, not as objects of worship, but as ornaments of the sanctuary, and memorials of devotion and history. This system, which is a medium between the worship and abolition of symbolical substitutions, was adopted in France, Germany, Spain, and England.[2] This appears from the opposition of the Caroline Books, the English clergy, and the Frankfordian and Parisian councils.

The Caroline Books, which were the composition of the French clergy in the name of the French monarch Charlemagne, who published the work as his own production, deprecated Iconoclasm and Iconolatrianism, and censured the Byzantine and Nicene councils. The imperial critic and theologian arraigned the Byzantines for ignorance and temerity, in confounding images with idols, and banishing these ornaments of the temple, these memorials of piety, and helps of instruction.[3]

The royal disputant, however, stigmatized the Niceans with the deepest marks of reprehension. He disclaimed their authority, and deprecated, in the strongest terms, their anathemas and errors. He called the Nicene council the false synod of the Greeks, and ridiculed its assumed universality as a mere dotage: while he exposed the madness of their imprecations against all who rejected their superstition. These observations, the Western emperor accompanied with many cutting reflec-

[1] Gibbon, 9. 145. Du Pin, 2. 39.
[2] Dan 2. 79. Moreri, 4. 171. Alex. 14. 750. Du Pin, 2. 43
[3] Lib. Carol. 1. 1. Du Pin, 2. 39. Velly. 1. 438.

tions on the Eastern empress and the Byzantine patriarch, who had patronized the impiety.

The French sovereign refuted all the arguments of the Niceans, and proscribed all image-worship of every description. He condemned this kind of adoration in all its forms; whether denominated veneration, worship, salutation, honour, homage, or invocation: while, in diametrical opposition to the Nicene definition, he prohibited the lighting, incensing, and kissing of these senseless productions of the pencil or chisel. The sovereign, in direct opposition to the holy œcumenical assembly of Nicea, interdicted the honouring of images even with relative worship, or the veneration due under the Jewish establishment to the ark, or under the Christian dispensation, to the Bible. Image-worship, in all its forms, he characterized as superfluity, superstition, vanity, sacrilege, and superlative absurdity.[1]

The opposition to the Nicene council, in the Caroline Books, has been acknowledged by all the candid critics of Romanism; such as Daniel, Du Pin, Moreri, Bruys, and Mabillon. The Caroline Books, says Daniel, 'represent the Nicene convention as the object of execration, and turn all its arguments into ridicule.'[2] Similar statements are found in Du Pin, Moreri, Bruys, Mabillon, and many other historians.

These statements are corroborated by the admission of those who deny the genuineness of the Caroline Books, such as Bellarmine, Surius, Sanderus, and Alan.[3] These critics account the Caroline publication a forgery, composed by some friend of Iconoclasm and transmitted by Charlemagne to Adrian for refutation. The insinuation of forgery has been amply confuted by Alexander and Juenin; and is now abandoned. But the patrons of this opinion grant, that the design and tendency of the imperial production was to overthrow the Nicene council and symbolical worship.

The Nicene council, rejected in this manner by the French, was also disclaimed by the English. Offa, king of the Mercians, transmitted a copy of its acts to the British clergy, who, according to Hoveden and Westminister, condemned its definition as contrary to the faith, and worthy of execration by the whole church of God.[4] Alcuin, at the instance of the English

[1] Lib. Carol. 11. 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30. Juenin, 4. 396. Alex. 14. 691, 737. Bruy. 1. 586. Du Pin, 2. 40.

[2] Dans cet ouvrage le concile de Nicée tenu contre les Brises-images est representé comme un objet d'execration, une affectation de tourner en ridicule toutes les preuves du dogma. Dan. 2. 81.

[3] Bell. II. 15. Sand. II. 5.

[4] Omnino ecclesiâ Dei execratur. Hoveden, Ann. 792. West. Ann. 793. Alex 14. 739. Spelm. 1. 308.

Contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt. Labb. 9. 101. Alex. 14. 205.

episcopacy, confuted the Nicene dogma on scriptural authority, in a work which was afterward presented in their name to Charlemagne the French king.

The Nicene council, disclaimed in this manner by the French and British clergy, was, in 794, condemned at Frankfort, by the whole Western prelacy. This synod was assembled by the Western emperor from all Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and England, and consisted of three hundred bishops with the Roman pontiff's vicars Theophylact and Stephen. The Frankfordian council, Baronius admits, was, from its numbers and the presidency of the papal legates, called plenary or general.[1]

Its second canon condemned the definition of the second Nicene council on the worship of images. The Frankfordians called the Nicene, the Byzantine council, because it began and ended at Constantinople. In order to reconcile the jarring councils, Alan, Valentia, Vasquez, and Binius, have alleged that the fathers of Frankfort condemned, not the assembly under Irene in favour of image-worship, but the synod under Constantine in favour of Iconoclasm. But the supposition is unfounded, and, at the present day, is rejected by the ablest popish critics. The Frankfordian canon condemns emblematic adoration; and therefore is in direct hostility to the Nicene definition. This condemnation of the Niceans by the Frankfordians was maintained by all the contemporary historians, and has been admitted by all the papal authors possessing any candour till the present day. The fact is attested by Eginhard, Hincmar, Adhelm, Ado, Conrad, Regino, Aimon, Herman, and Aventinus, as well as by Mabillon, Bellarmine, Velly, Platina, Baronius, Perron, Cassander, Moreri, and Du Pin.[2] 'The second canon of Frankfort, says Mabillon, 'was enacted against the Byzantine or Nicene Synod of the Greeks, which the French, at that time, did not account universal, because it was composed of the Orientals and not yet received by the Westerns.' According to Bellarmine, 'image-worship and the sixth general council were proscribed at Frankfort.' The Frankfordians, says Velly, 'unanimously rejected the authority and universality of the second Nicean assembly.' The statements of Platina, Baronius, Perron, Cassander, Moreri, and Du Pin, are similar to those of Mabillon, Bellarmine, and Velly.

[1] Bin. 6. 184. Labb. 9. 57. Spon. 794. III.

[2] Secundus est contra novam synodum Græcorum Constantinopoli habitam, id est, contra secundam Nicænam, quam Galli tunc pro universali haberi non ferebat. Mabillon, 2. 311. In synodo Francofordiensi esse definitum ut imagines non adoretur. Bellarmin, II. 14. Les pères de Francfort le rejetterent d'un consentement unanime et defenderent de le regarder comme Œcumenique. Velly, 1. 432; Gordean, 5. 635. Alex. 14. 730, 732. Platina, 107. Bin. 6. 186. Moreri, 4. 171.

The Frankfordians, besides condemning the Niceans, 'prohibited all kinds of image worship,' without any exception or limitation.[1] The assembly, in the second canon, interdicted this kind of homage, 'in all its forms,' whether denominated respect, honour, invocation, worship, or adoration. One indeed can hardly help feeling some pity for Baronius, Alexander, Maimbourg, Pagius, and Juenin, in their attempts to elude the unqualified and unsparing prohibition contained in this unyielding and unmanageable canon. The Frankfordian council also adopted and sanctioned the Caroline Books, which had proscribed every species of symbolical adoration. The Caroline Books besides had approved the sentiments of Gregory the Great, who, in his epistle to Serenus, had denounced every description of image-worship. The language of the pontiff, the emperor, and the council on these occasions is so clear and unambiguous as to defy all the efforts of evasion and chicanery.

The Frankfordian council was followed by the Parisian synod under Lewis in 825. This assembly met at the suggestion of Michael the Grecian emperor, by permission of Eugenius the Roman pontiff, and by the authority of Lewis the French king. Michael sent a solemn embassy to Lewis, requesting his interference with Eugenius for the settlement of the protracted divisions respecting emblematic worship. Lewis interposed his influence, and endeavoured to engage Eugenius against the new idolatry, but without success. The Roman hierarch, however, granted the French prelacy the liberty of assembling for the examination of the controversy. A synod therefore met at Paris in 825, and consisted of the most learned and judicious of the French clergy; such as Agobard, Jeremy, Jonas, Freculf, Theodomir, Amalarius, and Dungal.[2]

The sacred synod, assembled in consultation, decided against the Roman pontiff, the Nicene council, and symbolical adoration. The Parisians, it must be confessed, treated Adrian, God's vicar-general, with very little ceremony. The French episcopacy, in Daniel's statement, 'spoke of the Roman pontiff, as well as of the Nicene council, with the utmost contempt;' and had the assurance, according to Bruys, Labbeus, and Alexander, to charge his infallibility with ignorance, superstition, impertinence, indiscretion, absurdity, falsehood, impiety, error, obstinacy, and opposition to the truth.[3] This was hardly

[1] Sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitutem renuentes contempserunt. Labb. 9. 101. Alex. 14. 205. Juenin. 4. 397.

[2] Mabillon, 2. 495. Alex. 14. 749. Bruy. 2. 9.

[3] Ils parloient avec beaucoup de mepris de celle que le Pape Adrian I. avoit ecrite quelques années auparavant à l'Imperatrice Irene. Ils ne traitoient pas mieux le second concile de Nicée, et l'ouvrage que le même Pape avoit fait pour le defendre contre les Livres Carolins. Dan. 2. 211.

civil to the head of the church, and is calculated to convey no high opinion of French politeness in the ninth century.

The Parisian assembly censured the holy, infallible, Nicene synod with equal freedom. The Niceans, these refractory Parisians found guilty of presumption, ignorance, error, and superstition. The Grecian council also, according to these French critics, tortured revelation and tradition to extort evidence in favour of emblematic adoration. The Nicene definition was represented as contrary to reason, revelation, and tradition: and many passages, in proof of this allegation, were collected from the fathers and other ecclesiastical monuments. The Caroline Books against the Nicene council and sculptured adoration were approved and sanctioned.[1] The French clergy, it seems, were insensible to Nicene infallibility.

The French convention, in unequivocal language, condemned image worship, and in very unflattering terms, 'traced the origin of this pestilential superstition in Italy to ignorance and the wickedest custom.' The Parisian prelacy would allow this plague no better origin than Roman and Italian usage, ignorance, and atrocity. The likeness of the saint, they described as unworthy of adoration, and inferior to the cross and the holy vessels of the sanctuary.[2]

The Latins, in this manner, through Germany, France, Spain, England, Ireland, and Scotland, rejected the new form of idolatry. The French, in particular, resisted the novelty with firmness and freedom. This, in consequence, Sirmond called the French heresy. The impugners of the superstition in France, Mezeray describes as superior in number and erudition. Daniel, following Mezeray, represents the innovation as deprecated by the more numerous and learned of the French nation. These, in the strongest language, denounced the adoration of images; though, steering a middle course between their worship and abolition, they permitted their use for the ornament of temples, the instruction of spectators, and the encouragement of devotion.

Ils jugerent impies les responses du Pape. Il y a certaines choses, qu'il y a apposé à la verité. Bruy. 2. 9, 10.

Ignoranter in eodem facto a recto tamite deviaverit. Indiscretè fecisse in eo quod superstitiosè eas adorari jussit. Labb. 9. 645, 446.

Eum inseruisse in eadem epistola quædam testimonia Patrum valde absona, et ad rem de tua agebatur minime pertinentia. Alex. 14. 749.

[1] Ils passerent jusque à condamner le septième synode. Godea. 6. 65

Isti non mediocriter erraverunt. Quædam Scripturarum testimonia et Patrum dicta ad suum superstitiosum errorem confirmandum violenter sumpserunt et eidem suo operi incompetenter aptaverunt. Alex. 14. 749. Ils approuverent la censure que Charlemagne avoit faite du concile de Nicée dans les Livres Carolins. Bruy. 2. 9.

[2] Il ne falloit point permettre le culte des images. Mezeray, L. 409. Partim veritatis ignorantiâ, partim pessimæ consuetudinis usu, hujus superstitionis pestis in ipsâ etiam Italiâ molevisset. Alex. 14 750. Juenin, 4. 394. 412.

Charlemagne, Agobard, Jonas and Walafrid, in particular, resisted the novelty with distinguished ability. This has been stated in clear terms by Godeau, Mabillon, and Mezeray. Godeau remarks that the French king wrote a work against this kind of worship to Pope Adrian. The Caroline Books also were pointed against the rising superstition. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, acted a distinguished part in the controversy. This prelate, Mabillon observes, recommended the destruction of images rather than their adoration. This description of homage, even when relative, Agobard, says Godeau, 'declared a violation of the faith, a change of forms rather than a renunciation of idols, and an act inconsistent with the sincere worship of God.' Jonas, bishop of Orleans, according to this historian, 'entertained the same opinion.' Mezeray delivers the same account of Jonas and Agobard, and relates their hostility to the new mode of worship. Walafrid, though more moderate, avowed, on this topic, similar sentiments. The French, Mabillon grants, 'persisted in this system till the end of the ninth century.'[1]

Such was the hostility in the West against image-worship. Its destiny, in the East, was less uniform. The propagation of the impiety among the Greeks, with whom it originated, was, for half a century after as well as before the Nicene council, attended with many vicissitudes and variations. The Empress Irene had, during the minority of her son Constantine, established the superstition by an ecclesiastical decision, which she supported by civil enactments. Idolatry, in consequence, gained a temporary triumph. The victory, however, was transitory. Constantine, on obtaining a shadow of power, proceeded, says Platina, to repeal the synodal and imperial laws in favour of emblematic worship. But Constantine's authority was also temporary. The orthodox mother deprived the heretical son of his power and his eyes: and, by these means, restored the painted, woven, and sculptured gods to all their glory. Their adoration, however, was destined soon to experience another revolution. Irene, the tender parent and pious empress, departed, and was enrolled as a saint in the firmament of Grecian Menology, in which, to the present day, she shines as a star of the first magnitude. Nicephorus, her successor, allowed a general liberty of worship, which, according to the monks,

[1] Plusieurs et des plus doctes, entre autre Jonas d'Orleans et Agobard de Lyon, ne pouvoient suffrir qu'on adora les image. Mezeray, 1. 409. Plusieurs etoit d'avis qu'ne falloit point leur rendre de culte. Ce parti, qui tenoit le milieu entre l'adoration et l'abolition des images, paroit avoir été celui de plus grande partie des scavans de France et de la cour. Daniel, 2. 79.

Charlemagne envoya un Livre contre le culte des images au Pape. Godeau. 5.

caused his temporal and eternal perdition.[1] Michael's reign was marked by superstition and idolatry; whilst the monks and idols that he patronized were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne.

The accession of Leo the Armenian again changed the scene. He assembled a council at Constantinople in the year 814. This synod approved and confirmed the Byzantine conncil, and, at the same time, condemned and anathematized the Nicene convention. The emperor, in consequence, was assailed with all kinds of vituperation and obloquy. A Byzantine synod of 270 bishops called his majesty the harbinger of antichrist and the fiery oven of blasphemy.[2] The imperial hostility to image-worship, these holy men compared to the fury of a lion roaring in the forest for his prey.

Michael, Leo's assassin and successor, granted universal toleration, which he hoped would be attended with general tranquillity. But his clemency only provoked the insolence of the faction that abetted idolatry, who refused to grant the liberty which they claimed. Their fury aroused imperial vengeance. Michael, in 821, called a council to determine the controversy. But the partizans of the idols, pretending that it was unlawful for the patrons of catholicism to meet the abettors of heresy, refused to attend. The emperor afterward treated the haughty faction with rigour. Michael's timidity, however, mitigated his severity. But Theophilus, his son and successor, regardless of fear or pity, was the determined and uncompromising patron of Iconoclasm. His energy restored tranquillity to the state, and banished idolatry in a great measure from the church. The clergy and laity submitted to the imperial authority; while the eastern and western Christians seemed again to relinguish idolatry.[3] The Grecian Monks alone in the east, and the Latin pontiff with his immediate dependants, continued to murmur and support the honour of the idols.

Such were the dissensions which raged in Christendom, for a century, on image worship. This diversity has been admitted by Tarasius, Adrian, and Daniel.[4] Tarasius, the Byzantine patriarch in 784, lamented the schisms and divisions in the

612. Satius putat abjicere et comminuere. Mabillon. 2. 614. Agobard 'sefforce de prouver qu'il n'est point permis aux Chrestiens d'avoir des images par lesquelles la foi est violée. Si les Chrestiens etoient obligez de les honorer ils auroient plûtot changé des simulachres qu'abandonne les idoles. Jonas eveque d'Orleans fut de même opinion. Godeau, 5. 612. Gallicana ecclesia in sua sententia perstitit usque ad finem sæcali noni. Mabillon, 2. 495.

[1] Crabb, 2. 457. Platina, 107.

[2] Antichristi præcursor, cujus ex ore egreditur igneus blasphemiæ olibanus. Labb. 9. 386, 390. Bin. 6. 232. Coss. 1. 781.

[3] Bin. 6. 295. Coss. 1. 821. Theod. II. Ep. 86.

[4] Video ecclesiam scissam et divisam, et nos alias atque aliter loquentes, et aliter eos Christianos qui in Oriente unius nobiscum sunt fidei, sed et his concordantes

Christian Commonwealth. He represented the Byzantine church as having embraced, on this subject, a different system from the other oriental Christians; and the result, he added, was mutual anathemas. Adrian, the Roman pontiff, declared, in his letter to the emperor, that all the eastern world on this topic had erred, prior to the accession of his Grecian majesty. Daniel acknowledges the prevalence of this heresy in oriental Christendom, as well as in the western communion. Amidst this diversity, however, an overwhelming majority, according to the confession of Tarasius, Adrian, and Daniel, disclaimed the faith of symbolical worship.

Image-worship, after the revolutions of more than a century, was finally established in the east by the Empress Theodora. Theophilus dying, left Theodora his widow guardian of the empire during the minority of his son Michael. This delegated power, she used for the restoration of idolatry. Her measures were bold, summary, and decisive. John the Byzantine Patriarch, who was an Iconoclast, Theodora deposed: and Methodius, who was an Iconolatrian, she raised to the patriarchal dignity. A council, in 842, was assembled at Constantinople, in which Iconoclasm was condemned, and image-worship, in all its heathenism, was sanctioned. John, who had been patriarch, received 200 lashes for being in the right. The punishment of the patriarch had a happy effect on the inferior clergy. The empress knew the proper argument for the occasion. The logic of the lash possessed wonderful efficacy in enlightening the episcopal intellects, regulating the prelatic consciences, and teaching the proselyted priesthood the duty of idolatry. Many, who had been the devoted friends of Iconoclasm, changed their minds, and anathematized, in loud vociferation, the patrons of that heresy. All, with unvarying unanimity, shouted for the restoration of the idols. The festival of orthodoxy was instituted as a trophy of their triumph, and an annual commemoration of their victory. A heresy, say the historians of this controversy, was in this manner suppressed, which, bursting from the portals of hell, had, for a hundred and twenty years, raged against the church of God.[1]

This superstition was imposed on Christendom, not by synodal or ecclesiastical authority, but by civil and imperial despotism. Only a despicable minority of the clergy had, on any occasion, voted for the impiety. The Christian community, at the accession of Constantine the first Christian emperor, consisted, according to Paolo, Holstenius, and Bingham, of 1800

Occidentales et nos ab omnibus illis alienatos et per singulas dies anathematizatos habere. Labb. 8. 679. Theophanes, 308. Omnis populus qui est in Orientalibus partibus erraverunt. Adrian ad Constan. Labb. 8. 746. Dan. 2. 214.

[1] Bin. 6. 396. Labb. 919, 920.

bishops. One thousand were Greeks and eight hundred Latins. These must have been much increased under Theodora in the ninth century. But the greatest number that, on any occasion, voted for symbolical worship, amounted only to 350 in the Nicean council. These were all the ecclesiastical troops which Irene could bring to the field in favour of her darling idolatry; and, at a fair calculation, could amount only to about a sixth of the whole, and therefore only a small minority. Three hundred and thirty-eight Grecian bishops under Constantine, voted for Iconoclasm: and only the monks of the east opposed. The Roman Pontiff alone and a few of his mere creatures in the west supported the superstition. All the Latins, these excepted, opposed the impiety. But the tendency of idolatry is headlong and downhill. Man, led by sense and imagination, delights in a visible Deity or his effigy, before whom he may bow and prefer his adoration. This tendency of the human mind prevailed, and idols were introduced in opposition to reason, revelation, and common sense.

CHAPTER XVII.

PURGATORY.

ITS SITUATION AND PUNISHMENTS—DESTITUTE OF SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY—ADMISSIONS—SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENTS—DESTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY—ADMISSIONS—PRAYER FOR THE DEAD—PAGAN, JEWISH, AND MAHOMETAN PURGATORY—ITS INTRODUCTION INTO THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY—ITS SLOW PROGRESS—COMPLETED BY THE SCHOOLMEN—FLORENTINE COUNCIL—TRENTINE COUNCIL.

PURGATORY, in the Romish theology, is a middle place or state, in which departed souls make expiation for venial faults, and for the temporal punishment of mortal sins. Romanism represents sin as venial or mortal, or, in other terms, as trivial or aggravated. Those who depart this life guilty of mortal or aggravated sin go direct to hell, from which there is no redemption. Those who die guiltless of venial or trivial sins, and, at the same time, of the temporal penalty of aggravated transgression, go immediately to heaven. But many, belonging to neither of these two classes, are, at the hour of death, obnoxious to the penalty attached to venial faults and the temporal pains of heinous iniquity. These, in purgatory, undergo the due punishment; and, purified by this means, are admitted into heaven. All mankind, says the Florentine council, consist of saints, sinners, and an intermediate class. Saints go to heaven; sinners go to hell; and the middling class to purgatory.[1]

Agreed, in accordance with the councils of Florence and Trent, on the existence of a middle state, the Popish theologians differ on the place and medium of punishment. Bellarmine reckons eight variations of opinion on its situation. Augustine, according to Bellarmine and Aquinas, divested this intermediate mansion of all material locality: and characterized it as a spiritual residence for spiritual souls.[1] The middle receptacle of

[1] Labb. 18. 533. et 20. 170. Crabb. 3. 476, 939. Bin. 9. 322. Arsdekin, 1. 227. Paolo, 1. 280. Alex. 9. 352.

Tria esse loca, nempe, sanctorum animas esse in Coelo, peccatorum in inferno. Medium vero locum esse habentium peccata venialia. Labb. 18. 26.

Ad purgatorium deferuntur justorum animæ, obnoxiæ pœnis temporalibus. Dens, 7. 347.

[2] Bell. II. 6. Aquin. 3. 541. Certum est, purgatorium esse aliquem locum corporalem. Faber, 2. 448.

human spirits, the African saint alleged, is an ideal world. But this notion, it appears, he afterwards retraced.

Alexander is doubtful whether the purgatorial realms are in this world; under the earth; in the dark air with devils; in the hell of the damned; or in its vicinity.[1] Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, and Furseus, say Bellarmine and Bede, place it with devils in the air between heaven and earth. Chrysostom and Gregory Nyssen however, saints as they were, had no opportunity beyond other mortals of ascertaining the fact: nor was the fiction invented in their day. But Furseus, in a vision, saw the place of expiation and therefore had a right to know.

Many identify purgatory with hell. The punishments, indeed, of the former are temporary, while those of the latter are everlasting. But the situation and severity of the pains, in the idea of these speculators, are the same.

The majority, however, make this earth the scene of posthumous expiation. Gregory and Damian, with glaring inconsistency, lay the scene in different parts of the world, where conscience accuses or where the criminal offended. His infallibility and his saintship could drill a luckless ghost in any convenient place, such as an icy stream, a warm bath, a flaming cavern, or a burning mountain. Aquinas and Bellarmine show a strong inclination to the theory of Gregory and Damian.[2]

The schoolmen place this intermediate state of punishment in the bowels of the earth. The vast cavity in the central region of the world is, according to these theologians, divided into four apartments, which form hell, purgatory, and the limbo of infants and of the fathers. The two former, it appears, are in the same neighbourhood. Purgatory, says Faber, 'is on the brink of hell.'[3] The prison of children is raised above purgatory, say the schoolmen and Innocent the Third, so that the flames of the latter come not near the establishment of the former.[4] The prison of the fathers was left empty at the descent of the Messiah, who liberated the Jewish saints. Its dominions, therefore, are now uninhabited, and its cities, if it have any, are useless and

[1] Utrum vel in hoc mundo et super terram; vel in aëre caliginosa ubi dæmones versantur, vel in inferno damnatorum, vel in vicino terram subtus loco. Alex. 9. 352. Beda, III. 19.

[2] Greg. Dial. IV. 40. Aquin. 3. 544.

[3] Purgatorium esse infra viscera terræ. Alex. 9. 352. Habemus Purgatorium, Infernum, et limbos patrum, et puerorum loca subterranea esse. Infernum et purgatorium sunt loco vicina. Bell. II. 6. Aquin. III. 69. VII.

Est sub terra, vicinus inferno. Dens, 7. 353. Est sub terra, versus centrum, ad ripam inferni. Faber, 2. 448, 449.

[4] Infernum damnatorum, secundum omnes, est in ipso centro terræ. Ultra infernum et purgatorium est et limbus puerorum, et fuerit limbus sanctorum patrum. Limbus patrum erat remotus a centro et prope terram. Locus puerorum est super purgatorium et infra limbum sanctorum patrum. Faber, 2. 449.

may fall into ruin. Purgatory, in like manner, will, at the resurrection, be evacuated and fall into similar dilapidation.[1]

Gregory the Great, the universal pastor, sanctioned this speculation by his unerring authority. Believing this place of temporary and eternal punishment to be in the central regions of the earth, his infallibility considered the volcanic eruptions of Vesuvius, Ætna, and Hecla, as flames arising from hell and purgatory, which, according to his holiness, lay in the same neighbourhood, in the hollow bosom of the world. These Volcanoes, said the Vicar-General of God, are an evidence of the Mediteranean position of the purgatorian prison and the fiery punishment of its inhabitants. Theodoric the Arian king of the Goths, says the viceroy of heaven, was, at the hour of death, seen descending into a flaming gulph in Sicily. Souls, says Surius, appear amid the conflagration and thunders of Hecla, and proclaim their sufferings in the flaming fulminations of that mountain.[2]

The medium of punishment is uncertain as the situation of the place. The general opinion, however, favours the agency of fire. This was the idea entertained by the schoolmen. The Latins in the council of Florence, maintained, with the utmost perspicuity, the same theory, though in complaisance to the Greeks, the term was omitted in the synodal definition. The Florentines were followed by the synod of Diamper, which is received in the Romish communion. The catechism of Trent copied after the schoolmen and the councils of Florence and Diamper. The Cardinal of Warmia and the theologians appointed to frame the Trentine canon, though they resolved to avoid every difficulty, differed on the place and medium of purgation. Some, like the council of Florence, wished to mention fire as the means of punishment and expiation; while others rejected this idea. This disagreement caused the omission of the term and the substitution of a general expression. But the word was introduced into the catechism of Trent, published by the authority of the council and the agency of the pontiff. The same has been sanctioned by the majority of the popish theologians; such as Gregory, Aquinas, Surius, and Bellarmine. Bellarmine, however, is doubtful whether the fire is proper or metaphorical.[3] Venial impurity, the cardinal thinks, may be

[1] Nunc vacuus remanet. Bellarmin, II. 6. Post Judicium novissimum non fore purgatorium. Bellarmin, I. 4. Purgatoire sera aboli au jour du jugement Calmet, 22. 362. Aquin. 3. 544.

[2] Greg. Dial. IV. 30. 35. Bell. II. 11. Surius, Ann. 1537.

[3] Itali fatentur Purgatorium per ignem. Labb. 18. 27. Inter Latinos, certissimum est, ignem illum esse corporeum. Faber, 2. 453.

Latini dicentes Purgatorium ignem esse. Bin. 8. 564. Hi, dubio procul, in supradicto igne quod purgatorium appellari solet, purgantur. Crabb. 3. 376. Est

expunged by the application of allegorical or figurative flames. Many have represented water, accompanied with darkness, tempest, whirlwind, snow, ice, frost, hail, and rain, as the means of purgatorian atonement. Perpetua, in a vision, saw a pond in this land of temporary penalty, though its water was inaccessible to the thirsty inhabitants, whom it only tantalized with illusive mockery. Gregory, the Roman pontiff, soused Pascasius a Roman deacon in the warm baths of Angelo, for the expiation of his venial sins. Severinus of Cologne appeared to Damian, immersed in a river in which he was steeped as an abstergent for his trifling contaminations. The water of this country, in the most authentic accounts, is both hot and cold: and the wretched inhabitants pass in rapid but painful transition from the warm to the frosty element, from the torrid to the frigid zone. The purgatorians enjoy, in succession, the cool and the tepid bath; and are transferred, without any useless ceremony, from the icy pond to the boiling caldron.[1]

These accounts have been authenticated by travellers, who visited this subterranean empire, and who were privileged to survey all its dismal scenery. Ulysses, Telemachus, and Æneas were admitted to view the arcana of Tartarus; and Drithelm, Enus, and Thurcal, in like manner, were permitted to explore the secrets of purgatory. The visions of the three latter are recorded in the prose of Bede and Paris, as the gloomy path of the three former had been blazoned in the poetry of Homer, Virgil, and Fenelon. The travels of the heroes, however, were attended with greater difficulty than those of the saints. Ulysses, Telemachus, and Æneas were entangled, on their journey, with the encumbrance of the body; while Drithelm, Enus, and Thurcal, unfettered by that restraint, winged their easy way and expatiated in spirit through purgatory in all its sulphurous walks and roasting furnaces.

Drithelm, whose story is related by Bede and Bellarmine, was led on his journey by an angel in shining raiment; and proceeded, in the company of his guide, towards the rising of the sun. The travellers, at length, arrived in a valley of vast dimensions. This region, to the left, was covered with roasting furnaces, and, to the right, with icy cold, hail, and snow. The whole valley was filled with human souls, which a tempest seemed to toss in all directions. The unhappy spirits, unable

purgatorius ignis. Cat. Trid. 50. Per ignem aliasque poenas abluuntur. Syn. Diam. in Cossart, 6. 20. Paolo, 2. 633.

Non sit metaphorice dictus, sed versus ignis corporeus. Aquin. Pars. III. Q. 70. Art. III. P. 547.

In purgatorio sicut etiam in inferno esse poenam ignis. Sive iste ignis accipiatur proprie sive metaphorice. Bellarmin. II. 10.

[1] Alex. 9. 393. Gregory, IV. 40. Bellarmin, II. 6.

in the one part to bear the violent heat, leaped into the shivering cold, which again drove them into the scorching flames which cannot be extinguished. A numberless multitude of deformed souls were, in this manner, whirled about and tormented without intermission in the extremes of alternate heat and cold. This, according to the angelic conductor who piloted Drithelm, is the place of chastisement for such as defer confession and amendment till the hour of death. All these, however, will, at the last day, be admitted to heaven: while many, through alms, vigils, prayers, and especially the mass, will be liberated even before the general judgment.[1]

The story of Enus is told by Paris.[2] This adventurer was a warrior and had campaigned under Stephen, king of England. Resolved to make reparation in Saint Patrick's purgatory for the enormity of his life, Enus visited Ireland. The Son of God, if old chronicles may be credited, appeared to the Saint when he preached the gospel to the BESTIAL Irish, and instructed the missionary to construct a purgatory at Lough Derg: and promised the plenary remission of sin to all who should remain a day and a night in this laboratory of atonement. Fortified by the holy communion and sprinkled with holy water, the fearless soldier entered the gloomy cave.

Protected by invoking the Son of God, Enus beheld the punishments of the wretched purgatorians. The groans of the sufferers soon began to stun his ears. Numberless men and women, lying naked on the earth and transfixed with red-hot nails, bit the dust with pain. Devils lashed some with dreadful whips. Fiery dragons gnawed some with ignited teeth; while flaming serpents pierced others with burning stings. Toads of amazing size and terror endeavoured, with ugly beaks, to extract the hearts of many. Monstrous deformed worms, breathing fire from their mouths, devoured some with insatiable voracity. Some hung in sulphurous flames, with chains through their feet, legs, hands, arms, and heads, or with iron hooks in a state of ignition through their eyes, nose, jaws, and breasts. Some were roasted on spits, fried in pans, or broiled in furnaces. Many were hurled headlong into a fetid, tumbling, roaring river, and, if any raised their heads above the surface, devils, running along the stream, sunk them again into the cold element. A sulphurous well, emitting flame and stench, threw up men like sparkling scintillations, into the air, and again received them falling into its burning mouth.

Thurcal's adventure is also related by Paris. Julian, who officiated as guide on the occasion, left the body of Thurcal

[1] Beda, V. 12. Bell. I. 7. Faber, 2. 449. [2] M. Paris, 83, 180, 270.

sleeping in bed, and took only the soul as the companion of his journey to the nether world. He wisely, however, breathed life into the soulless body, lest, in the spirit's absence, it should appear dead. Having settled these necessary preliminary arrangements, the two spiritual travellers departed, at night, from England for purgatory. The two disembodied companions soon winged their aerial way to the middle of the world towards the east, and entered a spacious fabric of wonderful structure. This edifice was the general rendezvous of departed souls, and was built by Jesus the Son of God, at the intercession of Lady Mary, his mother. The palace, of course, had a respectable architect.

Many souls in this depôt of spirits, and many beyond the north wall, were marked with spots indicating their venial sins. The apostle Paul sat in the palace at the end of the north wall. The Devil and his guards sat without the wall opposite the apostle. A balance was affixed to the wall between the apostle and the Devil, in which Paul and Satan, with precision and care, weighed the souls. The former had two weights, which were bright and golden; and the latter two, which, as might be expected, were dark and smoky. When the beam inclined to Beelzebub, the guards threw the soul, wailing and cursing, into a flamy gulph, which, of course, was hell. This unceremonious treatment of sinners afforded fine fun to the devils, whose duty, on the occasion, was attended with loud peals of infernal laughter. When the beam inclined to Paul, the apostle introduced the soul through the eastern gate to purgatory, to make compensation for its venial crimes.

Purgatory, according to our subterranean traveller, consists of a vast valley between two walls, the northern and southern. The entrance into this ancient domain is occupied with purgatorian fire: caldrons, filled with flaming pitch, blazing sulphur, and other fiery materials, boil or roast the souls for the expiation of their sins. These furnaces also exhaled a stench, which was not very pleasing to the olfactory nerves; and which caused even the disembodied souls that on earth had wallowed in filthy gratifications to cough, hiccup, and sneeze. Having enjoyed the warm bath, the souls, for the sake of variety, were introduced into the cold one. The unhappy spirits exemplified the variations of Popery, and passed into a frosty pool, which skirted the eastern extremity of the valley. The water of this pool was icy, salt, and shivering. The spirits, according to their crimes, were immersed in this lake to the knee, the middle, or the neck. Removed from this shivering situation, the sufferer had to undergo another trial. A bridge, studded with sharp nails and thorns with their points turned upwards, had

to be crossed. The souls walked bare-footed on this rough road, and endeavouring to ease their feet, leaned on their hands: and afterwards rolled, with the whole body, on the perforating spikes, till, pierced and bloody, they worked their painful tedious way over the thorny path. Passing this defile was often the labour of many years. But this last difficulty being surmounted the spirits, forgetful of their pain, escaped to heaven, called the mount of joy.

Perpetua's vision may, for the sake of variety, be added to the Tartarean travels of Drithelm, Enus, and Thurcal. This holy martyr had a brother called Dinocrates, who died of an ulcer in his face in the seventh year of his age. His sister, in a vision of the night, saw the boy after his death going out of a dark thirsty place, with a dirty face, a pale colour, and the ulcer of which he died remaining in his visage. The smoky thirsty enclosure, in which he was confined, contained a pond full of water, which however, being inaccessible, only tantalized the thirsty child.

Perpetua knew this prison to be purgatory; and her prayers and tears, day and night, for his deliverance were attended with their usual success. She soon had the pleasure of seeing her brother clean, dressed, and joyful. The malady, which had disfigured his face, was healed. He had obtained access to the Tartarean pool, and, from a golden cup, swallowed copious potations; and then played, like a child, through the plain.[1] Perpetua awaking, understood that the youth was released from punishment. All this is very clear and satisfactory. The vision presents a graphic description of purgatory, as a place of dirt, paleness, disease, heat, thirst, smoke, and tantalizing water; and, at the same time, opens a pleasing prospect of heaven, as a country of cleanness, dress, health, water, cups, joy, and, at least with respect to boys, of fun and frolic.

Perpetua's dream was eulogized by many of the ancients. Its truth and fidelity, in a particular manner and on several occasions, was applauded by Augustine of sainted memory. The report has also extorted an encomium from Alexander, who, moreover, discovered that those who deny purgatory are never privileged with such visions. Dreams of this kind, the learned Sorbonnist found out, are peculiar to the faithful friends of a middle state of expiation. He must have been a man of genius or inspiration to have made such a prodigious discovery. Bellarmine sings to the same tune. These holy men, says the cardinal, could neither deceive nor be deceived: as they pos-

[1] Ludere more infantium gaudens. Alex. 9. 393. Augustin, 5, 1134, et 10, 491 Bell. II. 6.

sessed the spirit of discrimination, and were the particular friends of God.

Such are the visions of purgatory, recorded by Bede, Paris, and Perpetua. The tales are as silly as the Pagan mythology of Charon and his fabled boat. The relation is as ridiculous as any of the sarcastic dialogues of Lucian, concerning the ferryman of Tartarus, which were designed to ridicule the absurdity of gentilism. The Protestantism and philosophy of modern days have exposed such notions, and made the patrons of Romanism shy in recognizing the ridiculous delineations. But the statements, however risible, obtained the undivided belief and unqualified respect of our Popish ancestors. The denial of these details would once have been accounted rank heresy. Bellarmine, in later days, swallowed the reports with avidity, in all their revolting fatuity. The moderns, who may choose to reject the tales of folly, will only add another instance to the many variations of Popery.

Purgatory, in all its forms, is a variation from scriptural authority. Revelation affords it no countenance. No other dogma of Romanism, except image-worship and the invocation of saints, seems to borrow so little support from the Book of Inspiration. The Bible, by certain management and dexterity, may appear to lend some encouragement to transubstantiation and extreme unction. But the ingenuity of man has never been able to discover a single argument for a middle place of purification, possessing even a shadow of plausibility. The name itself is not in all the Sacred Volume, and the attempts which have been made to find the tenet in its inspired contents have only shown the fatuity of the authors. The Book of God, on these occasions, has been uniformly tortured, for the purpose of extorting acknowledgements of which it is guiltless, and which, without compulsion, it would obstinately deny. The body of an unhappy heretic was never more unmercifully mangled and disjointed in a Spanish inquisition, with the design of forcing confession, than the Book of Divine Revelation, with the intention of compelling it to patronize purgatory. The soul of a venial sinner never suffered more exquisite torments in purgatory itself, even if its existence were real, for the expiation of venial iniquity, than the language of the inspired volume for proof of a place of posthumous purgation.

The uselessness of attempting scriptural evidence for this opinion, indeed, has been acknowledged by many popish authors. Many distinguished theologians have, with laudable candour, admitted the silence of Revelation on this topic: and among the rest, Barns, Bruys, Courayer, Alphonsus, Fisher, Polydorus, Soto, Perionius, Picherel, Wicelius, Cajetan, and

Trevern. Barns declares 'purgatorial punishment a matter of human opinion, which can be evinced neither from scripture, fathers, nor councils.' The belief of this intermediate place, according to Bruys, 'was unknown to the Apostles and original Christians.' Courayer, in his annotations on Paolo, admits 'the incorrectness of ascribing this dogma to Scripture or even to tradition. Alphonsus, Fisher, and Polydorus 'grant the total omission or rare mention of this tenet in the monuments of antiquity.' Similar concessions have been made by Soto, Perionius, Picherel, Wicelius, Cajetan, and Trevern.[1]

Bellarmine and Alexander, the two celebrated advocates of this theology, have, between them, rejected all its scriptural proofs, and agree only in one apocryphal argument. Alexander explodes all Bellarmine's quotations for this purpose, from the Old and New Testament, but one—and this, Bellarmine admits, is illogical.[2] The Sorbonnist, without any hesitation or ceremony, condemns seventeen of the Jesuits' citations, and reduces his evidence to a mere shadow. He combats the cardinal's sophistry with learning and fearlessness. The single argument, which the former represents as demonstrative, the latter characterizes as sophistical and inconclusive. The two champions of purgatory contrive, in this manner, to free Revelation from all tendency to countenance the unscriptural and ridiculous invention. Both these polemics, indeed, quote the Maccabean history as demonstrative in favour of a middle state. But this book is uncanonical; and is disclaimed, Bellarmine grants, by the Jews, and was formerly doubted by Christians.[3] The proof, besides, taken from this work, is founded on intercession for departed souls, which by no means supposes a place of propitiation between death and the resurrection.

Calmet, the Benedictine, offers three citations, canonical and uncanonical, on this topic. Two of these agree with Alexander's. One is apocryphal; and another led Bellarmine, according to his own concession, in pressing it to favour his system, into sophistry. Calmet, in the third, supposes, that Paul prayed for Onesiphorus when the latter was dead. But the supposition is unfounded: and, even if true, supplication for the dead, as

[1] Punitio ergo in Purgatorio est res in opinione humana posita, quae nec ex Scripturis, nec Patribus nec Conciliis deducere potest. Barns, §. 9. Ce que l'on croit aujourd'hui du Purgatoire avoit été inconnu aux Apotrès et aux premiers fideles. Bruys, 1. 378. Ce n'est donc pas parler exactement que de dire que l'ecriture et la tradition enseignent le Purgatoire. Coursy. in Paol. 2. 644. In veteribus de Purgatorio fere nulla potissimum apud Graecos scriptores mentio est. Alphonsus, VIII. De Purgatorio, apud priscos illos, nulla, vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio. Fisher, Art. 18. Polydorus, VIII. Pich. c. 2. Trevern, 242.

[2] Non sequi secundem regulas dialecticarum. Bellarmin, 1. 4. Matth. xii. 32.

[3] Lib. Machabaeorum non esse canonicum apud Judaeos. Libri Machabaeorum sunt ex eorum numero, de quibus aliquando etiam inter Catholicos dubitatum. Bellarmin, I. 3.

shall afterwards be shown, supplies no evidence for purgatory. Challenor, always insidious and soothing, adduces seven quotations, without hinting at their inadequacy or the opposition of ancient fathers or modern theologians.[1]

The ancients, in scriptural interpretation on this subject, differ, even according to Bellarmine, Alexander, and Calmet, as much as the moderns. The cardinal, the sorbonnist, and the benedictine have cited Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Cyril, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Ambrosius, Anselm, and Bede. All these have been quoted, and quoted against each other. Bellarmine, Alexander, and Calmet have, at great length and with extraordinary patience, shown that these authors are at utter variance on the inspired proofs for the support of a middle state of purification. The interpretation which one adopts, another rejects. One approves the exposition which another condemns.[2] The collector of their variations, which, on this question, are nearly past reckoning, would require the learning of Lardner, and their reader the patience of Job.

The patrons of this system have urged four scriptural quotations, which are worthy of attention, and will, on this subject, show the inconsistency and variations of popish advocacy. These proofs are taken from Matthew, Paul, and Peter. The sacred historian Matthew records our Lord's sermon, which mentions a prison, from which the debtor shall not escape till he pay 'the uttermost farthing.' Bellarmine, Challenor, Milner, and the Rhemists say, this prison is purgatory, which detains the venial transgressor till he satisfy for his trivial impurity.

Many Romish saints and commentators, however, give a different explanation. Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Maldonat, and Alexander say, the prison is hell, and the punishment everlasting.[3] Augustine, a saint of superior manufacture, patronized this exposition. Jerome, another saint overflowing with gall and superstition, maintained the same opinion. According to the canonized commentator of Palestine, 'The person, who does not, before the end of his life, pay the last farthing, men-

[1] Calm. Dict. 3. 746. Alex. 9. 365. 2 Tim. I. 18. Challenor, c. 14.

[2] Bellarmin, I. 4. Alexan. 9. 353. Cal. Gen. 28. 361.

[3] Semper non exiturum esse qui semper solvit novissimum quadrantem. Augustin, 3. 177. Nunquam solvitur a carcere, qui quadrantem verbi novissimum non solveret ante finem vitæ. Jerom, 5. 895. et 4. 123. Donec solves pro infinito, positus sicut alibi 'donec ponam inimicos tuos,' Beda, 5, 12. Via est hujus vitæ tempus, carcer infernus. Nunquam exiturus, quia qui in inferno sunt nunquam persolvunt. Maldonat, 121. Non significat unde nos exituros postea sed nunquam. Quia cum pœnas infinitas pro quolibet mortali peccato diluant damnati nunquam eas persolvunt. Nunquam ex inferni carcere exituri sunt de quibus hoc dictum est. Alex. 9. 385. Matth. v. 26. Psal. cx. 1. 1 Corin, xv. 25. Rhem. On Matth. v. 26.

tioned in the words of the inspired penman, will never be released from the prison.' The two Roman saints were followed by Bede, an English monk of learning and orthodoxy. He makes the term UNTIL signify endless duration as in the expression of David, cited by Paul, "till I put all your enemies under your feet." Maldonat concurs with Augustine, Jerome, and Bede. The learned Jesuit interprets 'the prison to signify hell, from which the debtor, who will be punished with the utmost rigour, will never escape, because he will never pay.'

Alexander delivers a similar interpretation, in a more lengthened and detailed form. The inspired phraseology, says this doctor, 'signifies not whence he will afterward depart, but whence he will never depart. The words are spoken of hell, from which the condemned, who undergo the infinite punishment of mortal sin, which they can never pay, will never be released.' He quotes David and Paul for illustration and confirmation of his comment. The word until, in Scriptural language, often denotes that the event, to which it refers, will never happen. God invited his Son to "sit at his right hand, till his enemies should become his footstool." But he will not then leave his seat. The king of Zion will reign till every foe is subdued. But he will not then cease to reign. The raven returned not to Noah, "till the waters were dried." But no return succeeded. Apply this to the words of Jesus in Matthew, and all is clear. The person imprisoned, unable to pay, will never be liberated. Augustine quotes the same passages from David and Paul for proof and illustration. The Rhemists against Helvidius, on another part of Matthew's gospel, give a similar explanation of the phrase; and, in this manner, furnish arms against themselves.

Such is the genuine signification of the passage. Popish commentators, in modern times, may be dissatisfied with the explanation; and, if they please, call it a heresy. The interpretation, however, is not the production of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, or Knox; but of Augustine, Jerome, Beda, Maldonat, and Alexander: two saints, a monk, a jesuit, and a sorbonnist.

The partizans of purgatory argue from another passage in Matthew. Sin against the Holy Ghost, it is said, shall be forgiven, "neither in this world, nor in the world to come." This, the Romish doctors account their strong hold. This, they reckon the impregnable bulwark of their system. This, Alexander who condemns all other arguments taken from the New Testament, calls demonstration. Calmet accounts it the main pillar of the mighty superstructure: and in this opinion,

modern Romish commentators, in general, seem to concur.[1] Sin, say these critics, committed against the Spirit, will not be pardoned "in the world to come," and this implies, if it does not express, that some sins will be remitted in a future world. But forgiveness can have no reference to heaven or hell, and, therefore, there must be a middle state of pardon, and this is called purgatory.

The least discernment might enable any person to see the futility of this argument. The Romish Dogma is variation from the words of the sacred historian. Matthew mentions forgiveness. But the intermediate state of popery is not a place of pardon, but of punishment and expiation. The venial transgressor cannot be released from that prison, till he pay the uttermost farthing. This is plainly no remission. No sin, says Alexander, can be remitted by ordinary law without satisfaction and due punishment. Full expiation is made in the purgatorial state; and, therefore, there is no remission in the world to come on popish any more than on protestant principles.

The irremission of the sin against the Holy Ghost in a future state, does not imply the remission of other sins. The unpardonableness of one sin infers not the pardonableness of another. The conclusion, in this syllogism, is not contained in the premises. This, Bellarmine had the discernment to see and the candour to confess. He quotes the text, and, from it, concludes the existence of a middle state of pardon, and then, in glorious inconsistency, admits the conclusion to be illogical. The Cardinal, in this instance as in many others, varies from himself. His boasted argument, he grants, as he well might, is a pitiful sophism.[2] Mark and Luke have explained Matthew with more consistency than Bellarmine. The two inspired historians say, this kind of blasphemy shall never be forgiven, and their language, which only prejudice could misunderstand, is synonymous with Matthew's, and explodes the silly and unfounded idea of purgatorian remission.

The statements of Mark and Luke, as explanatory of Matthew, have been adopted by Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Basil, Calmet, and Maldonat.[3] This blasphemy, says

[1] Matth. xii. 32. Alex. 9. 374. Calm. Dict. 3. 746.

[2] Bellarmin, I. 4. Mark iii. 29. Luke xii. 10.

[3] Non habet remissionem in æternum. Aliis verbis et alio loquendi modo eadem ipsa est expressa sententia. Augustin, 5. 390. Serm. 71. Remitti nobis hoc peccatum omnino non possit. Augustin, ad Bon. 2. 662. Nullo tempore blasphemia remittetur. Jerom. 4. 50.

Ενταυθα και εκει δωσετε δικην. Ενταυθα κολαζονται και εκει. Chrysos. 7. 449. Ενταυθαται εκει τιμωρεθησται. Theophylact in Matt. xii. Ασυγχωρητον ειναι τη εις το πνευμα το αγιον βλασφημια. Basil, 3. 59.

Ce pèche ne sera remis, ni en ce monde, ni en l'autre, c'est à dire qu'il est irremissible par sa nature. Calmet, Diss. 3. 389. Non ignoramus phrasim esse quæ idem valeat quod in æternum. Maldonat, 264.

Augustine, 'shall never be remitted. Matthew and Mark vary in expression, but agree in signification. This sin cannot at all be forgiven.' Jerome, concurring with Augustine, says, 'this blasphemy shall, at no time, be remitted.' Chrysostom's comment, is if possible, still plainer and more explicit than those of Augustine and Jerome. The scriptural diction, in his explanation, means that the perpetrator of this atrocity shall be punished here and hereafter: here, like the Corinthian fornicator, by excommunication, and hereafter, like the citizens of Sodom, by suffering 'the vengeance of eternal fire.' Calmet, in his Dissertations, observes according to the same exposition 'This sin shall be pardoned neither in this world nor in the other, that is to say, it is unpardonable in its nature.' Maldonat, though he strenuously maintains the purgatorian system from our Lord's words, admits that the phraseology of Matthew and that of Mark are synonymous, and signify the eternal irremission of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.

The original term, translated world, signifies time, age, or duration. Jerome, accordingly, has rendered the Greek by a Latin word denoting time. This sin, in the commentary of this Saint, shall be forgiven neither in the present nor at a future time.[1] This expression seems to confine the meaning to the present life. The inspired language simply states, that this blasphemy would be pardoned neither at the present nor at a future period. The word sometimes signifies the Jewish establishment and sometimes the Christian dispensation. Matthew, in his Gospel, used it in the former sense. Paul, addressing the Corinthians and Hebrews, takes it in the latter acceptation. The blasphemy, according to this explanation, would be forgiven neither under the Jewish or Christian economy, though the latter was to be an age of mercy.

Paul's words to the Corinthians have also been pressed into the service, for the support of purgatory. The Apostle of Tarsus taught the Christians of Corinth that the professor, building 'wood, hay, or stubble,' on the foundation, though his 'work shall be burnt, shall be saved, yet so as by fire.' This fire, say Bellarmine, Ward, Challenor, the council of Sens, the Latins in the council of Florence, and many other advocates of Romanism, awaits the perpetrator of trifling transgressions in the middle state.[2]

The difficulty of this passage might have caused some hesitation in making it the basis of any system. Its difficulty has been acknowledged in emphatic language, by Augustine, Bede,

[1] Neque in præsenti tempore neque in futuro. Jerom, 4. 50. Matth. xxiv. 3 1 Corin. ix. 11. Heb. x. 26.

[2] 1 Corin. iii. 12. Estius, 1. 215. Crabb. 3. 747. Bell. 1. 4. Challen. 128

Bellarmine, Alexander, and Estius. Bellarmine represents it as one of the obscurest, and, at the same time, one of the most useful passages in all revelation. Its obscurity, in Bellarmine's opinion, contributed to its utility, as it enabled the Jesuit, with a little management, to explain it as he pleased. But Alexander, with more sense and honesty, has, on account of its want of perspicuity, rejected it as a demonstration of purgatory.[1]

Its obscurity, says Estius, 'has occasioned many and various expositions.' This authority, observes Faber, 'is very obscure, and variously explained, not only by different fathers and doctors, but by the same doctor. Augustine interprets this place in various ways.' Bellarmine, Alexander, and Calmet have collected a copious specimen of the jarring interpretations of expositors, on this part of the inspired volume, and their collections afford no very flattering view of the unity of Romanism.

The principal significations which have been attached to the apostolic expression, are three. Gregory, Augustine, Bernard, and Bede, account the fire a metaphor for tribulation or trial in this life. The Roman pontiff and saints, as well as the English monk, refer the expression to the pains endured not after but before death; and so exclude posthumous expiation. Similar to this is Cajetan's explanation, who makes it signify severe judgments.[2]

Origen, Ambrosius, Lactantius, Basil, Jerome, and Augustine, according to Estius, reckon the language literal, and refer it to the general conflagration on the day of the last judgment; though purgatory, at that period, will, according to Bellarmine, be evacuated and left empty. This ancient interpretation has been followed by Lombard, Aquinas, Haimo, Alcuin, and Estius. This party make saint and sinner pass through the fiery ordeal, which will try the work of every one, whether he build gold and silver on the foundation, or wood, hay, and stubble.[3] But the intermediate place of purgation, in the theology of Romanism, contains only the middling class, who are guilty of venial frailty.

[1] Pauli illa sententia plane ad intelligendum difficilis. Augustin, 6. 124. Beda, 6. 285. Unum ex difficilimis et utilissimis totius Scripturae. Bell. 1. 5. Locus obscurissimus est, cujus sensum vix assequi liceat. Alex. 9. 378. Estius, 1. 214. Non demonstrative contra haereticos ostendi. Alexander, 9, 378. Haec auctoritas est certe valde obscura, et variae explicationes offeruntur, non solum à diversis patribus et docloribus, sed ab eodem Doctore. Augustinus hunc locum variis modis interpretatur. Faber, 2. 444.

[2] Hoc de igne tribulationis, hac nobis vita adhibito, possit intelligi. Greg. Dial. IV. 39. Eandem tribulationem ignem vocat. Aug. C. D. XXI. 26. Sentiat Poenitentiae tribulationem. Bernar. 411. Ignis tribulationis. Beda, 6. 287. Pro severo judicio Cajetanus exponit. Estius, 1. 216.

[3] Excepturus sit omnes etiam eos qui aurum et argentum superaedificant fundamento. Probaturus opus uniuscujusque. Estius, 1. 216. Ambos prob at. Aug. 7 648. Amb. 3 350. Aquin. 3. 563.

Chrysostom and Theodoret interpret Paul's diotion to signify the unquenchable fire of hell, and these two Grecian commentators have been followed, say Bellarmine, Calmet, and Alexander, by Theophylact, Sedulius, and Anselm.[1] This was the opinion of the whole Grecian communion. The Greeks, accordingly, in the council of Florence, represented the fire mentioned by the apostle, not as purgatorian but eternal. Alexander and Erasmus also declare against the popish exposition of Paul's language; and display the singular unanimity of Romish commentators. Gregory, Augustine, Bernard, and Bede appear, on this topic, against Origen, Ambrosius, Hilary, Lactantius, Jerome, Lombard, Aquinas, Haimo, Alcuin, and Estius; and all these against Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Sedulius, and Anselm. Saint encounters saint, and commentator attacks commentator; and all these, formed in deep phalanx, explode from Paul's words the modern fabrication of purgatory.

The searching fire, mentioned by the apostle, is not purgatorian but probatory. Its effect is not to purify but to try. The trial is not of persons, but of works. The persons, in this ordeal, shall be saved; while the works, if wood, hay, or stubble, shall as the Greeks observed at the council of Florence, be consumed. The popish purgatory, on the contrary, is not for probation, but expiation, and tries, not the action but the agent, not the work but the worker.[2]

The scriptural language, in this case, is metaphorical. The foundation and the superstructure, consisting of gold, silver, and precious stones, or of wood, hay, and stubble, as well as the scrutinizing flame, all these are not literal but figurative. The phrase, 'so as,' it is plain, denotes a comparison. The salvation, which is accomplished so as by fire, is one which, as critics have shown from similar language in sacred and profane authors, is effected with difficulty. Amos, the Hebrew prophet, represents the Jewish nation, who were rescued from imminent danger, "as a fire-brand plucked out of the burning." Zachariah, another Jewish seer, in the same spirit and in similar style, characterizes a person who was delivered from impending destruction, as a brand snatched "out of the fire." Diction of

[1] Διαπαντος εκεινη τη φλογι. Chrysos. II. 243. Hom. 6. Οἷς πυτρέπισται τῆς γεεννης το πυρ. Theod. 3. 134. in 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13. Chrysostome, Théophylacte, et d'autres Grecs l'expliquent du feu de l'enfer dans lequel les réprouvez demeurent sans pouvoir de mourir. Calm. 22. 363. Ignis ipse non purgatorius, verum æternum supplicium sit. Crabb. 3. 377. Theoph. in Corin. iii. Bell. 1. 4. Alex. 9. 378, 381.

[2] Nonnulli inter quos Cajetanus dictum putant de opere non de operante. Estius, 1. 213.

Pia quidem opera manent, et non comburuntur. Prava vero comburantur. Ipse permanebit igne, pœnas luendo æternas. Libb. 18. 27.

a similar kind, Calmet, Wetstein, and other critics have shown, has been used by Livy, Cicero, and Cyprian, for denoting great hazard and difficulty. Paul, in like manner, designed to tell us, that he who should blend vain and useless speculations with the truths of the gospel; but should rest, nevertheless, in the main, on the only basis, would, in the end, be saved; but with the difficulty of a person, who should escape with the possession of his life, but with the loss of his property, from an overwhelming conflagration: or, according to Estius, like the merchant, who should gain the shore with the destruction of his goods, but the preservation of his life, from the tempest of the sea.[1]

Peter has also been quoted in favour of purgatory. Our Lord, says the Galilean fisherman, 'preached to the spirits in prison.' This prison, according to many modern abettors of Romanism, is the intermediate state of souls, into which the Son of God, after his crucifixion and before his resurrection descended, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to its suffering inmates.

The obscurity of the text shows the folly of making it the foundation of any theory. Augustine, Bellarmine, and Estius confess its difficulty, which, as might be expected, has occasioned a variety of interpretations. Lorinus, without exhausting the diversity, has enumerated ten different expositions. Some, by the prison, understand hell, into which, they allege, Jesus descended to preach the gospel to pagans and infidels. This interpretation, Calmet and Estius call error and heresy. Some say, our Lord preached in the prison both to the good and the bad. Some maintain that he preached only to the good, while others aver that he preached only to the bad, to whom he proclaimed their condemnation.[2]

The principal interpretations of this difficult passage are two. The prison, according to one party, is the limbo of the fathers or the bosom of Abraham, into which the Son of God, some time between his crucifixion and resurrection, descended to liberate the Jewish saints. This, say Calmet and the Rhemists, was the common opinion of the ancients: such as Justin, Clemens, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrosius, and Hilary. The schoolmen, at a later period,

[1] Quemadmodum mercator non nisi cum jactura rerum suarum quas amat, nec sine dolore amittit, e tempestate maris evadit. Estius, 1. 218. Amos, iv. 11. Zach. iii. 2. Calm. 22. 363. Wetstein in Corin. iii. 15.

[2] Locus hic omnium pene interpretum judicio difficillimus, idemque tam varie expositus. Estius, 2. 1182. Augus. ad Evod. Le Sauveur avoit preché même aux payens et aux Infideles. Calmet, 24. 146. Estius, 2. 1183. Bell. 1. 416. Quidam soloe bonos spiritus intelligunt; alii solos malos, alii denique tam bonos quam malos Estius, 2. 1183.

adopted the same belief. This interpretation has been followed by the Trent Catechism, the Rhemish annotators, and indeed by the generality of modern popish theologians.

The prison, according to a second party, is hell, in which those who, in the days of Noah, were incredulous, were, in the time of Peter, incarcerated for their unbelief.[1] These spirits were prior to the flood, in the body and on earth; but, in the apostolic age, were consigned to the place of endless punishment. To these, Jesus, before their death, preached not in his humanity but in his divinity: not by his own but by Noah's ministry. He inspired the antediluvian patriarch to preach righteousness to a degenerated people. He officiated, says Calmet, 'not in person but by his spirit, which he communicated to Noah. Augustine among the ancients, and Aquinas among the schoolmen, were the great patrons of this interpretation: and the African saint and the angelic doctor have been followed by Bede, Hassel, Calmet, and many other commentators both in the Romish and reformed communions.[2]

The interpretation, which would make the prison to signify purgatory, is entirely modern, and was uttered unknown to the ancients. The exposition is not to be found in all the ponderous tomes of the fathers. Bellarmine and Alexander, in their laboured attempts to evince posthumous purgation, omit this passage. The cardinal has adduced many scriptural quotations to prove an unscriptural absurdity; and the sorbonnist has endeavoured to support the same supposition from the pages of revelation. Both, however, omit the words of Pope Peter. The omission is a silent confession of the argument's utter incompetency, in the opinion of these distinguished authors, and a confirmation of its novelty as an evidence of purgatorian purification after death. Bellarmine's nineteen quotations comprehend all that were alleged for this theory in his day. Alexander reviewed all the scriptural proofs, which had been formerly urged on this controversy. But neither Bellarmine nor Alexander mention this prison of the antediluvians. The citation was pressed into the ranks by some modern scribblers, who were at a loss for an argument.

[1] Christ descendit dans le lieu où les ames des saints Patriarches étoient detenues. Calm. 24. 146. Cat. Trid. 35.

[2] Augustinus melius exponit ut referatur non ad descensum Christi ad inferos. His praedicavit qui increduli fuerant aliquando. Noe praedicanti. Aquin. Par. 111. Quaest. 52. Art. 11. P. 145. Augustin, 2. 379. Ep. 164. Ipse ante diluvium iis, qui tunc incredùli erant et carnaliter vivebant, spiritu veniens praedicavit. Ipse enim per Spiritum Sanctum erat in Noe et pravis illius hominibus ut ad meliora converterentur, praedicavit. Beda, 5. 706. Christ par son esprit, dont il remplit. Noe, precha aux hommes incredules de ce tems là. Christ precha donc à les incredules, non en personne ni visiblement, mais par son Esprit qu'il avoit communiqué à Noe. Calmet, 24. 159. Du Pin, 1. 386.

The prison, therefore, according to some, was hell; and, according to others, the limbo of the Jews. None, except a few infatuated, scribbling, nonplussed moderns, make it signify purgatory. Bede and Bellarmine, however, have placed hell, purgatory, and the gaol of the Hebrews in the same neighbourhood; and our Lord, when he descended to the subterranean lodgings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their companions, had perhaps given the citizens of purgatory a call and an exhortation.[1] He might, when he was in the vicinity, have paid these suffering subterraneans a visit and preached them a sermon; though a mass, if modern accounts may be credited, would have been more useful. But the Son of God, it would appear, was some way or other, unaccountably guilty of neglecting the latter ceremony.

Purgatory is a variation from tradition as well as from revelation. None of the ancients, for 400 years after the Christian era, mention any such place. The intermediate state of purification of souls between death and the resurrection, is unknown land in the monuments of Christian antiquity.

Many of the fathers testify, in the plainest language, against an intermediate state of expiation. From these may, as a specimen, be selected Augustine, Ephraim, and Epiphanius.[2] Augustine, while he owns a heaven and a hell, rejects, in unqualified and emphatical language, 'the idea of a third place, as unknown to the church and foreign to the Sacred Scriptures.' Ephraim, like Augustine, 'acknowledges a heaven and a hell, but disclaims, in the clearest terms, the belief of a middle place.' 'To avoid hell is,' he avers, 'to obtain heaven, and to miss heaven is to enter hell.' Scripture, he adds, teaches no third region. Epiphanius admits 'no use or advantage of piety or of repentance after death.'

The silence of the ancients on this theory has been granted by many moderns; such as Cajetan, Barns, Alphonsus, Fisher, and Polydorus. Cajetan remarks the omission of this topic, in the scriptural canon, as well as in the works of the ancient Greek and Latin theologians. Barns, on this subject, admits

[1] Purgatorium est ad ripam inferni. Faber 2. 449. Est sub terrae vicinus inferno. Dens. 7. 353.

Infernum et Purgatorium sunt loco vicina. Purgatorium esse infra viscera terræ inferno ipsi vicinum. Bellarmin, 11. 6. Beda, V. 12.

[2] Tertium penitus ignoramus, immo nec esse in scripturis sanctis inveniemus. Aug. 10. 40. Hyp. V. 5. Extra duos hosce ordines, alios non est ordo medius. Loquor autem de altero quidem superno, altero vero inferno. Effugere gehennam, hoc ipsum sit regnum cœlorum ingredi, quemadmodum et eo excidere in gehennam intrare. Ephraim, 19, 20.

Οὐδὲ μὴν κόρεσμος εὐσεβείας οὐδὲ μετανοίας μετὰ θάνατον. Epiph. 1. 502.

the silence of revelation, tradition, and councils. Similar concessions have been made by Alphonsus, Fisher, and Polydorus.[1]

The advocates of this dogma do not even pretend to the authority of the earlier fathers; such as Barnabas, Clemens, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Tatian, Ireneus, Melito, Athenagoras, and Theophilus. Its abettors appeal to no writers, who flourished for 200 years after the Christian era; nor, if we except those who found their speculation on the illogical argument of prayer for the dead, till the fourth century. These authors had often occasion to treat on the subjects of heaven, hell, death, judgment, and the resurrection. Future happiness and misery were frequently, in their works, made to pass in review before the mind of the reader, amid an entire omission of any temporary state of punishment or expiation. Ignatius, addressing the Magnesians, teaches a state of death and of life without the slightest allusion to a middle place. Polycarp wrote on the resurrection; Athenagoras, the Athenian philosopher, composed a whole treatise on the same topic: and yet neither of these authors betrays a single hint, or offers a solitary observation on the subject of purgatory. This theme, so lucrative and notorious in modern times, was unknown to the simple authors and Christians of antiquity.

The Latins, on this question, in the council of Florence, quoted for authority Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, Ambrosius, Augustine, Cyril, and Leo. Bellarmine, Alexander, and many other moderns refer to the same authors.[2] But the earliest of these flourished in the end of the fourth century when error and superstition began their reign, and after a period of near four hundred years had elapsed from the introduction of Christianity. These writers, besides, only testify the prevalence of intercession for the dead. But this superstition, notwithstanding its absurdity, implies, as shall afterward be shown, no middle place of purification between death and the resurrection.

Bellarmine, nevertheless, and many who follow his steps, have endeavoured to find this theory in the fathers. This they attempt in two ways. One consists in confounding the Origenian ordeal with the popish purgatory. Origen, carried on the wings of vain speculation, imagined that all, saint and sinner prophet, martyr, and confessor, would, after the resurrection at the last judgment, pass through the fire of the general conflagration.[3] This passage through the igneous element, in the scheme of the Grecian visionary, would try and purify men as

[1] Cajetan, c. 2. Barns, § 9. Alphon. viii. Fish. Art. 18. Polydor. viii

[2] Labb. 18. 1149. Bell. 1. 6. Alex. D. 41.

[3] Homines omnes igne examinationis iri definit. Huet. 1. 139. Bell. 1. 11 Estius, 1. 216. Calm. 22. 362

the furnace separates the alloy from the precious metals, such as silver and gold. This chimera, broached by Origen, was adopted by Hilary, Ambrosius, Gregory, Lactantius, Jerome, Ephraim, Basil, and many of the schoolmen.

But the ordeal of Origen differs widely from the purgatory of Bellarmine. Origen's scrutiny begins after the general resurrection, and will be accomplished in the universal conflagration. Bellarmine's purgatory begins at the day of death, and will terminate at or before the day of general judgment. Its inhabitants will then be translated to heaven, and the habitation left empty. These two states of purgation, therefore, will not exist even at the same time. The one ends before the other begins.

Origen's process differs from Bellarmine's also in the persons exposed to the refining operation. The Grecian fanatic's hot bath extends to all, soul and body, good, bad, and indifferent. The saint, the sinner, and the middling class, whether guilty of venial or mortal delinquency, must submit, in this speculator's system, to the devouring and scrutinizing flame. Holy Mary herself must fry, in undistinguished torment, with less exalted mortals. Even her God-bearing ladyship can claim no exemption. The only exception will be Immanuel, who is the Righteousness of God. The Roman superstitionist's laboratory, on the contrary, is only for the intermediate class, who are bespattered with venial pollution. His furnace, however warm and capacious, will not be allowed to roast the saint, the martyr, or confessor, and, much less, the mother of God.

These distinctions will appear from the works of Origen, Hilary, Ambrosius, Augustine, Lactantius, Jerome, Ephraim, Basil, Aquinas, Paulinus, and Isidorus.[1] Origen represents all,

[1] Post resurrectionem ex morte, indigeamus sacramento eluente nos et purgante. Nemo enim absque sordibus resurgere poterit. Veniendum est omnibus ad ignem. Omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem, etiamsi Paulus sit aliquis vel Petrus. Origen, Hom. 3, 6, 14.

An diem judicii concupiscimus, in quo nobis est ille indefessus obeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia? Beatæ Mariæ animam gladius pertransivit. Hilary in Psalm cxviii. P. 856. Hilarius insinuat etiam, beatam Mariam transire debuisse per illum ingem. Bellarmin, II. 1.

Igne purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezechiel, igne Daniel. Amb. 1. 693. in Psalm xxxvi. Omnes oportet transire per flammas, sive ille Joannes sit, sive ille sit Petrus. Amb. 1. 1064. in Psalm cxviii.

Per judicium purgata novissimum eis quoque igne mundatis. Augustin, C. D. XX. 25. Justos cum judicaverit etiam igne eos examinabit. Lactan. VII. 21. Dominus ad ignem judicium vocare se monstrat. Ad sanctos illius pervenit. Jerom, 2. 1434. in Amos vii. Transibimus ignem. Per ignem transitur is sit. Ephraim, 91. 441.

Εν τω πυρι της κρισεως βασανος. Δεομεναι της εν τω πυριωτι κρισεως. Basil. 1. 475. in Esa. IV.

Ignis ille finalis conflagrationis aget in malos et bonos. Elementa purgabuntur per ignem etiam in corporibus electorum. Aquin. III. 74. VIII P. 563, 564.

after the resurrection, as needing and undergoing the purifying flame. He excepts not even Peter and Paul. Hilary subjects every individual, even Lady Mary, to the burning scrutiny. His saintship transfers even the queen of heaven, without any ceremony, to the rude discipline. Ambrosius, like Origen and Hilary, urges the necessity of such an examination, and consigns, to the common conflagration, the Jewish prophets and Christian apostles, Ezekiel, Daniel, Peter, and Paul. Similar statements may be found in Augustine, Lactantius, Jerome, Ephraim, Basil, Paulinus and Isidorus. The same system, according to Bellarmine, Calmet, and Estius, was patronized by Oecumenius, Rupert, Eucherius, Alcuin, Haimo, and Lombard.

Bellarmine, on this subject, acts an inconsistent and uncandid part. He first cites Origen, Hilary, Ambrosius, Lactantius, Jerome, and Basil, in favour of his purgatorian theory; and afterward without any hesitation admits and even exposes their error. The Jesuit transubstantiates the Origenian ordeal into the popish purgatory; and then, in sheer inconsistency, shews, with clear discrimination, the distinction between the two systems and the two kinds of purgation; and characterizes Origenism as a mistake, if not a heresy.[1] This was to vary from himself, and to give up the authority of these authors, whom he had quoted in support of his darling superstition.

Bellarmine, in these concessions, has been followed, and with reason, by Calmet, Estius, Courayer, and Du Pin.[2] Calmet, in his comment, represents Origen, Hilary, Ambrosius, Lactantius, Basil, Rupert, Eucherius, and Alcuin as teaching the necessity of those who are the most holy to pass through the fire to heaven. Estius states the same, and adds the names of Augustine, Haimo, Lombard, and Aquinas. Courayer on Paolo, as well as Du Pin in his account of these authors, gives a similar representation. Calmet, Estius, Courayer, and Du Pin, therefore, like Bellarmine, abandon this argument for an intermediate place of expiation.

The patrons of Romanism argue also from the prayers, preferred by the ancients for the dead, which, they suppose, imply purgatory. The argument, taken from supplication for depar-

Opus per omne curret ignis arbiter, quod non cremarit flamma, sed probaverit. Nostras illo punget in igne animas. Paulinus, 345, 686.

Sunt quædam crimina, quæ per ignem judicii purgari possunt. Isidorus, c. 13.

[1] Bell. 2. 1. et 1. 6.

[2] Les uns croyent que toutes les ames, mêmes celles des plus justes, sortant de ce monde, passent par le feu avant que d'arriver au Ciel. Calmet. 22. 362. Unus et idem ignis probabit omnes. De igne novissimi diei, senserunt veteres. Estius 1. 216. Origenes, Lactance, Hilaire, et quelques autres avoient crû qu'au jour du jugement, tous seroient purifiez par le feu. Courayer, in Paol. 2. 644.

ted souls, has been urged with great confidence but little success. The fact is admitted, but the consequence is denied.

The Maccabean history has been cited, to evince the belief of the Jews in purgatorian expiation. But this book is uncanonical. Its canonicity, doubted, says Bellarmine, by the ancient Christians, was rejected by the Jews, and denied by Cyril, Jerome, Hilary, Ruffinus, Gregory, and the council of Laodicea.[1] This authority, if prejudice were not blind, might decide the controversy.

The Apocryphal work has a greater want than that of canonicity, and is deficient in morality and, in this instance, in meaning. The author commends suicide. He eulogized Razis for a bold attempt to kill himself with his sword, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. This act, the historian calls noble, though contrary to the law of God.[2]

His reason for praying for the dead is senseless, as his encomium on self-assassination is immoral. Judas collected money for this purpose, because "he was mindful of the resurrection." Intercession for departed spirits, if the slain should not rise again, would, he said, be 'superfluous and vain.'[3] But the resurrection refers to the body; while supplication for the deceased refers to the soul. The body, at death, goes not to purgatory, even according to Romish theology; but to the tomb, there to wait the summons of the archangel. The immortal spirit, if in a place of punishment, might need the petition of the living; though the body remain in the grave. The design of mass and supplication for the departed is not to deliver the body from the sepulchre, but the soul from purgatory, which will be entirely unpeopled at the resurrection, of which Judas was so mindful.

The Jews, who fell in the battle of Idumea, were guilty of idolatry, which is a mortal sin. The coats of the slain contained things consecrated to the idols of Jamnia. These votive offerings, the unhappy men retained till their death: and must, therefore, as guilty not merely of venial frailty but mortal transgression, have been in a place not of temporary, but everlasting punishment; and, therefore, beyond the aid of sacrifice or supplication. The Maccabean historian was as bad a theologian as moralist.

The modest author, however, makes no high pretensions He wrote his history, he remarks, according to his ability. This, if well, was as he wished; but if ill, would, he hoped, be excused. He did, it seems, as well as he could, which, no doubt, is all a reasonable person would expect. This, how

[1] 2 Maccab. xii. 44. Cyril, 66. Jerom, 5. 141. Hilary, 615. Crab. 1. 380.
[2] Maccab. xiv. 41. [3] Maccab. xii. 43.

ever, as the author suggests, is one part of his history, which certainly does not discover the hand of a master.[1]

The argument, at any rate, is in this case, taken from prayer for the dead, which is inconclusive. Intercessions were preferred for the good and the bad, for the saint and the sinner, in the days of antiquity. These supplications, says Courayer in Paolo, 'are much more ancient and general than the doctrine of purgatory, and were offered for martyrs and confessors.' The dogma, therefore, being more recent than such supplications, cannot be founded on this basis.[2] The supposition does not necessarily imply a temporary state of punishment, but may be performed for enhancing the eternal joys of the blessed, or alleviating the endless sorrows of those who are sentenced to destruction.

The Christian fathers, from the days of Tertullian, who is the first who mentions this custom, prayed for their friends after their departure from this earth and their entrance on a world of spirits. Tertullian, about the end of the second century, admonished a widow to pray for her late husband, and to commemorate the anniversary of his death. This, however, was after his apostacy to Montanism. But the superstition is natural, and soon, in consequence, became general. The people, says Eusebius, 'wept at the funeral of Constantine, and supplicated God with tears and lamentations for the emperor's soul.'[3] Augustine, in a similar manner, prayed for Monica; and Ambrosius for Valentinian and Theodosius.

All this, however, affords no argument for purgatory. The ancient Christians supplicated for those, who, the moderns will admit, could not be in a place of purgatorian punishment or pain. Constantine's spirit, while the people prayed, had, says Eusebius 'ascended to its God.' Monica's soul, before Augustine's intercessions, was, the saint believed, in heaven. She already enjoyed what he asked. Valentinian had ascended to the flowery scenes of delight, while he enjoyed the fruition of eternal life, and borrowed light from the Sun of Righteousness.' Theodosius, while Ambrosius petitioned, 'lived in immortal light and lasting tranquillity.' The saint, nevertheless, resolved that no day or night should pass without supplication for the deceased and glorified emperor.[4]

[1] Maccab. xii. 40. et xv. 33.

[2] Ces prières étant bien plus anciennes et plus générales que la doctrine du purgatoire, puisqu'elles se faisoient pour les martyrs et les confesseurs. Paolo, 2. 633.

[3] Τας ευχας υπερ του βασιλεως ψυχης, απεδιδοσαν τω Θεω. Eusebius, iv. 71. Tertullian, 501.

[4] Προς τον αυτου Θεον ανελαμβανετο. Euseb. iv. 64, Credo jam feceris quod te rego. Aug. confess. IX. 13. p. 170.

Nunc lumen a sole justitiae mutuata clarum diem ducis. Amb. 5. 114.

Fruitur Theodosius luce perpetua et tranquillitate diuturna. Ambrosius, 5. 121

The ancient Liturgies, collected by Renaudot and ascribed to James, Mark, Clemens, Cyril, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Basil, contain forms of prayer for prophets, patriarchs, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and the mother of God. The liturgy of James contains a 'commemoration of the departed faithful, and a prayer to God who received their souls, for a merciful pardon of their sins.' Mark's Liturgy 'asks rest and remission for all who had slept in the faith, left this world, gone to God, and arrived at the mansions of felicity.' The Liturgy of Clemens 'supplicates God to bless all, who, having run the course of this life, had come to heaven, with tranquillity in his spiritual bosom and gladness in the habitations of light and joy.' Cyril's comprehends 'a commemoration of all the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and especially the most glorious god-bearing virgin, and a prayer for the peace of all their souls in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' Gregory's contains 'a prayer, used in presenting the unbloody sacrifice, for the repose of the fathers who had slept in the faith, a supplication for their refreshment, and a memento of lady Mary mother of God.' Chrysostom's 'mention those who had left this world, and gone in purity of soul and body to God, and prays for their repose in the celestial habitations.' Basil's 'remembers all the departed clergy and laity, particularly the most holy, glorious, immaculate, blessed, god-bearing lady, and prays for the tranquillity of their souls in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and in the bowers of bliss in the paradise of pleasure, whence, in the light of the saints, fly sorrow, sighing, and sadness.'[1]

Intercessions, in these prayers, were, in this manner, preferred for lady Mary herself. Some of these forms had been

[1] Deprecamur Christum, ut praestet illos dignos venia delictorum et remissione peccatorum. Renaudot, 2. 37.

Illis quietem tribuas, qui, à nobis profecti, ad te migraverunt. Remitte omnia peccata eorum. Renaudot, 2. 37.

Illis omnibus, qui stadium vitæ decurrentes, perfecti et praelari coram te apparuerunt, quietem praesta. Domine, in sinu illo spirituali. Da illis spiritum gaudii in habitabulis lucis et laetitiæ. Renaudot, 2. 196.

Memento omnium sanctorum patriarcharum, prophetarum. Apostolorum, evangelistarum, martyrum, confessorum, præcipue autem sanctæ gloriosissimæ Deiparæ semper virginis sanctæ Mariæ. Requiescant animæ illorum omnes in sinu patrum nostrorum Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Renaudot, 1. 41. 42.

Offeram tibi hoc sacrificium rationabile incruentum in requiem et refrigerium patrum nostrorum, qui olim obdormierunt in fide orthodoxa. Dignare, Domine, recordari omnium sanctorum patriarcharum prophetarum, apostolorum, evangelistarum, martyrum, confessorum, praecipue vero sanctae gloria plenae semper virginis genetricis Dei sanctae. Da illis omnibus requiem. Renaudot, 1. 26. 33. 34.

Memento illorum, qui, cum puritate cordis et sanctitate animae et corporis, ex saeculo isto egressi sunt et ad te, Deus, pervenerunt. Quietem illis praesta in habitaculis tuis coelestibus. Renaudot, 2. 250.

Memento etiam, Domine, omnium qui dormierunt et quieverunt in sacerdotio et omni ordine laicorum. Dignare, Domine, animas eorum omnium quiete donare in sinu sanctorum Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Renaudot, 1. 18. 72.

in use for hundreds of years and, therefore, if petitions for the dead suppose a state of purgatorian punishment, her ladyship, during all this time, must have been in a pretty situation. The Roman pontiff and priesthood, who wield all the treasury of the church and all the efficacy of the mass for departed souls, had, it would appear, neglected the goddess of Romanism. These, it seems, have shown little respect for their virgin patroness, when they left the mother of God for ages in such vulgar and smoky apartments. His supremacy, to whom, it appears, this gloomy territory belongs, and who has authority over its imprisoned spirits, should have paid some attention to her ladyship.[1] His holiness surely might have spared something from the fund of supererogation for such a particular friend. The ecclesiastical bank must have been sadly exhausted, when her god-bearing ladyship could not, for so long a time, be purchased out of purgatory. The clergy should have plied the mass and the Latin liturgy, which, if wielded with the precision of modern times, would, in their amazing potency, soon have enabled holy Mary to scale the walls of the purgatorian prison, which is said to be in a very warm climate, and to breathe a cooler atmosphere in some more respectable and healthy seat. The prison of purgatory was certainly a very sorry accommodation, during so long a period, for the queen of heaven.

The ancient Christians prayed for those in hell, as well as for those in heaven. This fact is stated, and the reasons are assigned by Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Augustine.[2] These supplications, it was alleged, increase celestial happiness and diminish infernal misery. The torments of the guilty, though, in the world of spirits, they could not be extinguished, might, it was believed, be extenuated; and the joys of the just, though great, might be augmented. No sufferer indeed could, by any advocacy, be translated from punishment to felicity. No transmission could be effected from the regions of sorrow to the mansions of joy. But the enjoyment of heaven might be enhanced, and the pains of hell be alleviated by the intercessions of the faithful.

Purgatory therefore formed no part in the faith of Christian antiquity. The idea, however, though excluded from Christianity, may be found in the monuments of Pagan, Jewish, and

[1] Papa habet auctoritatem super animos purgatorii. Faber, 2. 501.

[2] Μεγαστην ωνησιν πιστευοντες εφεσθαι τας ψυχας ὑπερ ων η δεησις αναφερεται. Cyril, Myst. V. p. 297. Δικαιων ποιουμεθα την μνημην και ὑπερ αμαρτωλων. Ωφελει δε και ἡ ὑπερ αυτων γινομενη ευχη. Epiph. H. 75. p. 911. Προσθηκη γινηται μισθου και αντιδοσεως. Chrys. 7. 362. Ut tolerabilior fiat damnatio. Aug. 7. 2. 239. Non aeterno supplicio finem dando, sed levamen adhibendo. Aug. 7. 239.

Mahometan mythology. A purgatorian region and process obtained a place in the Platonic philosophy, near four hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era. Plato taught this theory in his Phaedo and Gorgias. The Grecian sage divided men into three classes, the good, the bad, and the middling. The good comprised men distinguished for temperance, justice, fortitude, liberality, and truth. Philosophers and legislators, whose wisdom and laws had conferred improvement and happiness on mankind, were all comprehended in this division. The bad included all who had spent their days in the perpetration of aggravated crimes, such as sacrilege and murder. The middling kind occupied the space between the patrons of sanctity and atrocity: and their neutrality, at a distance from both extremes, left them open to purgation and amendment. The good, at death, passed, without pain or delay, 'to the islands of the blessed, and to the habitations of unparalleled beauty.' The bad, at death, sunk immediately into endless torment in Tartarus. The intermediate description, 'purified in Acheron, and punished till their guilt was expiated, were at length admitted to the participation of felicity.'[1]

This fiction, Plato embellished with all the pomp of language and metaphor. The Athenian sage possessed perhaps the greatest luxuriance of imagination and elegance of expression which have adorned the annals of philosophy. His theory, in consequence, though chimerical in itself, assumes an interest and borrows a charm from the witchery of its author's style, the grandeur of his conceptions, and the colouring of his fancy. The Grecian philosophy, on this subject, has been decorated with the fascinations of Roman eloquence and poetry. Cicero, in his dream of Scipio, has clothed Plato's speculation with all the beauty of diction. The soul, says the Roman orator, which has wallowed in sensuality, submitted to the dominion of licentiousness, and violated the laws of God and man, will not, after its separation from the body, attain happiness, till it shall, for many ages, have been tossed in restless agitation through the world. Virgil has inwoven the Platonic fiction in his immortal Æneid; and represented souls, in the infernal world, as making expiation and obtaining purification by the application of water, wind, and fire.[2]

Such is the dream of Platonic philosophy, Ciceronian eloquence, and Virgilian verse. The existence of a Purgatorian world, if Plato, Cicero, and Virgil were canonical, could be

[1] Οι μεν αν οι δοξωσι μεσως βιβιωκεναι πορευθεντες επι τον Αχεροντα και καθαιρομενοι. Plato, Phaed. 84. Aug. 733. Brug. 1. 378. Bell. 1. 7.
[2] Cicero, 3. 397. Virgil. Æn. VI.

easily evinced. The proofs, omitted in the Jewish and Christian revelation, might be found, with great facility, in the Grecian and Roman classics. The topography and polity of the purgatorian empire, which are unmentioned in the sacred annals, are delineated in the heathen poetry and mythology. The council of Trent was silly, or it would have adopted the works of Plato, Cicero, and Virgil into the canon, instead of the Apocrypha. These had as good a title to the honour of canonicity as the Apocryphal books, and would have supplied irrefragable evidence for posthumous expiation as well as for many other Romish superstitoins.

The modern superstition, therefore, which has been imposed on the world for Christianity, is no discovery. Platonism, on this topic, anticipated Popery at least a thousand years. The Athenian embodied the fabrication in his philosophical speculations, and taught a system, which, on this subject, is similar to Romanism. The absurdity has, with some modifications adapting it to another system, been stolen without being acknowledged from heathenism; and appended, like a useless and deforming wen, to the fair form of Christianity.

The Jews, like the Pagans, believe in purgatory The Hebrews, though after the lapse of many ages, became acquainted with the heathen philosophy. Alexander the Great planted a Jewish colony in Egypt; and these, mingling with the nations, began, in process of time, to blend the Oriental and Grecian philosophy with the Divine simplicity of their own ancient theology. This perhaps was the channel through which this ancient people received the Pagan notion of clarification after death. The soul, in the modern Jewish system, undergoes this process of expiation for only twelve months after its separation from the body: and is allowed, during this time, to visit the persons and places on earth, to which during life it was attached. Spirits, in this intermediate state, enjoy, on the Sabbath, a temporary cessation of punishment. The dead, in this system, rested on the seventh day from pain as the living from labour. The Jewish, like the popish purgatorians, obtained consolation and pardon from the intercessions of their friends on earth.[1]

The Mussulmen adopted the idea of purgatorian punishment, in all probability, from the popish and Jewish systems. The Arabian impostor formed his theology from Judaism and Popery. The unlettered prophet of Mecca, it is commonly believed, was assisted by an apostatized Christian and a temporizing Jew in the composition of the Koran and in the fabrication of Islamism. The notion of posthumous purification had, at the commencement of the Hegira, obtained a reception into the

[1] Basn. IV. 32. Calm. Dict. 3. 747. Morery, 7. 896.

church and into the synagogue; and, from them, into Mahometanism. Gentilism also in all probability, was, in this amalgamation of heterogeneous elements, made to contribute a part: and all again were, as might be expected, modified according to the dictation of prejudice or fancy.[1]

Such, on this question, were the notions of Pagans, Jews, and Mussulmen. A similar appendage was, in the progress of superstition, obtruded on Christianity. Augustine seems to have been the first Christian author, who entertained the idea of purifying the soul while the body lay in the tomb. The African saint, though, in some instances, he evinced judgment and piety, displayed, on many occasions, unqualified and glaring inconsistency. His works, which are voluminous, present an odd medley of sense, devotion, folly, recantations, contradictions, and balderdash.

His opinions on purgatorian punishment exhibit many instances of fickleness and incongruity. He declares, in many places, against any intermediate state after death between heaven and hell. He rejects, in emphatical language, 'the idea of a third place, as unknown to Christians and foreign to revelation.' He acknowledges only two habitations, the one of eternal glory and the other of endless misery. Man, he avers, 'will appear in the last day of the world as he was in the last day of his life, and will be judged in the same state in which he had died.'[2]

But the saint, notwithstanding this unequivocal language, is, at other times, full of doubt and difficulty. The subject, he grants, and with truth, is one that he could never clearly understand. He admits the salvation of some by the fire mentioned by the Apostle. This, however, he sometimes interprets to signify temporal tribulation before death, and sometimes the general conflagration after the resurrection. He generally extends this ordeal to all men without any exception: and he conjectures, in a few instances, that this fire may, as a temporary purification, be applied to some in the interval between death and the general judgment. This interpretation, however, he offers as a mere hypothetical speculation. He cannot tell whether the temporary punishment is here or will be hereafter; or whether it is here that it may not be hereafter.' The idea, he grants, is a supposition without any proof, and 'unsupported by any canonical authority.' He would not, however, 'contradict the presumption, because it might perhaps be the truth.'[3]

[1] Sale, 76. Calmet, 3. 748. Morery, 397.

[2] I i quo enim quemque invenerit suus novissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies; quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur. Augustin, ad Hesych. 2. 743. et Hypog. V. 5. P. 40.

[3] Eamdem tribulationem ignem vocat. Aug. C. D. XXI. 26. Amboe probat.

Augustine's doubts show, to a demonstration, the novelty of the purgatorian chimera. His conjectural statements and his difficulty of decision afford decisive proof, that this dogma, in his day, was no article of faith. The saint would never have made an acknowledged doctrine of the church a subject of hesitation and inquiry. He would not have represented a received opinion as destitute of canonical authority: much less would he have acknowledged a heaven and a hell, and, at the same time, in direct unambiguous language, disavowed a third or middle place. Purgatory, therefore, in the beginning of the fifth century, was no tenet of theology. Augustine seems to have been the connecting link between the exclusion and reception of this theory. The fiction, after his day, was owing to circumstances, slowly and after several ages admitted into Romanism.

Augustine's literary and theological celebrity tended to the propagation of this superstition. The Saint's reputation was high, and his works were widely circulated. His piety indeed was deservedly respected through Christendom. His influence swayed the African church. The African councils, in their opposition to Pelagianism, were, in a particular manner, controlled by his authority. His fame extended to the European nations, and the Bishop of Hippo, from his character for sanctity and ability, possessed, through a great part of his life, more real power than the Roman pontiff. A hint from a man of his acknowledged superiority would circulate with rapidity, and be accompanied with a powerful recommendation through the Christian commonwealth.

This superstition, like many others that grew up in the dark ages, was promoted by the barbarism of the times. Italy, France, Spain, and England were overrun with hordes of savages. The Goths and Lombards invaded Italy. France was subdued by the Franks; while the Vandals desolated Spain. The martial but unlettered Saxons from the forests of Germany wasted the fairest provinces of Britain. The rude invaders destroyed nearly every vestige of learning, and, in its stead, introduced their own native ignorance and uncivilization. Cimmerian darkness, in consequence, seemed to overspread the world. Art, science, philosophy, and literature appeared, in terror or disgust, to have fled from barbarized man, and from the general wreck of all the monuments of taste and Christianity. The clouds of ignorance extended to the Asians

Aug. 7. 648. Ambo per eum transeant. Iste ignis in hac interim vita facit quod Apostolus dixit. Aug. 6. 127, 128. Sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi non rederguo, quia forsitan verum est. Aug. C. D. XXI. 26, P. 649. In eis nulla valut canonice constituitur authoritas. Aug. Dul. 6. 131. 132.

and Africans as well as to the Europeans, prepared the world for the reception of any absurdity, and facilitated the progress of superstition.

The innovation, however, notwithstanding the authority of Augustine and the Vandalism of the age, made slow progress. A loose and indetermined idea of temporary punishment and atonement after death, but void of system or consistency, began to float, at random, through the minds of men. The superstition, congenial with the human soul, especially when destitute of religious and literary attainments, continued, in gradual and tardy advances, to receive new accessions. The notion, in this crude and indigested state, and augmenting by continual accumulations, proceeded to the popedom of Gregory in the end of the sixth century.

Gregory, like Augustine, spoke on this theme with striking indecision. The Roman pontiff and the African saint, discoursing on venial frailty and posthumous atonement, wrote with hesitation and inconsistency. His infallibility, in his annotations on Job, disclaims an intermediate state of propitiation. 'Mercy, if once a fault consign to punishment, will not, says the pontiff, afterward return to pardon. A holy or a malignant spirit seizes the soul, departing at death from the body, and detains it for ever without any change.'[1] This, at the present day, would hardly pass for popish orthodoxy. This, in modern times, would, at the Vatican, be accounted little better than Protestantism.

His infallibility, however, dares nobly to vary from himself. The annotator and the dialogist are not the same person or, at least, do not teach the same faith. The vicar-general of God, in his dialogues, 'teaches the belief of a purgatorian fire, prior to the general judgment, for trivial offences.'[2] This, it must be granted, is one bold step towards modern Romanism. But his holiness is still defective. He mentions trivial failings; but says nothing of the temporal punishment of mortal delinquency. This, to the sovereign pontiff in the sixth century, was unknown land.

His holiness is guilty of another variation from modern Catholicism. He had no common receptacle or common means of punishment, as at the present day, for the luckless souls satisfying for venial frailty. He consigns the unhappy purgatorians to various places, and refines them sometimes in fire and some-

[1] Si semel culpa ad pœnam pertrahit, misericordia ulterius ad veniam non reducet. Greg. in Job viii. 10. Humani casus tempore, sive sanctus sive malignus spiritus, egredientem animam claustra carnis acceperit, in æternum secum, sine ulla permutatione retinebit. Greg. in Job viii. 8.

[2] De quibusdam levibus culpis, esse, ante judicium, purgatorius ignis credendus est. Greg. Dial. IV. 39.

times in water. He accordingly boiled the spirit of Pascasius, for this purpose, in the hot baths of Angelo. Germanus, bishop of Capua, saw the Roman deacon standing in the scalding steam, as the punishment of supporting Laurentius against Symmachus in a contested election for the popedom.[1] This vapour, his infallibility seems to have thought the proper menstruum for the solution of a hardened soul, and for the precipitation or sublimation of moral pollution. Steam, which now in the improvement of science and in the march of mind, propels, by its chemical power, the ship, the coach, and other kinds of machinery, was used in the days of old for its moral effects in cleansing purgatorian ghosts from venial stains. The ancients, it appears, had a steam purgatory, as the moderns have steam engines. Posterity therefore need not boast of superiority over their ancestors, who ingeniously applied this element for a nobler purpose than any discovery of the nineteenth century. Germanus prayed for Pascasius, who therefore escaped from the purifying steam. But no mention is made of any mass. This sublime mummery, which is the invention of a later age, had not in Gregory's time come into fashion.[2]

Damian, on the contrary, in the eleventh century, represented the soul of Severinus bishop of Cologne, as steeped, for some misdemeanors, in a river, which, he was satisfied, would yield the necessary abstersion for removing the stain of moral defilement. He soused the departed spirit in water, as a moral lotion of approved and unfailing efficacy. Caloric, it seems, is not the only solvent for decomposing the defilement of sin. The cold element as well as the hot steam, in the theory of Gregory and Damian, the pontiff and the saint, will effect this purpose.

Nidhard, quoted by Hottinger, mentions another mode of purifying souls. This consists in consigning them to cold lodgings. Some fishermen, it seems, during the time of a violent heat, found in the water a mass of the coldest ice. This, the fishermen having presented to bishop Theobald, a naked, shivering, frozen ghost, which suffered the pains of purgatory in this congelation, revealed, in loud outcry from its icy tenement, its distress, and begged the aid of Theobald's prayers.[3] The bishop's intercessions soon thawed the congealment, and liberated the ice-imprisoned spirit. According to Gregory, Damian, and Nidhard, therefore, not only fire, but also water in its fluid, frozen, and steamified state, will serve as a wash in a purgatorian

[1] Pascasium in caloribus stantem invenerit. Labb. 5. 419. Greg. Dial. IV. 40. Pascasius in Thermis Angulanis puniebatur. Faber, IV. p. 448.

[2] Bell. II. 6. Godeau, 3. 744.

[3] Episcopus audiverit quandam animam clamantem de ista glacie. Nidhard, 91. Hotting. 6. 1366.

process for purging venial transgressors. These authors therefore had discovered or invented no common depot or medium of execution for the unfortunate ghosts doomed to satisfy for trivial misdemeanors.

Platina, in his life of Benedict, presents a view of purgatory in the eleventh century. His posthumous infallibility pope Benedict appeared to a traveller, decorated with the beautiful ears and tail of an ass, and dignified with the graceful countenance and limbs of a bear. The traveller, whoever he was, took the liberty of asking the cause of the unholy transformation. My deformity after death, replied his holiness, is the reward of my pollution in life. The pontiff, according to the historian, was doomed to be dragged till the day of judgment through thorns and filth, in regions exhaling stench, and sulphur and fire.

Gregory has, by several authors, been represented as the discoverer or rather the creator of purgatory. Otho, a learned historian of the twelfth century, and a man of extensive information, accounted this pontiff's fabulous dialogues the foundation of the purgatorian fiction. Bruys, in modern times, agreeing with Otho, represents Gregory as the person who discovered this middle state for venial sinners. His infallibility certainly sanctioned the fabrication, with his pontifical authority: and his name gave it circulation. He enriched the meagre figure with several additions, and has the credit of becoming the early patron and improver of the innovation. He did not indeed perfect the system. This honour was reserved for the schoolmen, who, in many instances, completed the inventions of their predecessors. But the unfinished portrait received several new touches from his pencil, which was always the willing instrument of superstition.[1]

The pontiff himself seems to confess the novelty of the system. Many things, says his infallibility, have in these last times become clear, which were formerly concealed.[2] This declaration is in the dialogue that announces the existence of purgatory; which, he reckons, was one of the bright discoveries that distinguished his age. This consideration perhaps will account for the pontiff's inconsistency. The hierarch, as already shown, both opposed and advocated the purgatorian theology. His opposition perhaps preceded the happy moment, in which the flood of light burst on his mind, and poured the knowledge of the new-born faith with overwhelming illumination on his astonished soul.

[1] Gregoire en fit la decouverte dans ses beaux dialogues. Bruys, 1. 378. Otho, Ann. 1146.

[2] In his extremis temporibus, tam multa animabus clarescunt, quæ ante latuerunt. Gregory, Dial. IV. 40

The innovation mentioned in this manner with doubt by Augustine, and recommended with inconsistency by Gregory, men of high authority in their day, continued to spread and claim the attention and belief of men. The names of the African and Roman saints were calculated to influence the faith of the Latins, among whom the invention advanced, though with tardy steps, to perfection. Its bulk, like that of the Alpine avalanche, increased in its progress. This terror of the Alps, as it proceeds on its headlong course, acquires new accessions of snowy materials; and the opinion, patronized by a saint and a pontiff, received, in like manner, continual accretions from congenial minds. The shallow river, advancing to the main swells by the influx of tributary waves, and the recent theory, in a similar way, as it flowed down the stream of time, augmented its dimensions from the unfailing treasury of superstition.

The progress of the fabrication, however, was slow. Its movements to perfection were as tardy, as its introduction into Christendom had been late. This opinion, says Courayer, 'did not begin to assume a form till the fifth century.' Fisher admits that 'all the Latins did not apprehend its truth at the same time, but by gradual advances. The universal church, he admits, knew and received purgatory at a late period.'[1] Its belief obtained no general establishment in the Christian commonwealth for ages after Gregory's death. The council of Aix la Chapelle, in 836, decided in direct opposition to posthumous satisfaction or pardon. This synod mentions 'three ways of punishment for men's sins.' Of these, two are in this life and one after death. Sins, said this assembly, 'are, in this world, punished by the repentance or compunction of the transgressor, and by the correction or chastisement of God. The third, after death, is tremendous and awful, when the judge shall say, depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'[2] The fathers of this council knew nothing of purgatory, and left no room for its expiation.

The innovation, in 998, obtained an establishment at Cluny. Odilo, whom Fulbert calls an archangel, and Baronius the brightest star of the age, opened an extensive mart of prayers and masses for the use of souls detained in the purgatorian retort. Fulbert's archangel seems, in this department, to have

[1] Ce n'est proprement que dans le cinquième siecle, que cette opinion a commencée à prendre une forme. Couray. in Paol. 2. 644. Neque Latini simul omnes sed sensim hujus rei veritatem concerperunt. Purgatorium tam sero cognitum ac receptum universæ ecclesiæ fuerit. Fish. Con. Luth. Art. 18. Geddis, 110.

[2] Tribus modis peccata mortalium vindicantur; duobus in hac vita: tertio vero in futura vita. Tertia autem extat valde pertimescenda et terribilis, quæ non in hoc sed in futuro justissimo Dei judicio fiet sæculo, quando justus judex dicturus est, discredite a me, maledicti, in ignem æternum. Labb. 9. 844. Crabb. 2. 711.

excelled all his predecessors. A few, in several places, had begun to retail intercessions for the purgatorians. But Odilo commenced business as a wholesale merchant.[1] The traffic, no doubt, was as beneficial as it was benevolent, and gratified at once the selfish and social passions.

Odilo's exertions, in his spiritual emporium, gained the gratitude, if not the money of Benedict the Eighth. His infallibility, notwithstanding his holiness and supremacy in life, had, after death, the mischance of falling into the place of posthumous punishment. His holiness, however, through the mediation and masses of the Abbot, escaped from the smoke and fire of purgatory.[2] All this must have been very satisfactory to Benedict, and also, as he died rich, to Odilo.

The purgatorian novelty, however, though admitted by many, had not obtained a general reception in the middle of the twelfth century. This is clear from Otho the historian, who was a man of profound erudition and research. This author represents 'some as believing in a purgatorian place situated in the infernal regions, were souls are consigned to darkness or roasted with the fire of expiation.'[3] This testimony is very explicit. The opinion was not entertained by all, but asserted by some. The historian, who possessed enlarged information, would never have used such language, had purgatory, in his day, been the common belief of the ecclesiastical community. The people were divided. Some maintained, and some rejected the dogma of a temporary expiation after death. Those who believed in the posthumous satisfaction could not agree whether the medium of torment was darkness or fire. The innovation, it is plain, had not, in Otho's day, become the general faith of Christendom. Bernard, who flourished in the same age as Otho, could not, with all his saintship, determine whether the posthumous punishment 'was by heat, cold, or some other infliction.'[4]

The speculation of Augustine, Gregory, and Odilo fell, after Otho's time, into the hands of Aquinas and other schoolmen. The angelic doctor and the rest of the confraternity finished the fabric, which others had founded. These, on this subject as on others, gave the finishing touch to the outline of former

[1] Odilonem hoc anno commemorationem omnium defunctorum instituisse: cujus exemplo ad cæteras ecclesias hæc institutio promanavit. Mabillon, 4. 125. Spor. 1048. II, III. Bruys, 2. 240.

[2] Vir Dei præcepit, ut pro defuncto pontifice, preces fierent. Mabillon, 4. 312, 313.

[3] Esse apud Inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvandi vel tenebras tantum afficiantur, vel expiationis igne detorqueantur, quidam asserunt. Otho, Chron. viii. 26.

[4] Qui in purgatorio sunt, expectant redemptionem prius cruciandi aut calore ignis, aut rigore frigoris, aut alicujus gravitate doloris. Bernard, 1719.

days, and furnished the skeleton with sinews, muscles, form, and colour. Their distinctions on this topic exhibit a display of supererogation in subtilty, metaphysics, and refinement. Their attention fixed the place and the punishment of the purgatorian mansions.[1]

The plan, finished in this manner by the schoolmen, came before the general council of Florence in its twenty-fifth session in 1438, and received its sanction. This decision was ratified by pope Eugenius: and the opinion, after a long succession of variations, became at length a dogma of faith in the Latin communion.[2]

The Greeks, however, opposed the Latins on this question in the Florentine council, and the discordancy occasioned long and nonsensical discussions. The Greeks, with impregnable obstinacy, disclaimed the idea of fiery pain or expiation. Each, however, actuated with the desire of accommodation, yielded a little to the other. The Latins waved the idea of purgatorian fire: and the Greeks, in their turn, politely admitted a posthumous atonement by darkness, labour, sorrow, and the deprivation of the vision of God. A temporary union therefore was formed without sincerity, but soon afterward violated. The Grecian disbelief of purgatory has been granted by Guido, Alphonsus, Fisher, More, Prateolus, Renaudot, and Simon. Bellarmine himself here suspected the Greeks of heresy; and supported his surmises with the authority of Thomas Aquinas the angelic doctor. The disbelief of this theology was also entertained by the other oriental denominations, such as the Abyssinians, Georgians, Armenians, and Syrians.[3]

The city of Trent witnessed the last synodal discussion on this topic in a general council. The decision, on that occasion, presented an extraordinary demonstration of unity. The preparation of a formulary was committed, says Paolo, to the cardinal of Warmia and eight bishops, or, according to Palavicino, to five bishops and five divines. These, knowing the delicacy of the task, endeavoured to avoid every difficulty, yet could not agree. Terms, says Paolo and Du Pin, could not be found to express each person's mind.[4] Language, incapable of representing their diversity of opinion, sunk under the

[1] Aquin. III. 69, 70. P. 544, 547, 565.
[2] Labb. 18. 526. Bin. 8. 568. Crabb, 3. 476.
[3] Bin. 8. 561. Crabb. 3. 376. Coss. 6. 20. Bell. 1. 2. Alphon. VIII. Fish A. 18. More, 63. Prateol. VII. Renaud. 2. 105. Simon, c. 1. Bell. 1. 1370.
[4] N'etant pas possible de trouver des termes propres à exprimer les choses au grè de chacun, il valoit mieux n'en dire autre chose sinon que bonnes oeuvres des fidèles servent aux morts pour la remission de leurs peines. Paol. 2. 633, 634. Pallav. XIV. 2. Du Pin, 3. 633 Labb. 20 170.

mighty task of enumerating the minute and numberless variations, entertained by a communion which boasts of perfect and exclusive agreement and immutability. This, in variety, outrivalled the patrons of Protestantism. These, in the utterance of heresy, have sometimes evinced ample want of accordancy; but never, like the Trentine fathers, exhausted language in stating their jarring notions. The theological vocabulary was always found sufficient to do justice to heretical variety. But the universal, infallible, holy, Roman council, through want of words or harmony, was forced to admit, in general terms, the existence of a middle place, disengaged of all particular circumstantial explanation. This, the council pledged their word, is taught by revelation and tradition, as well as by the mighty assembly of Trent. The holy unerring fathers, however, though they could not agree themselves nor find expression for their clashing speculations, did not forget to curse, with cordiality and devotion, all who dissented from their sovereign decision. The cursing system, indeed, was the only thing on which the sacred synod showed any unanimity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

VARIETY OF SYSTEMS—JEWISH THEOCRACY—CHRISTIAN ESTABLISHMENT—ANCIENT TRADITION—INTRODUCTION OF CLERICAL CELIBACY—REASONS—GREEKS—LATINS—EFFECTS OF SACERDOTAL CELIBACY—DOMESTICISM, CONCUBINAGE, AND MATRIMONY—SECOND PERIOD OF CELIBACY—OPPOSITION TO GREGORY—TOLERATION OF FORNICATION—PREFERENCE OF FORNICATION TO MATRIMONY AMONG THE CLERGY—PERMISSION OF ADULTERY OR BIGAMY TO THE LAITY—VIEW OF PRIESTLY PROFLIGACY IN ENGLAND, SPAIN, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, ITALY, AND PERU—COUNCILS OF LYONS, CONSTANCE, AND BASIL.

THE celibacy of the clergy has, for a long series of time, been established in the Romish communion. The bishop, the priest, and the deacon are, in the popish theology, forbid to marry. This connexion indeed is allowed to the laity. The institution, in the system of catholicism, is accounted a sacrament, and therefore the sign and means of grace and holiness. The council of Trent, in its twenty-fourth session, declares this ceremony one of the sacraments, by which, according to its seventh session, 'all real righteousness is begun and augmented.' The same is taught in the Trent Catechism, published by the command of Pope Pius.[1] But, wonderful to tell, the council as well as the Catechism prescribes, in sheer inconsistency, a renunciation of an institution which conveys true sanctity, as a necessary qualification for the priesthood.

The advocates of Romanism, however, vary on the decision of the question, whether this celibacy be divine, or human, or even useful. One party in the popish community account the interdiction a divine appointment. These make the prohibition a matter of faith and moral obligation, which, unlike a question of mere discipline, neither the pope nor the universal church can change or modify. Commanded by God, and sanctioned by his Almighty fiat, no earthly power can repeal the enactment, which, according to this system, must remain for ever without alteration. This opinion was patronized by Jerome, Epipha-

[1] Per sacramenta, omnis vera justitia vel incipit, vel coepta augetur, vel omissa reparatur. Bin. 9. 367, 411. Labb. 20. 150. Gratiam quoque hoc sacramento significare et tribui. Cat. Trid. 187. Aquin. 3. 486. Gibert, 3. 315.

nius, Major, Clichtovius, Gabutius, Siricius, and Innocent.[1] This party, however, was never considerable either in number or influence.

A second party reckons the celibacy of the clergy a human constitution. These, in general, esteem the prohibition a question not of faith but of discipline, prescribed not by God but by man, and capable of being altered or even repealed by human authority. These are numerous, and include the majority of the popish communion: and the opinion has been patronized by many theologians of influence and learning, such as Aquinas, Cajetan, Soto, Bellarmine, Valentia, Bossuet, Du Pin, Gother, Challenor, and Milner.

The partizans of this opinion, however, are subdivided into two factions, distinguished by a slight shade of difference. One of these factions accounts the matrimonial interdiction, apostolical, established by the inspired heralds of the gospel; and continued in uninterrupted succession till the present day. This forms a close approximation to the former system; and seems to have been advocated, with some variation and inconsistency, by Jerome, Chrysostom, Siricius, Innocent, Gregory, Bellarmine, Godeau, and Thomassin.[2] The other faction reckons the regulation merely ecclesiastical or human, and a matter of mere expediency, and capable of dispensation or recission according to utility. This system has been countenanced by Aquinas, Cajetan, Antonius, and Gratian. The marriage of the clergy, says Gratian, is forbidden neither by evangelical or apostolical authority. Similar statements have been made by Aquinas and Cajetan.[3]

A third party account sacerdotal celibacy not only ecclesiastical or human, but also useless or hurtful. The opposition to the prohibition, even in the bosom of the Romish communion, has in every age, been persevering and powerful. This hostility will, in glowing colours, appear in the ensuing details. The privation has been discountenanced by many of the ablest patrons of Romanism, such as Panormitan, Erasmus, Durand, Polydorus, Alvarus, and Pius. The celibacy of the clergy, says Pius the Second, is supported by strong reasons, but opposed by stronger. The edicts of Siricius and Innocent, by which the privation was first enforced, were rejected by many of the

[1] Jerom. adv. Jov. Epiph. H. 48. Major, D. 24. Clich. c. 4. Bell. I. 18. Gibert, 1. 109. Gabut. 21.

[2] Cette loi est aussi ancienne, que l'eglise. Thomassin, I. 43. Anton. c. 21.

[3] Non est essentialiter annexum debitum continentiae ordini sacro, sed ex statuto ecclesiae. Aquin. II. Q. 88. A. II. P. 311. Potest Summus Pontifex dispensare in matrimonio cum sacerdote. Nec ratione nec autoritate probatur quod, absolute loquendo, sacerdos peccet contrahendo matrimonium, quia ratio potius et ad oppositum ducit. Cajetan, 1. 121. Bell. 1. 19. Godea. 2. 154.

clergy. Gregory's tyranny on this topic met with decided hostility. His attempt was, by many, accounted an innovation and produced a schism. Many chose to renounce the priesthood rather than submit to pontifical despotism, violate their conjugal engagements, or relinquish the objects of their affections. The German emperor and clergy supplicated Pope Pius the Fourth, for a repeal of the enactments against sacerdotal matrimony, and supported their petition with the most irrefragable arguments, such as the novelty of privation, and its dreadful consequences on morality. Augustine, the Bavarian ambassador at Trent, petitioned against clerical celibacy, which, he declared, "was not of divine right or commanded by God." His speech, on the occasion, met, even in the council of Trent, with attention and even applause. The French king and clergy at Poissy issued a similar petition to the pope in 1561, enforced by similar reasons.[1] Many of the popish errors indeed may, in theory, be absurd as clerical celibacy. But none, in practice, has been attended with such odious and appalling effects in the demoralization of man. The rankest and most disgusting debauchery, originating in the unnatural interdiction, has, in the Romish communion, disgraced sacerdotal dignity, and stained the annals of civil and ecclesiastical history.

The celibacy of the clergy, in all its forms, is a variation from the Jewish theocracy delivered in the Old Testament. The Jews countenanced neither celibacy nor maidenhood, and the Jewish nation contained neither unmatrimonial priests nor cloistered nuns. The patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were married, and had a numerous offspring. Prior to Moses, the first-born of the Hebrews possessed both civil and ecclesiastical authority, and was prince and priest; but was not debarred connubial enjoyments. Moses, the celebrated legislator of Israel, was married and had a family. The holy prophets of Palestine, such as Noah, Joseph, Samuel, David, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, formed this connexion, and became the parents of sons and daughters. The levitical priesthood were allowed the same liberty. Matrimony indeed, among the Israelitish clergy, could hardly be called a bare permission; but amounted in one sense to a command. The priesthood, among the descendants of Abraham, was hereditary. The sons of the Aaronical priests succeeded, in consequence of their birth-right, to the administration of the sacerdotal functions.[2] An injunction therefore seems, in this manner, to have been laid on the minister of the Jewish establishment in favour of that institution,

[1] Bruys, 3. 398. Bell. 1. 1110. Du Pin, 3. 336, 522. Erasm. 1. 422. Platina in Pius 2. Paolo, 2. 680.
[2] Grab. 1. 417. Chrysostom, 1. 268, 568, et 2. 298. Bell. 1. 18.

by which, according to the Divine appointment, the priestly office was transmitted to their posterity and successors, who presided in the worship of Jehovah and the religion of Canaan.

Sacerdotal celibacy is a variation from the Christian dispensation revealed in the New Testament. The Christian Revelation affords express precept and example for the marriage of the clergy. Paul, addressing Timothy and Titus, represents the bishop as 'the husband of one wife.' The same is said of the deacon. Matrimony, therefore, according to the book of God, does not disqualify for the episcopacy or the deaconship. The inspired penman also characterizes 'forbidding to marry' as 'a doctrine of devils.' The interdiction of the conjugal union, according to apostolical authority, emanated not from God but from Satan. The prohibition and its practical consequences among the Romish clergy are worthy of their author. All who are acquainted with the annals of sacerdotal celibacy reflect with disgust on an institution, which, in its progress, has been marked with scenes of filthiness, that have disgraced ecclesiastical history, the popish priesthood, and our common species. 'Take away honourable wedlock,' says Bernard, 'and you will fill the church with fornication, incest, sodomy and all pollution.' Erasmus, who was well acquainted with its effects, compared it to a pestilence.[1] These authors have drawn the evil with the pencil of truth, and emblazoned the canvass with a picture taken from life.

The apostles have left examples as well as precepts in favour of matrimony. All the apostles, says Ambrosius, except John and Paul, were married. Simon, whose pretended successors have become the vicegerents of heaven, was a married man, and the sacred historians mention his mother-in-law. Peter and Philip, say Clemens and Eusebius, had children. Paul was married, according to Clemens, Ignatius, and Eusebius; though the contrary was alleged by Tertullian, Hilary, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrosius, and Augustine.[2]

The celibacy of the clergy, varying in this manner from the Christian dispensation, is also a variation from ancient tradition. The interdiction of sacerdotal matrimony is unknown to the oldest monuments of the church, the mouldering fragments of Christian antiquity, and the primeval records of ecclesiastical

[1] Tolle de ecclesia honorabile connubium et thorum immaculatum, nonne reples eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus masculorum concubitoribus, et omni denique genere immundorum? Bernard, Serm. 66. P. 763. Tim. III. 2. 12. et IV. 3. Titus, I. 6.

Quae pestis aut lues a superis aut infernis immitti possit nocentior. Erasm. 1. 442.

[2] Omnes Apostoli, excepto Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerant. Amb. in 2 Corin. ii. Matth. viii. 14. Clem. 535. Strom. 3. Euseb. iii. 30. 31. Calm 22 410.

history. No vestige of the prohibition is to be found in the long lapse of three hundred years after the era of redemption. Its warmest patrons can produce no testimony of its existence for three ages after the epoch of the incarnation; nor any indeed possessing the least authority till the days of Jerome and Epiphanius in the end of the fourth century. The monk of Palestine and the bishop of Salamis are the first witnesses which could be produced by all the learning and research of Bellarmine, or Thomassin; and even their attestation is contradictory and inconsistent with cotemporary history.

This lengthened period was enlightened and adorned by a succession of Apostolical and Christian authors; and all are silent on this theme, or bear testimony to the unconfined freedom of matrimony. The inspired writers were followed by the apostolical men, Hermas, Clemens, Barnabas, Polycarp, and Ignatius. These again were succeeded by a long train of ecclesiastical authors, such as Justin, Irenæus, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, Minucius, Athenagoras, and Cyprian. But none of these mention, in express or implied phraseology, any connubial restriction on the clergy: and the omission is not supplied by a single pontifical edict or synodal canon prior to the fourth century.

Many documents of antiquity, on the contrary, remain, which testify their unrestrained liberty to form and enjoy the nuptial connexion, and which are conclusive and above all suspicion. A few of these may be subjoined, taken from Dionysius, Clemens, Origen, and the Apostolic canons.

Dionysius, about the year one hundred and seventy, affords one decisive testimony to the marriage of the priesthood in his day. The interesting relation is preserved by Eusebius. Dionysius, according to the father of ecclesiastical history, was bishop of Corinth. He was esteemed for his wisdom and piety; and did not confine his valuable labours to his own diocese, but extended them to other parts of Christendom. He wrote to the Lacedemonians, Athenians, Nicomedians, Gortinians, Amastrians, and Gnossians, for the purpose of enforcing truth and peace. His letter to the Gnossians was on the subject of sacerdotal celibacy. Pinytus, a Cretan bishop, actuated by ignorance or presumption, urged the necessity of abstinence in all its rigour on the clergy of his diocese. Dionysius, having heard of the unconstitutional attempt, wrote to the Gnossians and admonished Pinytus to regard the weakness of man, and to lay no such heavy burden on the clergy. Pinytus, convinced of his error, bowed to the wise and well-timed counsel, and replied to his Corinthian monitor in strains of eulogy and admiration. The relation is conclusive against

sacerdotal celibacy in the days of the Cretian and Corinthian bishops. Dionysius, famed for superior information on ecclesiastical laws, condemned the injurious and unwarranted innovation. Pinytus pleaded no authority for his opinion, and acquiesced in the other's decision without hesitation. Had the interdiction of priestly wedlock been apostolical or even ecclesiastical, and continued in the church in uninterrupted succession from the establishment of Christianity, the one would not have advised its abolition, nor the other have admitted his determination with so much submission.[1]

Clemens, who flourished about the year 200, testifies to the same effect. 'God,' says the catechist of Alexandria, 'allows every man, whether priest, deacon, or layman, to be the husband of one wife, and to use matrimony without reprehension. What can the enemy of matrimony say against procreation, when it is permitted to a bishop, that ruleth well his own house, and who governs the church.'[2] This is clear and satisfactory. The use, as well as the contract of marriage was, in the beginning of the third century, lawful both for the clergy and for the laity. The connubial state and its enjoyments extended in the days of Clemens to the pastor as well as to the flock. Clemens was a man of extensive erudition both in philosophy and theology, and therefore could not, on this topic, be mistaken in the existing regulations of his day.

Origen, who flourished about the middle of the third century, is another witness. Origen's testimony is quoted by Bellarmine in favor of sacerdotal celibacy; but certainly with little judgment. His argument recoils on its author. 'The duties of matrimony,' says Origen cited by Bellarmine, 'hinder the continual sacrifice, which, it appears to me, should be offered only by such as devote themselves to constant and perpetual continency.'[3] This evinces just the contrary of what the cardinal intended. Some who ministered at the altar, according to Origen's words, were married, and he complained that their connubial engagements prevented their due and regular attendance on the sacred duty. He does not mention or pretend any ecclesiastical law or injunction, requiring the observation of clerical celibacy. He only speaks his own private opinion as a matter of expediency. His language bears testimony to the fact, that married men, in the third century, officiated at the altar, and to the non-existence of any ecclesiastical canon or

[1] Euseb. IV. 23. Niceph. IV. 8. Mendoza, II. 60.

[2] Του ἑνὸς μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρα τὸν ἀποδεχόμενον, καν Πρεσβύτερος, η καν Διάκονος, καν λαικος, ἀνενκλητόνως γαμω χρωμενος. Clem. Alexan. 1. 562. Tim. III. 4.

[3] Impeditur sacrificium indesinens iis qui conjugalibus necessitatibus serviunt. Unde videtur mihi, quod illius solius est offere sacrificium qui indesinenti et perpetuae se devoverit castitati. Origen. Hom. 23. Bell. I. 1114.

usage enforcing clerical abstinence. He pleads only his private judgment in behalf of his opinion. His prepossessions against all nuptial engagements are well known, and prompted him to use a remedy in his own person, contrary to all law human and divine. He armed himself against temptation, by a mutilation which was interdicted by the twenty-second apostolical and first Nicene canons: and one would expect by self-preservation. This shows the insignificance of his opinion on this as on other topics of faith and discipline. Bellarmine must have been possessed by the demon of infatuation, when he appealed to Origen's judgment.

The fifth apostolical canon is to the same purpose. This enactment 'pronounces excommunication and, in case of contumacy, deposition against the bishop, priest, or deacon, who, under pretext of religion, puts away his wife.'[1] The canon, notwithstanding the scribbling of Binius, plainly supposes clerical matrimony and forbids separation. These canons indeed were compiled neither by an apostolic pen nor in an apostolic age. Turriano, it is true, ascribed them to the apostles. Baronius and Bellarmine retained fifty of them and rejected thirty-five. The ablest critics, however, such as Du Pin, Beveridge, Albaspinæus and Giannon, have regarded them as a collection of canons, selected from Synods prior to the council of Nice in 325. This seems to be the true statement. The canons are often cited by the councils and authors of the fourth century. John of Antioch inserted them in his collection in the reign of Justinian, and the emperor himself eulogized them in his sixth Novel; whilst their authority, at a later date, was acknowledged by Damascen, Photius, and the Seventh General Council.[2]

The celibacy of the clergy, however, in consequence of the march of superstition, obtained at length in the West, though always rejected in Eastern Christendom. The mind of superstition seems inclined to ascribe superior holiness to virginity and celibacy, and to venerate abstinence of this kind with blind devotion. Men, therefore, in all ages, have endeavored to draw attention by pretensions to this species of self-denial and its fancied purity, and abstraction from sublunary care and enjoyment. Its votaries, in every age, have, by an affected singularity and ascetic contempt of pleasure, contrived to attract the eye of superstition, deceive themselves, or amuse a silly world. This veneration for celibacy has appeared through the nations, and in the systems of Paganism, Heresy, and Romanism.

[1] Episcopus, vel presbiter, vel Diaconus uxorem suam ne ejiciat religionis prætextu, sin autem ejicerit segregetur, et si perseveret deponatur. Labb. I. 20. Bin. I. 6. Crabb. I. 15.

[2] Du Pin, c. 10. Giannon, II. 8. Cotel. I. 429, 442.

Clerical celibacy is the child, not of religion or Christianity, but of superstition and policy.

Austerity of life and abstinence from lawful as well as unlawful gratifications, the heathen accounted the summit of perfection. The Romans, during their profession of Gentilism, though their Pontifex Maximus was a married man, had their vestal virgins, who possessed extraordinary influence and immunity. The Athenian Hierophants, according to Jerome's expression, unmanned themselves by drinking cold hemlock. Becoming priests, they ceased to be men. The Egyptian priesthood observed similar continency. These, says Cheremon the Stoic, quoted by Jerome, were induced, for the purpose of subduing the body, to forego the use of flesh, wine, and every luxury of eating and drinking, which might pamper passion or awaken concupiscence. The priests of Cybele, in like manner, in entering on their office, vanquished the enemy by mutilation.

The Gnostic and Manichean systems also declared against matrimony and in favour of celibacy. The Manicheans, indeed, according to Augustine, allowed their auditors, who occupied the second rank, to marry, but refused the same liberty to the Elect, who aimed at the primary honours of purity. The grovelling many, who were contented with mediocrity, indulged in nuptial enjoyments, whilst the chosen few, who aspired at perfection, renounced these degrading gratifications, and rose to the sublimity of self-denial and spirituality.[1]

Popery followed the footsteps of heathenism and heresy. The imperfect laity, like the Manichean auditors, may attach themselves to the other sex, and enjoy connubial gratifications. But the clergy and sisterhood, who aim at perfection, must, like the Manichean elect, soar to the grandeur of abstinence and virginity.

This admiration of virginity began at an early period of Christianity. Ignatius, who was the companion of the inspired messengers of the Gospel, commenced, in his epistolarly address to Polycarp in the beginning of the second century, to eulogize, though in very measured language, the haughty virgins of the day. This affectation of holiness, which was then in its infancy, had presumed to rear its head above unpretending and humble purity. Ignatius was followed by Justin and Athenagoras: but still in the language of moderation. Their encomiums, however, were general, and had no particular reference to the clergy. Tertullian, led astray by the illusions of Montanism, forsook the moderation of Ignatius, Justin, and Athenagoras, and extolled virginity to the sky. He exhausted language in vilifying

[1] Jerom, 4. 192. Bruys, 1. 142. Moreri, 4. 142. Augustin, 1. 739 et 8. 14.

marriage and praising celibacy. Tertullian, in his flattery of this mock purity, was equalled or excelled by Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil, Ambrosius, Jerome, Syricius, Innocent, and Fulgentius.[1] These saints and pontiffs represented virginity as the excellence of Christianity, and viewed with admiration the system which Paul of Tarsus, under the inspiration of God, characterized as a 'doctrine of devils.'

The reason of this admiration may be worth an investigation. One reason arose from the difficulty of abstinence. Virginity, Jerome admits, 'is difficult and therefore rare.' The Monk of Palestine was a living example of this difficulty. Sitting, the companion of scorpions in a frightful solitude, parched with the rays of the sun, clothed in sackcloth, pale with fasting, and quenching his thirst only from the cold spring, the Saint, in his own confession, wept and groaned, while 'his blood boiled with the flames of licentiousness.' Bernard prescribes 'fasting, as a necessary remedy for the wantonness of the flesh and the inflammation of the blood.' Chrysostom makes similar concessions of difficulty.[2] The passion indeed, which prompts the matrimonial union, being necessary for the continuation of the species, has, by the Creator, been deeply planted in the breast, and forms an essential part of the constitution. The prohibition is high treason against the laws of God, and open rebellion against the spring tide of human nature and the full flow of human affection. An attempt, therefore, to stem the irresistible current must ever recoil with tremendous effect on its authors. But the affectation of singularity, the show of sanctity, and the profession of extraordinary attainments, which outrage the sentiments of nature, will, like Phaeton's attempt to drive the chariot of the sun, attract the gaze of the spectator, gain the applause of superstition, and figure in the annals of the world.

Jerome and Chrysostom, quoted by the Rhemists, say that continency may always be obtained by prayer. The attainment, according to the Grecian and Roman Saint, is the uniform reward of supplication to heaven. Theodolf makes a similar statement. But the allegation of Jerome and Chrysostom as well as Theodolf, is the offspring of inconsistency, and wholly incompatible with their usual sentiments. Chrysostom, like Jerome, gives, in another place, a different view of the votaries of virginity in his day. Some of these, to counteract the movements of the flesh, cased the body in steel, put on sack-cloth, ran to the mountains, spent night and day in fasting, vigils, and in all the rigor of severity. Shunning the company of women,

[1] Ignat. c. 5. Cotel. ii. 92. Justin, 22.

[2] Sola libidinum incendia bulliebant, Jerom, 4. 30, 177. Necesse est, lasciviens caro oerum crebris frangatur jejuniis. Calore sanguinis inflamata, ut evadere possit. omni indiget custodia. Bernard, 1114. Chrysostom, 1. 249.

the whole sex were forbidden access to their solitary retreat. All this self-mortification, however, could scarcely allay the rebellion of their blood.[1] The relation must convey a singular idea of these victims of superstition, and the manners of the age. The portrait is like the representation of a Lucian or Swift, who, in sarcastic irony, would ridicule the whole transaction; while it displays, in striking colours, the difficulty of the attempt as well as the folly of the system.

The difficulty of continence, if reports may be credited, was not peculiar to Chrysostom's day. Succeeding saints felt the arduousness of the mighty attempt. A few instances of this may amuse, as exemplified in the lives of Francis, Godric, Ulfric, Aquinas, Benedict, an Irish priest, the Bishop of Sherburn, and related by Bonaventura, Paris, Malmesbury, Mabillon, Ranolf, and the Roman Breviary.

The Seraphic Francis, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was the father of the Franciscans. The saint, though devoted to chastity and brimful of the spirit, was, it seems, sometimes troubled with the movements of the flesh. An enemy that wrought within was difficult to keep in subjection. His saintship, however, on these occasions, adopted an effectual way of cooling the internal flame, and allaying the carnal conflict. He stood, in winter, to the neck in a pit full of icy water. One day, being attacked in an extraordinary manner by the demon of sensuality, he stripped naked, and belaboured his unfortunate back with a disciplinarian whip: and then leaving his cell, he buried his body, naked as it was, in a deep wreath of snow.[2] The cold bath, the knotted thong, and the snowy bed were necessary for discharging the superabundant caloric of his saintship's constitution.

Godric, an English hermit, was troubled with the same complaint, and had recourse to the same remedy. He was a native of Norfolk, but had visited Jerusalem, wept over the sacred sepulchre, and kissed, in holy devotion, the tomb of Emmanuel, and the monument of redemption. He lived on the banks of the Werus, and was the companion of the bear and the scorpion, which were gentle and obliging to the man of God. But he had to contend, even in his solitude, with temptation. Satan, assuming the form of a lion or a wolf, endeavoured to allure him from his duty. These outward trials, however, were

[1] Μόλις περιγινόμενοι της κατά την ἐπιθυμίαν μανίας. Chrysostom, 1. 234.
A Deo datur continentia, sed petite et accipietis. Theod. in Dachery, 1, 255.

[2] Il se jettoit souvent en hyver dans une fosse pleine de glace, afin de vaincre parfaitement l'ennemi domestique. Bruy. 3. 151. Etant attaqué un jour d'une grande tentation de la chair, il se depouilla et se donna une rude discipline. Puis il se jetta dans la neige Morery, 4. 179.

nothing compared with the inward conflicts, arising from the ferment of concupiscence and "the lusts of the flesh." He counteracted the rebellion of his blood, however, by the rigour of discipline. The cold earth was his only bed, and a stone, which he placed under his head, was his nightly pillow. The herb of the field, and the water of the spring, were his meat and drink, which he used only when compelled by the assaults of hunger and thirst. Clothed in hair cloth, he spent his days in tears and fasting. The hermit, with these applications for keeping the body under, used a sufficiently cooling regimen. During the wintry frost and snow, he immersed himself, says his historian, in the stream of the Werus, where, pouring forth prayers and tears, he offered himself a living victim to God.[1] The flesh, it is likely, after this nightly dip, was discharged of all unnecessary heat and became duly cool. But the Devil, it seems, played some pranks on the hermit, while he was enjoying the cold bath, and freezing his body for the good of his soul. Satan sometimes ran away with Godric's clothes which were on the banks. But Godric terrified Beelzebub with shouts, so that affrighted, he dropped his hair-cloth garment and fled. A relic of Godric's beard, says Bede, was, after his death, transferred to Durham, and adorned the church of that city.

Ulric's history is of a similar kind. He was born near Bristol, and fought the enemies of the human race for twenty-nine years. He was visited, notwithstanding, by the demon of licentiousness. The holy man, in his distress, applied the remedy of fasting and vigils, and endeavoured to subdue the stimulations of the flesh by the regimen of the cold bath. He fasted, till the skin was the only remaining covering of his bones. He nightly descended into a vessel filled with freezing water, and during the hours of darkness, continued, in this comfortable lodging, which constituted his head quarters, to sing the Psalms of David.[2] This Christian discipline, in all probability, delivered his veins of all superfluous caloric, and enabled him to practice moderation during the day.

Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, required angelic aid to counteract the natural disposition of the mind or rather the flesh. He was born of a noble family, and enjoyed the benefit

[1] Insultus libidinis lacrymis arcebat et jejuniis. Ut carnis incenda superaret, cilicio carnem domabat asperrimo. Hieme, gelu, et nive rigenti, nudus flumen ingressus, nocte ibi tota et usque ad collum submersus, orationes et psalmos cum lacrymis profundebat. M. Paris, 114. Beda, 741.

[2] Noctibus, in vas quoddam cum frigore nudus, aqua plenum frigida, descendere solebat, in quo psalmos Davidicos Domino offerebat, et sic aliquamdiu perseverans, carnis incentiva, cujus acerrimos patiebatur stimulos, mortificabat in aquis. M. Paris, 89.

of a Parisian education. His friends opposed, but in vain, his resolution of immuring himself in the retreats of monkery. He resisted their attempts with signal success, though, it seems, not always with spiritual weapons. He chased one woman, who opposed his resolution, with a fire-brand. The blessed youth, says the Roman breviary, praying on bended knees before the cross, was seized with sleep, and seemed, through a dream, 'to undergo a constriction of a certain part by angels, and lost, from that time forward, all sense of concupiscence.'[1] His angelic saintship's natural propensity required supernatural power to restrain its fury. The grasp of angels was necessary to allay his carnality and confer continence.

Benedict, in his distress, had recourse to a pointed remedy. This saint, like Aquinas, was born of a noble family. He was educated at Rome, and devoted himself wholly to religion or rather to superstition. He lived three years in a deep cave; and, in his retreat, wrought many miracles. 'He knocked the Devil out of one monk with a blow of his fist, and out of another with the lash of a whip.' But Satan, actuated by malice and envious of human happiness, appeared to Benedict in the form of a blackbird, and renewed, in his heart, the image of a woman whom he had seen at Rome. The Devil, in this matter, rekindled the torch of passion, and excited such a conflagration in the flesh, that the saint nearly yielded to the temptation. But he soon, according to Mabillon and the Roman breviary, discovered a remedy. Having undressed himself, 'he rolled his naked body on nettles and thorns, till the lacerated carcass, through pain, lost all sense of pleasure.'[2] The father of the Benedictines, it appears, had his own difficulty in attempting to allay the ferment of the flesh, notwithstanding the allegations of Jerome and Chrysostom.

An Irish priest, actuated like Francis, Godric, Ulric, Aquinas, and Benedict, by a carnal propensity, had recourse to a different remedy. The holy man lived near Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, and spent his days in official duty and in works of charity. Rising early each morning, he walked round the adjoining cemetery, and preferred his orisons for those whose mortal remains there mouldered in the clay, and mingled with their kindred dust. His devotion, however, did not place him beyond the reach of temptation. Satan, envying his happiness

[1] Sentire visus est sibi ab angelis constringi lumbos, quo ex tempore omni postea libidinis sensu caruit. Brev. Rom. 702.

[2] Alapa monacho inflicta infestum hospitem expulit, quem alias flagello a monacho vago ejecerat. Mabillon, 1. 89. Nudum se in urticas ac vepres tamdiu volutaverit, dum voluptatis sensus dolore penitus opprimeretur. Mabillon, 1. 8. Brev. Rom. 724.

and hating his sanctity, tempted the priest in the form of a beautiful girl. He was near yielding to the allurement. He led the tempter into his bed-chamber, when recollecting himself, he resolved to prevent the sinful gratification for the present and in futurity. He seized a scalpellum, and adopting, like Origen, the remedy of amputation, he incapacitated himself for such sensuality in time to come.[1]

Adhelm, bishop of Sherburn, had two ways of subduing the insurrections of the flesh. One consisted in remaining, during the winter, in a river which ran past his monastery. He continued, for nights, immersed in this stream, regardless of the icy cold. The frosty bath, in all probability, extracted the superfluous and troublesome warmth from his veins, and stopped the ebullition of his rebellious blood. But the other remedy seems to have been rather a dangerous experiment. When the pulse began to beat high, his saintship called for a fair virgin, who lay in his bed till he sung the whole order of the Psalms, and overcame, by this means, the paroxysm of passion.[2] The sacred music and this beautiful maid, who, notwithstanding her virginity, was very accomodating, soothed the irritation of the flesh, and castigated the ocillations of the pulse, till it beat with philosophical precision and Christian regularity.

A second reason for the preference of virginity arose from the supposed pollution of matrimony. Great variety indeed has, on this subject, prevailed among the saints and the theologians of Romanism. Some have represented marriage as a means of purity, and some of pollution. Clemens, Augustine, Ambrosius, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Harding, and Calmet characterize this Romish sacrament as an institution of holiness, sanctity, honour, and utility. The council of Gangra anathematized all who should reproach wedlock: and this sentence has been incorporated with the canon law.[3] Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrosius, and Fulgentius, however, in self-contradiction, sometimes speak of the matrimonial institution in terms of invective and detestation.

[1] Cultrum arripuit et propria membra virilia abscindens, foras projecit. M. Paris, 92.

[2] Quando carnis sentiret incentiva, virginem pulchram in suo stratu tamdiu secum retineret, quousque Psalterium ex ordine diceret. Ranolf, 245.

Cubilans, aliquam foeminam detinebat, quoad carnis tepescente lubrico quiete et immoto discederet animo. Malmsbury. 13.

Ut vim rebelli corpori concisseret, fonti se humero tenus immergebat. Malm. de vita Adhelm. Wharton, 2. 13.

[3] Αγια δε ἡ γενεσις. Clem. Strom. III. P. 559. Concubitus conjugalis non solum est licitus, verum est utilis et honestus. Aug. con. Pelag. 10. 270. Munda est conjugia. Amb. 2. 364. in Corin. VII. Δικαιος ὁ γαμος. Chrysos. 1. 38. Sancta sunt Christianorum conjugia. Fulg. ad. Gall. Le lit nuptial est pur et honorable. Calmet, 23. 766. Si quis matrimonium vituperet, et eam quae cum marito suo dormit, sit anathema. Labb. 2. 427. Crabb. 1. 289. Pithou, 42.

Many saints, doctors, pontiffs, and councils, on the contrary, such as Origen, Jerome, Siricius, Innocent, Bellarmine, Estius, Pithou, the canon law, the Rhemish annotators, and a party in the council of Trent, have represented this Popish sacrament, especially in the clergy, as an appointment of pollution and degradation.[1] Origen, who is quoted by Pithou, reckoned 'conjugal intercourse inconsistent with the presence of the Holy Spirit.' Jerome, if possible, surpassed Origen in bitterness. The monk of Palestine growled at the very name of matrimony, and discharged against the institution, in all its bearings, whole torrents of vituperation and sarcasm. Surcharged, as usual, with gall and wormwood, which flowed in copious efflux from his pen, the saint poured vials of wrath on this object of his holy aversion. Marriage, according to this casuist, 'effeminates the manly mind.' A man, says the monk, 'cannot pray, unless he refrain from conjugal enjoyments.' The duty of a husband is, in his creed, 'incompatible with the duty of a Christian.' This is a sample of his acrimony. Those who would relish a full banquet, may read his precious production against Jovinian.

Siricius, the Roman pontiff, called marriage filthy, and characterized married persons, 'as carnal and incapable of pleasing God.' Innocent adopted his predecessor's language and sentiment, and denounced this Romish sacrament as a contamination. Conjugal cohabitation, says Bellarmine, is attended with impurity, 'and carnalizes the whole man, soul and body.' Estius affirms that 'the nuptial bed immerses the whole soul in carnality.' Gratian and Pithou incorporate, in the canon law, the theology of Origen, which represents the matrimonal sacrament as calculated to quench the Spirit. The statements of the Rhemists are equally gross and disgusting. Wedlock, according to these dirty annotators, is a continued scene of sensuality and pollution. The marriage of the clergy, or of persons who have made vows of chastity, is, these theologians aver, the worst kind of fornication. A faction in the council of Trent characterized marriage, which they defined to be a sacrament, as 'a state of carnality; and these received no reprehension from the holy unerring assembly.

The abettors of Romanism, in this manner, condemn the conjugal sacrament as an abomination. These theologians, on this

[1] Non datur præsentia Sancti Spiritus, tempore quo conjugales actus geruntur. Origen, Hom. 6. in Pithou, 383. Animum virilem effoeminat. Jerom, 4. 176. Laicus et quicunque fidelis orare non potest, nisi careat officio conjugali. Jerom. 4. 150, 175. Obscoenis cupiditatibus inhiant. In carne sunt; Deo placere non possunt. Siricius ad Him. Crabb. 1. 417, 456. Propter actum conjugalem qui hominem reddit totum carnalem. Animam ipsam carnalem quodammodo facit. Bell. I. 18, 19. Conjugalis actus quo animus quodammodo carni totus immergitur. Estius, 252. Mariage etoit un etat charnel. Paolo, 2. 449. Rheimists on Corin. vii.

topic, entertained the grossest conceptions. Their own filthy ideas rose no higher than the gratification of the mere animal passion, unconnected with refinement or delicacy. Their views, on this subject, were detached from all the comminglings of the understanding and the heart, and from all the endearments of father, mother, and child. Their minds turned only on scenes of gross sensuality, unallied to any moral or sentimental feeling, and insulated from all the reciprocations of friendship or affection. Celibacy and virginity, which were unassociated with these carnal gratifications and which affected a superiority to their allurements, became, with persons of this disposition, the objects of admiration.

Matrimony, however, though it were gross as the conceptions of these authors, is far purer than their language. The sentiments and phraseology of the Roman saints on virginity are, in point of obscenity, beyond all competition. The diction as well as the ideas of Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, and Basil, would call the burning blush of shame into the cheek of a Juvenal, a Horace, an Ovid, or a Petronius. Chrysostom, though disgusting, is indeed less filthy than Jerome, Augustine or Basil. Jerome, bursting with fury against wedlock, follows in the footsteps of Chrysostom, and improves, but the wrong way, on the Grecian's indecency. Augustine, in pollution, excels both Chrysostom and Jerome. But Basil, in impurity, soars above all rivalry, and, transcending Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, fairly carries off the palm of filthiness. The unalloyed obscenity of Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, rises, in the pages of Basil, to concentrated blackguardism. Du Pin confesses that Basil's treatise on virginity contains 'some passages which may offend nice ears.' Basil's Benedictine editor admits its tendency to sully maiden modesty with images of indecency.[1]

These saints must have had a practical acquaintance with the subject, to which they have done so much justice in description. Speculation, without practice, would never have made them such adepts. Their sanctified contamination is so perfect in its kind, that it could not be the offspring of mere theory without action. This charge against their saintships may be substantiated by many quotations from their works, which, however, shall, for the sake of decency, be left in the obscurity of the original Greek and Latin.[2]

[1] Basil, 3. 588. Du Pin, 1. 224.

[2] Μη συγχωρεισθαι τη μιξει τον ποθον. Chrys. I. 229. Αντι προβαλων προστησας την ενοχλουν μιξιν, ... εν γαληνη παλλη καθιστησιν ημας. Chrys. I. 274 de Virg. c. 9.

Ετερωθεν εχει τας πηγας το σπερμα το εν ημιν, και ετερωθεν κυμαινει Chrysos. Hom. 62. p. 624.

Dens, in modern times, has outrun Basil, and all the saints of antiquity, on the stadium of blackguardism. This author justly claims the honour of carrying this sublime branch of science to perfection. His theology, in which contamination lives and breathes, is a treasury of filthiness that can never be surpassed or exhausted. He has shown an unrivalled genius for impurity: and future discovery can, in this department of learning, never eclipse his glory, nor deprive this precious divine of his well-earned fame and merited immortality. The philosophy of Newton has been improved. His astronomy, notwithstanding its grandeur, has received many accessions from a Herschel, and a La Place. But the sublimated obscenity of Dens, finished in its kind, admits of no advancement or progression. This doctor, however, does not bear 'his blushing honours' alone. The Popish prelacy of Ireland, by adopting his refined speculations to promote the education of the priesthood, share in his triumphs: and the inferior clergy, who are doomed to study his divinity, will no doubt manifest the value of his system by the superiority of their theological and holy attainments.

A third reason for the injunction of sacerdotal celibacy arose from pontifical policy. Cardinal Rodolf, arguing in a Roman consistory in favour of clerical celibacy, affirmed that the priesthood, if allowed to marry, would transfer their attachment from the pope to their family and prince: and this would tend to the injury of the ecclesiastical community. The holy see, the car-

Creata sunt genitalia, ut gestiamus in naturalem copulam. Genitalium hoc est officium ut semper fruantur natura sua, et uxoris ardentissimam gulam fortuita libido restinguat. Frustra hæc omnia virorum habes si complexu non uteris fœminarum. Jerom. Adv. Jovinian. 4. 177.

Obstetrix virginis cujusdam integritatem, manu velut explorans dum inspicit, perdidit. Totum commovet hominem animi simul affectu cum carnis appetitu conjuncto et permixto, ut ea voluptas sequatur, qua major in corporis voluptatibus nulla est, ita ut momento ipso temporis quo ad ejus pervenitur extremum, pene omnis acies et quasi vigilia cogitationis obruatur. Seminaret prolem vir, susciperet fœmina genitalibus membris, quando id opus esset. Tunc potuisse utero conjugis, salva integritate, fœminei genitales virile semen immitti, sicut nunc potest eadem integritate salva ex utero virginis fluxus menstrui cruoris emitti. Eadem quippe via possit illud injici, qua hoc potest ejici. Augustin. de civit. Dei, l. 18 et XIV. 16, 24, 26. P. 18, 368, 374, 377.

Αποκοπεντων κατωθεν των διδυμων, οι της γονης απο οσφυος και νεφρων επι τα λοιπον μοριον διακονοι γινονται, μονοι μεν μετα την τομην ανω δι πορου, ζεουσης δε εν τοις νεφροις της επιθυμιας και την γονην ετως εξαφριζουσης, ουστρειται. Ην προς καταβολην της γονης ο ανηρ . . . . ανηρ, διαεξαμενων, των διδυμων ανωθεν την γονην. και προς σπορον εντευθεν παραπεμψαντων, ουξης εκπεσοντος του σπορου διαφορηθεις. την επιθυμιαν καταμαραινεται. Ο δε εκ εχων οθεν το γαργαλιζον κινωση. μογις τα τονου ὑφιησιν . . . Παρθενος απαδυρετο οτι επι της κοιτης αυτης γενομενος τις ευνυχος, περιεπτυσσετο μεν αυτην εμπαθως. και εμφυς ολος ολη. επει μη ειχεν οπως τα της επιθυμιας εργασηται, τοις οδουσιν εκεχρητο. ζεουσαν εν τη σαρκι της μιξεως την λυσσαν τοις δαγμασιν αλριως εμφαινων. Basil, De Virgin, 3, 646.

dinal alleged, would, by this means, be soon limited to the Roman city. The Transalpine party in the council of Trent, used the same argument. The introduction of priestly matrimony, this faction urged, would sever the clergy from their close dependance on the popedom, and turn their affections to their family, and consequently to their king and country.[1] Marriage connects men with their sovereign, and with the land of their nativity. Celibacy, on the contrary, transfers the attention of the clergy from his majesty and the state, to his holiness and the church. The man who has a wife and children, is bound by conjugal and paternal attachment to his country; and feels the warmest glow of parental love, mingled with the flame of patriotism. His interests and affections are entwined with the honour and prosperity of his native land: and this, in consequence, he will prefer to the aggrandizement of the Romish hierarchy, or the grandeur of the Roman pontiff. The dearest objects of his heart are embraced in the soil that gave them birth, the people among whom they live, and the government that affords them protection. Celibacy, on the contrary, precludes all these engagements, and directs the undivided affections of the priesthood to the church and its ecclesiastical sovereign. The clergy become dependent on the pope rather than on their king, and endeavour to promote the prosperity of the papacy rather than their country. Such are not linked with the state by an offspring, whose happiness is involved in the prosperity of the nation. Gregory the Seventh, accordingly the great enemy of kings, was the distinguished patron of sacerdotal celibacy.

The history of clerical celibacy, which will show its variations, may be divided into two periods. The one begins with the edict of Siricius in 385, and ends at the popedom of Gregory. The other commences with the papacy of Gregory, and continues till the present time.

The first period contains the history of celibacy among the Greeks and Latins for near seven hundred years. The eastern and western communions varied on this point of discipline. The Latins in the west, exclude the whole clergy from their sacrament of matrimony. The Greeks in the east, forbid the prelacy, but allow the priesthood and deaconship to cohabit

[1] Si l'on permettoit aux pretres de se marier, l'interet le leurs familles, de leurs femmes, et de leurs enfans, les tireroit de la dependance du Pape, pour les mettre sous celle de leurs princes, et que la tendresse pour leurs enfans les feroit condescendre à tout, au prejudice de l'Eglise. En peu de temps, l'autorité du saint siege se borneroit à la ville de Rome. Paolo, 2. 118.

L'introduction du mariage dans le Clergé, en tournant toute l'affection des prêtres vers leurs femmes, et leurs enfans, et par consequent, ver leurs famille, et leur patrie, les detacheroit en meme temps de la dependance etroite, ou ils etoient du saint siege. Paolo, 2. 449.

with the women whom they had married prior to their ordination.[1]

This usage, which crept into the oriental communion by slow and gradual steps, commenced with a bigoted and superstitious respect for celibacy and virginity. Superstition, at the introduction of this custom, began to entertain a blind and unmeaning veneration for abstinence in man and woman. The populace, therefore, preferring sacerdotal celibacy, separated in some instances from the communion of the married clergy. The evil, from its magnitude, required a synodal enactment to check its progress. The council of Gangra, therefore, about the year 324, declared 'its esteem for the chaste bond of wedlock, and anathematized such as left the communion, or refused the benediction of a married priest.'[2] This assembly deposed Eustathius of Sebastia for encouraging this superstition, and for representing the oblations of wedded clergy as an abomination. The Gangran Synod possessed great authority. Its decisions were confirmed by many pontiffs and councils, and were received into the ancient code of the church.

The clergy therefore, like the laity, married, as is attested by Socrates and Nicephorus, and acknowledged by Gratian and Mendoza, and had children. A few might abstain through submission to the prepossessions of the people: and a few from a supposed sanctity, which, in many instances, the pastor, like the flock, ascribed to celibacy. The superior purity, indeed, which superstition attached to a single life, influenced many of the clergy. The sixth apostolical canon, therefore, to repress this error, excommunicated, and, in case of contumacy, degraded the bishop, priest, or deacon, who, under a shew of religion, should put away his wife. Those who remained single, however, as the above-mentioned Greek historians relate, acted from the choice of their own mind, and not from the obligation of a law. No canons had been enacted against matrimony or in favour of abstinence. The clergy, Gratian affirms, were, at the time of the Gangran council, unfettered by the law of continence. Mendoza admits the liberty, which the eastern priesthood enjoyed, of cohabiting with the women whom they married before their ordination.[3]

Thessaly, Thessalonica, Macedonia, and Achaia, however, became, at an early period, an exception to this regulation.

[1] Pithon, 42. Dist. 31. c. 14. Paolo, 2. 446.

[2] Nuptiarum castum vinculum honoramus. Crabb. 1. 291. Si quis discerait de obligationibus non communicans, quas presbyter celebraverit conjugatus, anathema sit. Labb. 2. 438. Bin. 4. 453. Socrat. II. 43. Du Pin, 1. 612.

[3] Πολλοι γαρ τουτων εν τω καιρω της επισκοπης και παιδας εκ της νομικης γαμετης κεκτημενοι. Socrat. V. 22. Gratian, D. 31. Pith. 41. Nicoph. XII. 34. Labb. 1. 26.

The obligation of a single life was introduced into these regions by Heliodorus of Tricca.[1] This bishop, in his youthful days, had composed a work called Ethiopics, which, says Socrates and Nicephorus, proscribed the marriage of the clergy in the diocese under his superintendence.

A second step in the progress of sacerdotal celibacy among the Greeks, consisted in the interdiction of matrimony after ordination. The Grecian clergy were allowed to cohabit with the women whom they had married while laymen; but not to enter on the nuptial engagement after ordination. The council of Ancyra about 315, in its tenth canon, allowed only those deacons to marry, who, at their ordination, should declare their constitutional incapacity for abstinence. The ministers of the altar, according to Gratian, were, when this assembly as well as that of Gangra met, free to marry.[2] The continence of ecclesiastics had not, at that time, been introduced into Christendom. The council of Neocæsarea, indeed, about this period, ordered the priest, who should form the conjugal contract after ordination, to be deposed. But this was only a small provincial synod, unnoticed and unratified by any ensuing council or pontiff till the middle of the ninth century. The general Nicene council, in its third canon, forbad unmarried ecclesiastics to have any women in their houses except a mother, a sister, or an aunt. This canon, as the words show, was directed against a kind of women, who, as domestics, infested the habitations of the unmarried clergy.

The Nicene council was near passing a new law, forbidding bishops, priests, and deacons to sleep with the women, whom they had married before their taking of holy orders. This attempt, however, was crushed by Paphnutius of Thebais; a man, who, according to Socrates and Sozomen, was loved of God and had wrought many miracles. He had been a confessor in Maximin's persecution, in which, having lost an eye and a leg, he was condemned to the mines. He had led a life of celibacy, but opposed the enactment of this innovation. Marriage, said the confessor with a loud voice, 'is honourable in all, and the use of the nuptial bed is chastity itself. Such excess of abstinence would be detrimental to the church, and might, by its rigour in imposing too weighty a burden, become

[1] Socrat. V. 22. Niceph. XII. 34. Mendoza, II. 66.

[2] Græci utuntur uxoribus cum quibus ante sacros ordines contraxerunt. Canisius, 4. 433.

Quicumque diaconi constituti, in ipsa constitutione dixerunt, oportere se uxores ducere, cum non possint sic manere, ii, si uxorem postea duxerint, sint in ministerio. Labb. 1. 1490. Pithou, 38. Du Pin, 1. 598. Nondum erat introducta continentia ministrorum altaris. Gratian, Dist. 28. c. 13. Pithou, 41. Crabb. 1 201. Bell. I. 19.

fatal to the chastity of man and women. Allow the clergy, according to the ancient tradition, to enjoy the wives which they married before their entrance on the priesthood, and the unmarried after ordination to remain in celibacy.' The council assented, 'and extolled the wisdom of his speech.'[1]

The speech of Paphnutius, and the concurrence of the council, supply an answer to an unfounded criticism of Challenor. He accuses the Protestant translation of straining the words of Paul, when he represented marriage as honourable in all. The word, which unites marriage to the epithet honourable, is omitted in the original, which, according to Challenor, is not indicative but imperative, and should be rendered, 'Let marriage be honourable in all.' The English version, however, agrees with the Egyptian confessor and the Nicene council in all its infallibility. Paphnutius, like Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, or Knox, used the apostolic expression in the reformed acceptation, and the Nicene fathers acclaimed. A host of Romish saints might be mustered, who took the words in the same sense, and applied them in the same manner. Challenor has attempted several criticisms of a similar kind, which argue little for his learning or his honesty.

Baronius, Bellarmine, Valesius, Thomassin, and Turriano have endeavoured to overthrow the truth of this relation. The attempt, however, is vain. These cavillers could adduce no reason, possessing any validity, to countenance their insinuation. The relation is supported by the testimony, not only of Socrates and Sozomen, but also of Nicephorus, Suidas, Ivo, Cassiodorus, Gratian, and Gelasius. The fact is admitted in modern times, by Mendoza, Du Pin, and Moreri. Mendoza wonders at the scepticism and hostility of Turriano; and shows, with the utmost perspicuity, not only the truth of the statement, but also the liberty of the oriental clergy, who, at the time of the Nicene council, were untrammelled by the vows of chastity, and, like the laity, were allowed to enjoy the consorts whom they had married prior to their assumption of the sacred office. Du Pin, in his usual candor, represents the opposition to the account as arising from the fear of prejudicing the present discipline rather than from any solid proof. Baronius, says Moreri, controverts, the truth of the history, but without foundation, as the law of celibacy had, at that era, obtained no universal establishment in the Eastern communion.[2]

[1] Τιμιον ειναι και την κοιτην και αυτον αμιαντον τον γαμον λεγων. Socrat. I 11. Sozom. 1. 23 Labb. 1233. Pithou, 42.

[2] Semper in oriente, ea impunitas et licentia permissa fuerit. Uxores antea ductas domi retinebant, et liberis tanquam seculares operam dabant. Mendoza. II. 66. Baronius et quelques autres auteurs ont voulu contester la verité de cette

The testimony of Epiphanius and Jerome has been contrasted with the relation of Socrates and Sozomen. The ecclesiastical canons, says Epiphanius, enjoined celibacy on bishop, priest, deacon, and subdeacon. Some of the clergy, he admits, even in his day, violated the laws of abstinence. But this violation, the saint contends, was an infraction of the canons, and arose from the licentiousness of the priesthood, and the connivance or neglect of the people.[1]

But the authority of Epiphanius is unavailing against that of Socrates and Sozomen. View his character as an historian and a logician, drawn by Photius, Du Pin, Moreri, and Alexander. Photius represents Epiphanius as weak in his arguments against impious heresy. Du Pin characterizes the saint as void of judgment, and full of credulity. He credited false records and uncertain reports, and, in consequence, is often deceived in history. Moreri follows in the train of Du Pin, and draws a similar portrait. Alexander, if possible, loads the canvass with still darker colours. The Sorbonnist describes the saint, 'as very often mistaken in history and chronology: and in many instances wandering entirely from truth.'[2]

His statement, on the topic of priestly celibacy, contains one of his gross mistakes. He extends the prohibition of matrimony to the subdeacon. But Jerome, his cotemporary, extends it only to the deacon; and Leo, who flourished half a century after Epiphanius, was the first, who, according to the uniform testimony of history, comprehended subdeacons under the interdiction. This, Thomassin, Pithou, Bruys, and Du Pin have admitted and indeed proved. Siricius and Innocent, as well as Ferrand and Cresconius in their compilations, impose the obligation of abstinence only on bishops, priests, and deacons. Leo, besides, on this topic, was not obeyed. Subdeacons, in his papacy, were allowed to marry even in suburban Sicily, and to enjoy connubial society. The fifth Carthaginian council in 438 exacted abstinence only from bishops, priests, and deacons; but left the rest of the clergy, on this point, at liberty. Gregory was the first who enforced the celibacy of subdeacons: and even his enactments had no retrospective effect; but related merely to such as should be afterward ordained.[3] Epiphanius,

histoire; mais sans aucun fondement. Moreri, 7. 42. Spon. 325. XL. Bell. I 20. Thom. 1. 23. Socrat. I. 11. Sozomen, I. 23. Du Pin, 1. 690.

[1] Epiph. 1. 490. et 2. 1104. Godeau, 1. 602.

[2] In historia et chronologia, sæpissime lapsus est. Ab historica veritate toto cœlo aberrat. Alex. 7. 630. Photius, 304. Codex, 122. Du Pin, 1. 298. Moreri, 3. 94.

[3] Le pape (Leon) est le premier qui ait étendu la loi du celibat aux sous-diacres, Bruy, 1. 221. Thom. 1. 138, 140. Cæteros clericos ad hoc non cogi. Crabb. 1. 446. Pithou, 41, 43. Du Pin, 1. 571.

Licet adulter sit licet sodomita, licet flagitiis omnibus coopertus. Jerom, ad

therefore, is, in this instance, convicted of falsehood, and therefore is unworthy of credit in the rest of his evidence.

Epiphanius is guilty of another egregious blunder on the subject of matrimony. The person, said he, who has obtained a divorce for adultery, fornication, or any other crime, and has married another, is, according to scriptural authority, free from sin, and worthy of ecclesiastical communion and eternal life. This is in direct opposition to Augustine, Jerome, the canon law, and the council of Trent; and exposes its author to all the tremendous fulminations of the Trentine anathemas. The canon law and the council of Trent in its twenty-fourth session, teach the indissolubility of marriage, even on account of heresy, infirmity, malevolence, desertion, fornication, adultery, sodomy, or any other atrocity; and pronounces shocking execrations against all who gainsay. The nuptial chain, according to that celebrated assembly, can be dissolved only by death; and the innocent party, even in case of adultery, must forego all further matrimonial engagements during the life of the guilty. Epiphanius, therefore, was both worshipped and execrated by the good fathers of Trent. He is exalted to glory and consigned to Satan by the same communion. He is a saint, and as such, is invoked. He is a heretic, and as such, is anathematized. His saintship, in this manner, enjoys all the charms of variety. He has the pleasure of being alternately in heaven and hell; and the satisfaction of being blessed and cursed, adored and anathematized, by an infallible church and council.

Epiphanius, therefore in two instances, stands convicted of misrepresentation. His testimony, in consequence, deserves no credit. His mental imbecility, besides, which approximated to idiotism, proclaims, saint as he was, the inadequacy of his evidence even in a matter of fact. One specimen of his weakness, taken from his eulogy on Lady Mary, is worthy of attention, as illustrating the intensity of his silliness; though, on the score of its indecency and profanity, it must be left in its original language.[1]

Bernard's imitation of Epiphanius is worth a digression, and will form a suitable episode. Bernard addresses Lady Mary in the following sensible and beautiful style;—"O firmament, firmer than all firmaments. Him, whom the heavens of heavens could not contain, you, O lady, contained, conceived, begot,

Amand. 4. 162. Epiph. 1. 497. Augustin. 6. 406. Pithou. 389. Gibert, 3. 463. Bin. 9. 411.

[1] Το ασπιλον προβατον, ὁ τον αμωμον τεκουσα Χριστον, ὁ δαμαλις ὁ ανεπιζυγος, ὁ τον μοσχον γεννησασα . . . Χαιρε κοσμου παλιδικε, ὁ τον πυρ της θεοτητος αφλεκτως ως νοερα βατος κατεχουσα . . . Τον Εμμανουηλαρα, εν αφθαρτω κοιλιαφορουσα τος γαστερα αμολυντον . . . . Ω γαστηρ αμολυντος ουρανου κυκλον εχουσαι Θεον αχωρητον, εν σοι δε χωρητον βασταζουσα. Ω γαστηρ ουρανου πλατυτερα. Θεον τον εν σοι μη στενοχωρησαν. Epiph. de Land. 2, 294, 295, 296, 297.

fed, suckled, and educated. Thou, in the midst of the waters dividedst the waters from the waters. The light of your eyes dispels darkness, expels squadrons of devils, purifies the vices of the mind, and warms the coldness of the heart. Happy, O lady, are they whom your eyes behold. Turn, therefore, O lady, those eyes to us, and show us, * * * * [here we must again refer the reader to the original, which he will find in the note.[1]] O elevation of minds, intoxication of hearts, and salvation of sinners! O lady, gentle in consoling, mild in soothing, and sweet in kissing.'

His saintship, in the same elegant and edifying style, calls her ladyship, heaven, earth, pasture, paradise, bread, drink, manna, oil, wine, cinnamon, balm, myrrh, frankincense, olive, spikenard, saffron, gum, a temple, a house, a bed-room, a bride, a lamp, a trumpet, a mountain, a wilderness, a field, a vine, a floor, a barn, a stable, a manger, a warehouse, a hall, a tower, a camp, an army, a kingdom, a priesthood, a bird, a palm, a rose, a river, a pigeon, a garment, a pearl, a candlestick, a table, a crown, a sceptre, a tree, a cedar, a cypress, a reed, a daughter, a sister, a mother, a sun, a moon, a star, the city of God, the rod of Aaron, the fleece of Gideon, the gate of Ezekiel, the star of the morning, the fountain of gardens, the lily of the valley, and the land of promise flowing with milk and honey.

Such are a few extracts from the balderdash and blasphemy of two full-length Roman saints, one of whom, Bellarmine, Valesius, Thomassin, and Turriano bring as a witness for the perpetual celibacy of the Grecian clergy. His saintship of Salamis, as well as of Clairvaux, certainly qualified himself for the presidency of fools, and fairly carried off the palm of nonsense from Montanus, Swedenborg, and Southcott. This, notwithstanding, is the man whom the Greeks and Latins, in their menology and martyrology, celebrate every year as an illustrious confessor.

Jerome has been summoned as another witness for the perpetual celibacy of the Grecian clergy. Jerome's testimony, however, clashes with that of Epiphanius. Epiphanius alleges the

[1] Omnibus firmamentis firmius firmamentum, tu, Domina, quæ eum quem cœli cœlorum capere non poterant, cepisti, et concepisti, genuisti, aluisti, pavisti, mammasti, et educasti. Tu, in medio aquarum, divisisti aquas ab aquis. Serm. III. Suorum charitas oculorum tenebras expellit, et effugat catervas Dæmonum, purgat vitia mentium, corda congelata accendit. O quam beati, O domina, quos tui viderent oculi. Hos ergo oculos ad nos, domina, converte et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis ostende. O venter mirabilis, qui potuit capere salvatorem. O venter laudabilis, qui potuit recipere redemptorem. O venter desiderabilis, e quo emanavit desiderium mentium, gratiarum fluvius, gloriæ præmium. O venter amabilis et dulcedo animæ. O elevatio mentium, inebriato cordium, sanitas peccatorum. O clemens, consolando, pia blandiando, dulcis osculando! Bernard, Serm. IV. p 1739, 1740, 1747.

authority of ecclesiastical canons in favour of clerical continence. Jerome, on the contrary, refers merely to the usage of his day. Epiphanius extends the prohibition to subdeacons. Jerome comprehends in the interdiction only bishops, priests, and deacons.[1] These contradictions destroy the evidence of both the bishop of Salamis and the monk of Palestine.

Jerome's bias in favour of virginity led the saint into error which degraded his character and lessened his authority. His declamation against wedlock, in his refutation of Jovinian, incurred the disapprobation of many; and, among the rest, of Pope Siricius. The murmur was so great that Pamachius his friend endeavoured, though in vain, to suppress his writings on this subject. He was accused of countenancing the Manicheans, who, at least to the elect, entirely proscribed matrimony. He was obliged, in consequence, to write an apology. He confessed that on this subject, he had indulged in declamation. His prepossessions, on this topic, induced him to reflect on the conjugal duty even in the laity. The layman, says the saint of Palestine, 'cannot pray, who indulges in nuptial enjoyments. The person, he adds, who fulfils the duty of a husband, cannot fiulfil that of a Christian.'[2] His language is a libel on the divine institution, which, in the popish system, is a sacrament.

Jerome's prejudices in behalf of virginity caused his approbation of suicide and assassination. Many instances might be produced, and, as a specimen, those of the Bæotian, Milesian, and Theban virgins. Two young men, flushed with wine, had, during the night, violated the Bæotian maids, who, unwilling to survive their virginity, fell by mutual wounds.[3] Jerome, on the occasion, is at a loss for expression in favour of the shocking action. He seems to labour for language to utter his admiration of the suicidal deed.

The Milesian maids were still more blameworthy. These, lest, on the invasion and devastations of the Gauls, they should undergo any indecency from the enemy, escaped from defilement by death. The heroines, says Jerome, 'left an example to all virgins of honorable minds to prefer chastity to life.'[4] The suicide, in all its enormity, challenged the unqualified approbation of the Roman saint.

A Theban girl, whom a Macedonian had deflowered, dissem-

[1] Epiph. Haer. 59. Thom. 1. 135, 136. Jerom, ad vig.

[2] Plusieurs entre les Catholiques furent offensez de quelques endroits trop rudes. Le Pape même en eut quelque mauvaise opinion. Godea. 2. 581. Moreri, 5. 99. Rhetoricati sumus et in morem declamatorum paululum lusimus. Jerom. 4. 143. Laicus et quicumque fidelis orare non potest, nisi careat officio conjugali Quamdiu impleo mariti officium, non impleo Christiani. Jerom. adv. Jovinian. Pithou, 42.

[3] Quo ore laudandæ sunt Scedasi filiæ. Jerome, 4. 186. Moreri, 7. 159.

[4] Turpitudinem morte fugerunt, exemplum sui cunctis virginibus relinquentes. Jerome, 4. 186. Lopex, III. 3.

bled her grief, and afterward cut the violator's throat when he was sleeping; and then slew herself with his sword.[1] The murder and self-assassination became a theme of exultation to Jerome.

Ambrosius, who is often associated with Jerome as a witness of sacerdotal celibacy, recommended the same impiety of suicide. Pelagia of Antioch, during Maximin's persecution in the fourth century, with her mother and sisters, lest they should suffer violation, escaped by a voluntary death. Pelagia, adorned not like a person going to death but to a wedding, leaped, as she was inspired of God, from a lofty window on the pavement, and by her fall, says Godeau, mounted to heaven. Her mother and sisters, says the same historian, jumped into a deep river, where they found a baptism which purified them from every stain. The water, concealing their bodies, respected the brides and martyrs of its Creator. Marcellina asked the opinion of Ambrosius on this melancholy but unwarranted action. The bishops eulogized the dreadful deed as a duty owed to religion, a remedy inoffensive to God, and an achievement which entitled these virgins to the crown of martyrdom.[2]

These are the men, who are invoked as Gods in the Romish communion, and whose festivals and fulsome encomiums are registered with ostentation in the Romish missal, processional, and breviary. The holy Jerome, on the thirtieth day of September, is designated as 'the light of the church, the lover of the divine law, the greatest doctor in scriptural explanation, who despised this world and merited the celestial kingdom, and whom God loved and clothed with the robe of glory. His mediation and intercession are devoutly supplicated, that men, through the blessed saint's merits, may be enabled to perform what he taught in word and deed."[3] This, of course, is a petition in favour of self-assassination, which holy Jerome recommended. The faithful, on this festival pray that they may, through the monk's merits, be enabled to murder themselves. This is very well for an infallible church.

Ambrosius is invoked with similar impiety and idolatry. The Lord, if the Missal may be credited, 'filled the saint with the spirit of wisdom, and clothed him with the robe of glory.' The sacred oblation is offered in his honour, and the people of

[1] Nic vivere voluerit perditam castitatem, nec ante mori quam sui ultrix existeret. Jerome, 4. 186. Lopez, III. 3.

[2] Deus remedio non offenditur. Martyres reddit. Religioni debitum solverat Amb. 4. 478, 479. Euseb. VIII. 23. Godea. 2. 65.

[3] O doctor optime, ecclesiæ sanctæ lumen. Beate Hieronime, Divinæ legis amator. Præsta, quæsumus, ut ejus suffragantibus meritis, quod ore simul et opere docuit, te adjuvante exercere volumus. Miss. Rom. 503. Process. Rom. 370. Brev. Rom. 1013.

God, on the seventh of December, addressing the bishop of Milan, 'as the minister of eternal salvation on earth, pray for everlasting glory through his intercession in heaven.'[1] One part of the salvation which he recommended on earth, consists in self-murder. He must, therefore, be a hopeful mediator in heaven.

Men, biased and mistaken in this manner, could not be impartial witnesses. These, so prejudiced in favour of a system as to recommend suicide to preserve virginity, or murder to revenge violated chastity, could not deliver a fair or candid testimony. The report of Socrates and Sozomen, respecting the speech of Paphnutius and the decision of the Nicean council, remains unattainted. The fact is embodied in the Theodosian code and in the canon law: and has, at the present day, obtained general belief.[2]

The Trullan or Quinsextan council, in 692, seems to have put the finishing hand to the matrimonial regulations of the Grecian clergy. This assembly, in its twelfth canon, enjoined celibacy on bishops. But the inferior clergy were permitted to marry before ordination, and afterward to enjoy connubial society.

The Greeks, differing in this manner from the Latins, inveighed against the Western discipline as contrary to Scriptural, traditional, and synodal authority; and used, on the occasion, very free and strong language. The latter, notwithstanding, remained for many ages in the communion of the former, without any apparent reluctance. The Latins, says Thomassin, suffered the incontinence of the Greeks with patience and charity; while the Greeks, on the contrary, could not suffer the strict purity of the Latins.[3] The strict purity of the Latins, as will soon appear, consisted in fornication, adultery, incest, and every filthiness.

The Greeks, in these regulations, were, in general, joined by the other Eastern denominations. The Syrians adopted a similar usage. The Armenian and Georgian ecclesiastics, says Brocard, are all married.[4] The Western interdiction of clerical matrimony, therefore, was a variation from oriental liberty.

Such is the history of sacerdotal celibacy among the Greeks.

[1] Implevit eum dominus spiritu sapientiae, stolam gloriae induit eum. Deus, qui populo tuo aeternae salutis Beatum Ambrosium ministrum tribuisti, praestaquaesumus, ut quem doctorem vitae habuimus in terris, intercessorem habere mereamur in coelis. Miss. Rom. 348. Process. Rom. 247. Brev. Rom. 699.

[2] Cod. Theod. XVI. Pithou, 42.

[3] Les Grecs ne pouvoient suffrir l'exacte pureté des Latins. Thom. I. 28. Part. II. Du Pin, 2. 24. Bell. 1. 1109.

[4] Sacerdotes et diaconi utuntur uxoribus, cum quibus ante sacros ordines contraxerunt. Canisius, 4. 433. Sacerdotes omnes sunt uxorati. Brocard, in Canisius, 4. 25.

But the Latins on this subject, varying from the Grecks, used greater rigor, and enjoined perpetual continence on all orders of the clergy. This enactment, however, was an innovation of the fourth century. No law of the kind is found in any of the earlier monuments of antiquity. Many documents, on the contrary, remain, which, as has been shown, testify the freedom of the clergy on this topic in primitive times. Jerome, who flourished in the end of the fourth century, is the earliest witness for clerical abstinence in the Western communion, who could be produced by all the learning of Bellarmine, Baronius, and Thomassin. This was about four hundred years after the Christian era. Had any law of celibacy been in use in the early days of antiquity, some monument of the kind, one might expect, would indicate its former existence. Jerome, besides, from his prepossessions against wedlock, was a partial witness. Suicide, which, according to Jerome, is a sin to be deprecated in any other case, is lawful for the preservation of chastity. The testimony of such a prejudiced evidence is utterly inadmissible. Thomassin admits that in the primitive church, there was no law of celibacy or penalty against marriage; though he maintains that charity enforced abstinence on the clergy of antiquity. A time was, says Gratian, when there was no institution enjoining the continence of the clergy.[1]

The decretal of pope Siricius, addressed in 385 to Himerius, contains the first general interdiction of clerical matrimony. Its priority, as a general prohibition, is acknowledged by Clithou as well as by Bruys, Espensaeus, Cassander, and many other patrons of popery.[2] No authority of an earlier date can be produced for the enactment. Siricius pleads no Christian canon, but merely an old Jewish regulation. The Spanish council of Elvira, indeed, in the year 300, issued its twenty-third canon to this effect. Gibert, in the canon law, allows this regulation the priority as an injunction of sacerdotal continence. The Elviran canon, indeed, in its grammatical construction, contains a prohibition of abstinence. The whole ministry were commanded by a Spanish council to exercise without interruption their powers of reproduction.[3] No suspension of the task was permitted by the sacred synod, who would allow no cessation of arms on pain of expulsion from the

[1] Non licet propria perire manu, absque eo ubi castitas periclitatur. Jerom. in Jon. 3. 1478. La seule charité avoit fait observer. Thomassin, 1. 140. Gratian, D. 21. Pithou, 41.

[2] A Siricio Papa primum editum. Clithou, c. 4. in Bell. I. 18. Il ose bien faire des nouvelles loix. Je parle du celibat des ecclesiastiques. Bruy. 1. 142.

[3] Haec prohibitio primum facta est a concilio Eliberitano. Gibert, 2. 312. Crabb. 1. 417 Du Pin, 1. 235. Placet, in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios. Labb. 1, 996, 1020. Pithou, 102.

honours of the priesthood. This is the literal and verbal meaning of the words; but was not, it is likely, the design of the compilers. The blundering authors, in all probability, expressed a sense directly contrary to their intention.

The Elviran synod seems, in every respect, to have been exceedingly silly. The sage prelacy, in the thirty-fourth canon, forbid the lighting of wax-candles in grave-yards during the day, lest the souls of the saints should be disquieted.[1] The light or the smell of the tapers might have frightened the unfortunate ghosts which hovered over the tombs. The body of men, who could, in solemn council, enact such a law, must have been beneath contempt.

The council of Elvira, as it was despicable, was also partial, and differed, in this respect, from the bull of Siricius which was general. The Elviran canon, at most, was national and confined to Spain. The pontifical edict was general and extended to Christendom, or, at least, to the Latin communion. The Elviran enactment was evaded by the Spanish clergy, and unratified by any pope or council. The papal decision was enforced with rigour, and confirmed by the sanctions of Innocent, Leo, and Gregory, as well as by the councils of Carthage, Orleans, Tours, Toledo, Aix la Chapelle, Worms, and Mentz, in Africa, France, Spain, and Germany.

The law ran counter to the tide of human nature, and to the stream of human affection. The clergy, in many instances, resisted the mandate; and the exaction of obedience, in consequence, became a diffcult task. A variety of plans was invented to evade or violate its severity. One variety of evasion consisted in DOMESTICISM. A second party engaged in open or concealed concubinage. Many displayed a third variety, and in bold violation of unjust and unscriptural canons, married, and lived, not indeed in abstinence but in chastity, with their lawful wives.

Many of the clergy had recourse in this extremity, to domesticism. This consisted in keeping female inmates in their dwellings. These were women devoted in profession, though not by vow, to virginity. Their ostensible duty was to superintend the domestic concerns of the house. The clergy enjoyed their society; while these maidens, in return, shared the clergy's bed and board. Cyprian, Jerome, and Chrysostom have depicted the cohabitation of these holy domestics with a bold but faithful pencil. Cyprian mentions, in language of strong condemnation, their domestic familiarity by day, and their occupation of the same bed during the night. Jerome imitates the description of Cyprian; but gives more poignancy to his

[1] Inquietandi sanctorum spiritus non sunt. Bin. 1. 235.

style and relievo to his colours. These holy men and women, if the saint's statement may be credited, occupied the same house, the same chamber, and the same 'nightly couch.'[1] An ecclesiastic would admit one of these fair saints to the participation of his bed; but under solemn declarations of the strictest chastity. These hallowed friends slept in each other's arms, and their heads rested on the same pillow. Their society and affections, however, were quite spiritual and platonic, and purified from all the grosser elements which sometimes attend on ordinary mortals.

Jerome, however, had, notwithstanding their pretensions, no very high idea of their purity. These virgins professed to seek spiritual consolation; but, in reality, pursued something which the saint, as usual, expresses in very coarse language, that will scarcely bear a literal translation. Their spiritual consolation, in Jerome's account, had some relation to the flesh. The expansion of the women's waists and the cry of infants, which, it seems, were phenomena that sometimes attended this kind of Platonism, provoked the hostility of the monk of Palestine, who, in consequence, characterized the whole system as a pestilence. Some of these sentimental Platonics endeavoured to conceal their frailty by a free use of medical applications.[2]

The conduct of the clergy also awakened Jerome's holy indignation. These affected the sacred office for the gratification of licentiousness in the company of women. Their whole attention was engaged on dress and perfumery. Their fingers shone with rings, their hair was frizzled by the curling tongs, and they walked on tip-toe lest the damp should sully their feet.[3]

Chrysostom also gives an animated description of the society of these spiritualized parsons and dames. He pourtrays, in glowing language, 'their smiles, their laughs, their free conversation, their soft words, their communications at table during the day, their supping together at night and other things improper to name.'[4] Chrysostom, weak man! suspected the

[1] Eadem domo, uno cubiculo, saepe uno tenentur et lectulo. Jerom ad Eust. 4. 33. Cyprian ad Pom.

[2] Quaerunt alienorum spirituale solatium ut domi habeant carnale commercium. Tumor uteri et infantum prodiderit vagitus. Unde in ecclesias Agepatarum pestis introiit? Nonnullæ abortii venena meditantur. Jerom ad Eustoch, 4. 32, 33.

[3] Presbyterorum et diaconorum ambiunt, ut mulieres licentius videant. Omnis his cura de vestibus si bene oleant. Crines calamestri vestigio rotantur. Digiti de annulis radiant; et ne plantas humidior via aspergat, vix imprimunt summa vestigia. Jerom, 4. 40.

[4] Νεος σφριγων τῳ σωματι καρη συνοικων παρθενω, και συγκαθημενος, και συνδειπνων, και συνδιαλεγομενος, τους ακαιρους γελωτος τας διαχυσεις και μαλακα ρηματα, και τα αλλα, ἁ μηδε λεγειν ισως καλον. Chrysostom, De Subin, 1. 231.

chastity of a wanton youth, living in this manner with a kind girl. But the saint, it appears, had another reason for his suspicions. He had seen a constant running of midwives to the abodes of these virgins. The driving of these beldams alarmed his fears. The saint, in his simplicity, doubted whether these ladies of the abstetric art would gallop so fast without urgent business.

A second variety of evasion or violation of these canons, consisted in concubinage. This was a native result of the unnatural regulations against wedlock. The accounts, on this subject, transmitted by the historians of these times, are appalling. Profligacy, says Giannon, prevailed among the clergy, who practised all kinds of lewdness. Ratherius, bishop of Verona, represents the clergy as guilty of bigamy, drunkenness, and fornication. His representation of priestly incontinence is expressed with strong sarcasm and emphatical diction. The Italian priesthood, in particular, fomented their passions by excess of food and wine. These aggravated their constitutional licentiousness by luxury in eating and drinking.[1]

Atto's language, on this topic, is equally striking. He represents some of the clergy as sold in such a degree to their lusts, that they kept filthy harlots in their houses. These, in a public manner, lived, bedded, and boarded with their consecrated paramours. Fascinated with their wanton allurements, the abandoned clergy conferred on the partners of their guilt, the superintendence of their family and all their domestic concerns. These courtezans, during the lives of their companions in iniquity, managed their households: and, at their death, inherited their property. The ecclesiastical alms and revenues, in this manner, descended to the accomplices of vile prostitution.[2] The hirelings of pollution were adorned, the church wasted, and the poor oppressed by men who professed to be the patrons of purity, the guardians of truth, and the protectors of the wretched and the needy.

Damian represents the guilty mistress as confessing to the guilty priest.[3] This presented another absurdity and an aggravation of the crime. The formality of confessing what the father confessor knew, and receiving forgiveness from a partner in sin, was an insult on common sense, and presented one of the many ridiculous scenes which have been exhibited on the

[1] Giannon, V. 6. Dachery, 1. 354. Bruy. 2. 268.

[2] Quod dicere pudet. Quidem in tantum libidini mancipantur, ut obscoenas meretriculas sua simul in domo secum habitare, uno cibum sumere, ac publice degere permittant. Unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiae vestantur, pauperes tribulantur. Atto, Ep. Dachery, 1. 439.

[3] Les coupables se confessent à leurs complices, qui ne leur imposent point de penitences convenables. Damian in Bruy. 2. 256. Giannon, X. § 1.

theatre of the world. Confession and absolution in this way were, after all, very convenient. The fair penitent had not far to go for pardon, nor for an opportunity of repeating the fault, which might qualify her for another course of confession and remission. Her spiritual father could spare her blushes; and his memory could supply any deficiency of recollection in the enumeration of her sins. A minute recapitulation of time, place, and other circumstantial trifles would be unnecessary. The rehearsal of the delicious sin might, to both, be very amusing. The sacrament of confession, in this manner, would, by recalling the transaction to mind, become very edifying, and afford a renewal of the enjoyment. This mode of remission was attended with another advantage, which was a great improvement on the old plan. The confessor, in the penance which he prescribed on these occasions, exemplified the virtues of compassion and charity. Christian commiseration and sympathy took place of rigour and strictness. The holy father indeed could not be severe on so dear a friend; and the lady could not refuse to be kind again to such an indulgent father. Damian, however, in his want of charity and liberality, saw the transaction in a different light; and complained in bitterness of this laxity of discipline, and the insult on ecclesiastical jurisdiction and on rational piety.

This adultery and fornication of the clergy degenerated, in many instances, into incest and other abominations of the grossest kind. Some priests, according to the council of Mentz in 888, 'had sons by their own sisters.'[1] The council of Nicea and some other of a later date, through fear of scandal, deprived the clergy of all female company, except a mother, a sister, or an aunt, who, it was reckoned, was beyond all suspicion. But the means intended for prevention were the occasion of more accumulated scandal and more heinous criminality. The interdiction was the introduction to incestuous and unnatural prostitution. The council of Mentz, therefore, in its tenth canon, as well as other cotemporary and later synods, had to forbid the clergy the society of even their nearest female relations.

A third variety for the evasion, or rather for the infraction of these canonical interdictions, was clandestine or avowed matrimony. Some of the priests though they could ill afford it, wished to keep a conscience. These, of course, would shudder at the commission of fornication or adultery, and had recourse therefore to the honourable institution of heaven for the prevention of such pollution. These, intrenched behind the authority of God, withstood the commandments of men. The number of

[1] Quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generasent. Bin. 7. 137. Labb. 11. 586.

these continued to increase in opposition to the decretals of popes, the canons of councils, and the prepossessions of the people. The frequent repetitions of these prohibitions showed their inefficacy, and clerical obstinacy. The interdictory councils were all provincial; many of them contemptible: and ecclesiastics continued to marry in despite of their regulations. The priesthood, in general, at the accession of Gregory the Seventh, in defiance of obsolete laws, lived in a state of matrimony.[1]

Such was the state of clerical matrimony, at the accession of Hildebrand, or Gregory the Seventh, to the popedom in 1074. The reign of this hierarch commenced a new era in the annals of sacerdotal celibacy. Gregory enforced celibacy with a high hand among the Latin ecclesiastics; and was supported in the undertaking by many of the laity. The attempt, however, was long opposed by the priesthood: and its success terminated in the general concubinage and debauchery of the western clergy.

Gregory succeeded, to a great extent, in the suppression of priestly marriage. Several of his predecessors had made a similar attempt, but in vain. Stephen, Nicholas, and Alexander had laboured for this purpose, and failed. But Gregory proceeded in this, as in every other design, with superior ability and resolution; and his efforts were crowned in the end with wonderful success. He summoned a council and issued canons, separating the married clergy from their partners, and forbidding the ordination of any who would not vow perpetual continence. He prohibited the laity from hearing mass, when celebrated by a married priest.[2] These enactments he enforced with his usual obstinacy and with his usual success.

The laity, in general, seem to have seconded the efforts of the pontiff. These, in many instances, refused the administration of baptism and the communion from the married clergy. Laymen administered baptism: and often trampled the bread and spilled the wine which had been consecrated for sacramental use by married clergymen.[3]

The clergy opposed the pontiff with all their might. These, Paris relates, characterized priestly celibacy and continence as an innovation and a rash judgment contrary to the sentence of the holy fathers. One, says the English historian, contended for equity and the other against it; while the consequence was scandal and division in the church; so that no greater schism was

[1] Epiph. H. 59. Jerom. adv. Vig. Thom. I. 43. 1 Corin. VII. 2.
[2] Bin 7. 473. Bruy. 2. 388, 418. Labb. 12. 547. Du Pin, 2. 244.
[3] Infantes baptizant. Corpus Domini a presbyteris uxoratis consecratum pedibus saepe conculcant, et sanguinem Domini voluntarie frequenter in terram effundunt. M. Paris, 8. Bin. 7. 288.

produced by any heresy. Lambert and other historians have transmitted similar accounts. The clergy, says the annalist, raged and called Gregory the patron of heresy, and the abettor of a mad system, who by violence would compel men to live like angels, stop the course of nature, and give the slackened reins to all pollution. The clergy also, in retaliation, accused the pontiff of incest with Matilda, countess of Mantua, who, say Marius and Caron, was a women of extraordinary superstition, and greater effrontery than became her sex.[1]

Similar dissensions, on this question, took place in 1075 at the council of Erford in Germany. The archbishop of Mentz, prompted by the pontiff, required the assembled clergy either to abandon their wives or the ministry of the altar. The ecclesiastics, who sat round the archbishop, chose neither alternative. They first confounded their diocesan with words, which again were soon followed by blows as the more efficient argument. The archbishop, in the end, was so maltreated that he despaired of his life, and wisely resolved to consign the enforcement of celibacy to his holiness.[2]

But resistance to Gregory was vain. He projected the subjugation of Christendom, and executed his plan with matchless resolution and success. He employed all means, foul and fair, and wielded in turn, canons, decretals, threats, violence, arms, fraud, flattery, anathemas, and excommunication. Pretended miracles too were made the agents of his ambition. These, in an age of ignorance and barbarism, when forgery and nonsense passed for truth and reason, possessed, in the hand of superstition, irresistible power and efficacy. His infallibility's 'lying wonders,' ridiculous in themselves, were irrefragable, when addressed to an unlettered and superstitious populace. The clergy had to yield to the pontiff, and reason to tyranny.

Such was the rigour of ecclesiastical laws in the popish communion against sacerdotal matrimony. But this communion, which was so severe against wedlock in the clergy, was, in a very extraordinary degree, indulgent to concubinage both in the clergy and laity. Any person, clergyman or layman, according to the council of Toledo in its seventeenth canon, who has not a wife but a concubine, is not to be repelled from the commu-

[1] Novo exemplo, et ut multis visum est, contra sanctorum patrum sententiam. M. Paris, 8. Bruy. 2. 431. Infremuit tota facto clericorum hominem plane haereticum et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans. Fornicationi et immunditiei fraena laxaret. Lambert, Ann. 1074. Labb. 12. 547. Pontificem de incesto cum ea amore infamare non veriti fuerint. Spon. 1074. III. IV. Mulier insignis superstitionis et majoris audaciae quam sexum muliebrem deceret. Caron, 142.

[2] Exurgentes qui undique assidebant clerici, ita cum verbis confundebant, ita manibus debacchabantur, ut se vita comite e synodo dicessurum desperaret. Bin 7. 281. Lamb. Ann. 1075. Bruy. 2. 438. Labb. 12. 582.

nion, if he be content with one.[1] The holy bishops, indeed, in their wisdom, would not allow two women to one man. But any Christian, according to the prelacy of Spain, might, at pleasure, keep either a wife or a mistress. This, no doubt, was very liberal and obliging in the sacred synod. But his holiness pope Leo was not to be outdone by the episcopacy, in complaisance and liberality. His infallibility, the vicar-general of God, confirmed, in the kindest manner and with the utmost courtesy, the council of Toledo and the act of the Spanish prelacy.[2]

The Toledan canon and its pontifical confirmation were equally wicked and ridiculous. The wickedness of the enactment appears in its contrariety to the law of God, and indeed, in general, to the code of all civilized nations. Its ridiculousness is also apparent. The permission extends to every person, or, according to one edition of the sacred canon, to the faithful, comprising all Christians. The expression, Giannon has observed, comprehended, at one time, the clergy as well as the laity.[3] A man, at will, might keep a women of either character, and he might therefore show his taste in this freedom of variety. But the holy legislators would not allow two women to one man. Two, the Spanish fathers thought, would be a superabundance of this species of live stock. But the Christian, whose humour inclined him to an unmarried rather than to a married mistress, might gratify his taste, and, at the same time, continue one of the faithful and be admitted to the communion. Such was the hopeful decision of a Spanish council and a Roman pontiff: but, ridiculous as it is, this is not all. The enactment of the council and the pope has been inserted in the Romish body of the Canon Law edited by Gratian and Pithou. Gratian's compilation indeed was a private production, unauthenticated by any pope. But Pithou published by the command of Gregory the Thirteenth, and his work contains the acknowledged Canon Law of the Romish church. His edition is accredited by pontifical authority, and recognized through popish Christendom.[4] Fornication therefore is sanctioned by a Spanish council, a Roman pontiff, and the canon law.

Fornication, in this manner, was, in the clergy, not only tolerated but also preferred to matrimony. Many of the popish casuists, such as Costerus, Pighius, Hosius, Campeggio, and those reported by Agrippa, raised whoredom above wedlock in the Hierarchy. Costerus admits that a clergyman sins, if he

[1] Christiano habere licitum est unam tantum aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris concubinam. Pithou, 47. Bin. 1. 739, 740. Crabb. 1. 449. Giannon, v. 5. Dachery, 1. 528. Canisius, 2. 111.

[2] Confirmatum videtur authoritate Leonis Papae. Bin. 1. 737.

[3] Giannon, XI. 7.

[4] Dist. 34 c. 4. Pithou, 47.

commit fornication; but more heinously if he marry. Concubinage, the Jesuit grants, is sinful; but less aggravated, he maintains, than marriage. Costerus was followed by Pighius and Hosius. Campeggio proceeded to still greater extravagancy. He represented a priest who became a husband, as committing a more grevious transgression than if he should keep many domestic harlots.[1] An ecclesiastic, rather than marry, should, according to this precious divine, keep a seraglio. The cardinal gives an odd reason for his theory. The clergyman, he affirms, who perpetrates whoredom, acts from a persuasion of its rectitude or legality; while the other knows and acknowledges his criminality. The priesthood, therefore, in Campeggio's statement, are convinced of the propriety of fornication.

Agrippa draws a similar character of the legislators, who enacted the laws of celibacy and who, according to this author, would rather have clergymen fornicators in infamy than husbands in honesty. This, in this sixteenth century, was a frightful fact, of which the Emperor Maximilian and other German princes complained, and which with good reason they denominated a glaring absurdity. The clergy who married were dismissed from the exercise of the sacred functions; while the sacerdotal fornicators, who violated the laws of God and man, were allowed to retain the holy ministry.[2] Sacerdotal concubinage, accordingly, prior to the reformation, was the common usage, and less offensive in the eyes of the papacy and the populace than clerical matrimony. The ecclesiastics of the papal communion, indeed, since the days of Luther and Calvin, are, in appearance at least and in most nations, become more circumspect, and aim at a character of decency. This is one glorious effect of the reformation.

The popish doctors, in this way, not only indulge priestly fornicators, but also, to encourage business, honour their partners in trade. These useful allies of the priesthood are, according to Pope Paul the Third and all the Romish doctors, comprehended in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. These privileged patrons of prostitution belong to the sacred hierarchy, and enjoy the right of exemption from secular legislation and authority. Charles the Second of Anjou, accordingly, ordained

[1] Gravius peccat, si contrahat matrimonium. Cost. c. 15

Quod sacerdotes fiant mariti, multo esse gravius peccatum quam si plurimas domi meretrices alunt. Nam illos habere persuasum quasi recte faciant, hos autem scire et peccatum agnoscere. Campeggio, in Sleidan, 96.

[2] Maluerunt illi legislatores sacerdotes suas cum infamia habere concubinas, quam cum honesta fama uxores. Agrippa in Bayle, 1. 111.

Absurdum esse sacerdotes conjugatos removere, scortatores vero qui contra legem divinam et humanam simul peccant, delinquentes pati. Thuan. 2. 417.

that these polluted companions of the clergy should not, like the laity, forfeit the fourth of their possessions.[1] The base fornicatress, in this manner, enjoyed, in the perpetration of filthiness and in the bosom of an infallible church, the exemptions and immunity of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

All this, however, is not the end of the comedy, or rather tragedy. The Roman pontiff and the Roman clergy have, on many occasions, proceeded to deeper enormity and authorized adultery or bigamy. Bossuet has accused Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Adam, Lening, Winfert, and Melanther of encouraging bigamy in the Landgrave Philip; and has, in the imputation, been followed by Varillas and Arnold. Luther and Melancthon erred in their instructions to Philip. But the directions of the reformers have, in this instance, been misstated and exaggerated by the Bishop of Meaux. Perceiving the obstinacy of the Landgrave, seven Theologians, who had patronized the reformation, represented bigamy as less heinous than adultery; and advised, in this case, the closest secrecy. Amsdorf and Justus, however, as well as all the other reformers, deprecated even this advice or connivance.[2] And Luther learned this theology in the school of the Roman pontiffs and clergy. A few specimens may be selected out of many for illustration.

Gregory the Second, in all his infallibility, authorized bigamy, which, in the popish system, is tantamount to adultery. Boniface, the celebrated Apostle of Germany, had, in 726, inquired of his holiness, whether men, whose wives were not dead, but incapacitated by infirmity, might again marry. His infallibility's reply is worthy of perpetual memory. He recommended continence indeed to such as possessed the gift. But those unendowed with continence, which is a great attainment, might, according to the Viceroy of heaven, again marry. This is a precious sample of pontifical castuistry. His infallibility resolved the difficulty by sanctioning bigamy and adultery. Epiphanius, as has been already noticed, had taught the same inconsistency as Gregory: and the Roman pontiff followed the footsteps of the Grecian saint. Bellarmine, in this case, is, contrary to his avowed system, constrained to grant the ignorance and error of Gregory.[3]

[1] Au sentiment de tous les Docteurs les concubines mêmes des pretres resortissoient au jugement du for ecclesiastique. Paol. 1. 133. Non seulement les ecclesiastiques etoient exempts de la jurisdiction seculière, mais encore leurs familles, et meme leurs concubines, au sentiment de tous les Docteurs. Bruy. 4. 498. Giannon, X. §. 1.

[2] Bossuet, VI. Seckendorf, 278.

[3] Nam quod proposuisti, quod si mulier infirmitate correpta non valuerit debitum viro reddere, quid ejus faciat jugalis? Bonum esset si sic permaneret, ut abstinentiæ vacaret. Sed quia hoc magnorum est, ille qui se non poterit continere,

His holiness, no doubt, was very accommodating. He deserves the thanks of all husbands, whose partners are disabled by debility. He was so liberal as to allow the man to judge when the woman, to whom he is married, is, through weakness, unfit for action. All, therefore, according to his infallibility's system, may take a second companion when they think proper. Gregory's doctrine, however, is now rank heterodoxy in the Romish communion. The council of Trent, in its twenty-fourth session, declared against the vicar-general of God. The sacred synod, without any ceremony, launched its anathemas against Gregory and his pestilential heresy; and sent the vicegerent of heaven, eight hundred years after his death, to the abodes of the lost.

The Roman pontiff's case was far more aggravated than the German reformer's. The Lutheran pastor's opinion related to only one person: and its author had no more authority than any other individual. The former referred to many: and was delivered by the vicar-general of God, the head of the church, and the teacher of all Christians. Gregory's decretal was couched in general terms, and may, in its wide extension, comprehend all men. Many have invested its author with the attribute of infallibility; though the Council of Trent, in fine style, and in the exercise of its inerrability, tossed an anathema at his devoted head.

This pontiff's theory was, in 752, adopted by the council of Vermeria or Verbery. Pepin the French king, with the French prelacy, was present in this assembly, which, say Daniel and Velly, gave a mortal blow to the indissolubility of the matrimonial chain.[1] The Gallican clergy allowed the privilege of repudiation and subsequent wedlock to the person who should marry a slave, who, before the nuptial ceremony, had pretended to be free. The sacred synod granted the same liberty to the man, whose wife should conspire against his life or refuse to accompany him to a distant country: and to the women whose husband should defile her sister or mother, or should, through aversion or impotency, neglect herself. Such were the decisions of a popish synod. These, unlike the Lutheran instructions to the Hessian Landgrave, extended not merely to one but to many. The Saxon reformer, though he erred, was, as even the partial Bishop of Meaux might have seen, far less guilty than a Roman pontiff and a Romish council.

Charlemagne, with the contemporary Roman pontiff and

nubat magis. Greg. II. Ep. 13. Labb. 8. 178. Bin. 5. 454. Pontificem ex ignorantia lapsum esse, ut hoc loco videtur Gregorius fecisse. Bell. IV. 12.

[1] Qui donnent de grandes atteintes à l'indissolubilité du mariage. Daniel, 2. 11. Velly, 1. 387. Labb. 8. 405. Cotel. 1. 88.

French clergy, exemplified the theory of pope Gregory and the Vermerian council. The French sovereign divorced Himiltrud, the daughter of a French nobleman, and married Bertha, a princess of Lombardy. This match, pope Stephen feared, would ally the French and Lombards against the Roman pontiff. He plied every means therefore, reason, invective, menace, and flattery, to prevent the union. His letter to Charles and Carloman on the occasion is one of the most senseless, silly, ridiculous, and disgusting monuments of antiquity. His infallibility warned the emperor of the pestilential blandishments of woman, which had expelled man from paradise, and entailed death on the human family. He eulogized the grandeur and celebrity of the Franks, who would be polluted by an alliance with the contemptible, leprous, and STINKING Lombards; a nation without faith or religion. He mentioned the indissolubility of marriage, and denounced the intended union as a diabolical confederacy. Charles and Carloman he adjured against the pending negotiations by the living God, the day of judgment, and the sacred body of Peter the prince of the apostles. Any who should disregard his adjuration, he anathematized by apostolical authority, banished from the kingdom of heaven, and consigned to the devil to burn in everlasting fire.[1]

The king of Lombardy, however, soon pacified his holiness. He restored some places, which he had taken from the ecclesiastical states, and this sop soon quieted the pontifical Cerberus. He discontinued his opposition: and talked no more of the allurements of women, the STENCH of the Lombards, the indissolubility of marriage, or the thunders of excommunication. Charles was united, in peace, to the princess of Lombardy.[2]

Bertha, however, like Himiltrud, was soon divorced, to make way for Hildegard, a Suevian princess. Bertha, through infirmity, was unfit for having children. This debility, the French clergy, like Gregory, reckoned a sufficient reason for repudiation. Her impotency, in the ingenuous and honest interpretation of the Gallican clergy, was equivalent to death.[3] Bertha, a year after her nuptials, was sent to Lombardy, and Hildegard, as queen, placed on the throne. The repudiation, however, of both Bertha and Himiltrud, in the present popish

[1] A regno Dei alienum, atque cum diabolo æternis incendiis concremandum deputatum. Steph. ad Carol. Labb. 12. 481. Velly, 1. 387.

Il leur represente cette alliance comme l' ouvrage du Demon, et les Lombards comme une nation meprisable, perfide, infectée de la lepre. Vertot, 63.

[2] On contenta pour adoucir son chagrin de lui faire restituer quelques places. Velly. 1. 389. Le n'est plus un perfide, un lepreux. Vertot, 71.

[3] Bertha esset clinica et ad propagandam prolem inhabilis, ideoque judicio episcoporum, eam relictam ab illo esse velut mortuam. Porro reddita esset ex morbo penitus impotens ad concubitum. Spon. 771. III, Velly. 1. 389. Moreri, 2. 299.

system, was invalid; and the French king, like the German landgrave, had, at one time, not merely two but three wives. Baronius, nevertheless, calls Hildegard a princess of exemplary piety. The French episcopacy sanctioned the divorce and consequent marriage, while Adrian, the contemporary pontiff, the universal bishop, whose duty it was to enforce the observance of the canons through Christendom, expressed not, during the whole transaction, a single hint of disapprobation. The French monarch, unlike the Hessian prince, was, after his death, canonized by pope Pascal; and many worshipped the imperial saint.

Pope Celestine, in the end of the twelfth century, defined heresy to be a reason for the dissolution of marriage, as Gregory and the French clergy had admitted the plea of debility. The person, according to this pontiff, whose partner in life becomes guilty of heterodoxy, may, on account of this error in faith, choose another.[1] Philip, could he have proved the Landgravine a heretic, would have had pontifical authority to transfer his hand and affections to an orthodox companion. Celestine's definition, however, is now, according to the council of Trent, in its twenty-fourth session, a pestilent heresy.

Innocent the Fourth sanctioned bigamy, without even the plea of heresy. Alphonsus of Portugal, about 1243, divorced his queen, and espoused the princess Beatrix. The repudiation and nuptials were authorized by a bull of his holiness.[2] The Roman pontiff, remarks Charenton, Mariana's translator, with amusing simplicity, permitted such transactions at that time, with much greater facility than he would at the present day.

The popish clergy, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, though superintended by the Roman pontiff, the universal pastor, permitted bigamy in Livonia. A man, says Henry, canon of Worms, was, in the Livonian dominions, allowed to have two living wives, and a woman a plurality of husbands.[3] The bishop of Meaux, had it agreed with his taste, might have discovered exemplifications of bigamy in his own communion without having recourse to the Reformation.

Alexander, following the footsteps of his predecessors, issued bulls of repudiation and dispensation of marriage to Ladislas and Philip. Ladislas, king of Hungary, divorced Beatrix of Arragon and married Anne of Foix. The separation from the

[1] Celestinus definivit per hæresim ita matrimonium solvi, ut liceat ei aliud conjugium inire, cujus prior conjux in hæresim lapsus sit. Alphon. 1. 4. Walsh. 33. Bell. 1. 777.

[2] Il obtint enfin un decret du Pape qui declara son mariage nul. Marian. 3 29.

[3] In Livonia, vir duas uxores vivas habeat et mulier plures maritos. Hen. in Lenfan. 1. 53.

one and the union with the other were, according to Mariana, by the express authority of his holiness.[1]

Alexander was as kind to Lewis as he had been to Ladislas. Lewis, the French king, disliked queen Jeanne, who, it seems, was crooked, infirm, barren, and deformed. He resolved, therefore, on a separation, which, Daniel remarks, was rather a violent remedy. His majesty, accordingly, divorced Jeanne, and espoused Ann. His infallibility, in the most obliging manner, granted a bull of dismission and a dispensation for the desired union. His holiness, however, did not, on this occasion, work for nothing. Thirty thousand ducats; the title and duchy of Valentino, with a revenue of twenty thousand pounds; the princess Charlotta, sister to the queen of Navarre; all these, with a few other trifles, which Philip gave to Alexander's hopeful son Borgia, were the reward of iniquity. The money and the dukedom, Daniel admits, facilitated the dissolution of marriage. Guicciardini, with more candour, represents these considerations as the sole means of attainment. Lewis, notwithstanding, was, observes Moreri, called the just and the father of his people; and has been characterized as religious, chaste, liberal, and the friend of letters.[2]

The laxity of Romanism on the one hand, and its privations on the other, introduced shocking impurity into its communion. The interdiction of marriage, and the connivance at concubinage in the priesthood, became the polluted fountains of multiplied abominations, which inundated the popedom and swelled the annals of ecclesiastical history. The clergy forsook the sanctuary of wedlock for the sty of fornication and adultery. Gregory's enactments, according to Aventinus, afforded signal gratification to the wandering votary of sensuality, who, in the restlessness of unsettled libertinism, relinquished one woman for the sake of an hundred. But men, who were actuated by conscience or a sense of propriety, regarded the innovation as a pestilential heresy which arose to trouble Christendom. The clergy, who resisted Gregory's enactments against marriage, declared that the tendency of such interdictions was to open the flood-gates of filthiness, and give the slackened reins to fornication and defilement. Agrippa, in more modern days, draws a similar picture, and represents whoredom as the necessary effect of prohibiting honourable marriage. Polydorus, agreeing with Agrippa and Gregory's clergy, depicts celibacy as calculated to dishonour the priesthood, injure religion, and grieve all good men. Matrimony, he remarks, is far more useful to the Christian commonwealth.[3]

[1] Le Pape confirma par un bref expres le divorce de Ladislas. Marian. 5. 299
[2] Dan. 7. 10. Guicia. III. Bruy. 4. 306. Moreri, 5. 246.
[3] Aventin. V. Labb. 12. 547. Bruy. 2. 431. Bayle. 1. III. Polyd. V. 4.

These observations have been verified by sacerdotal profligacy in popish Christendom; as will appear from the frightful relations of Bernard, Agrippa, Henry, Clemangis, and Mezeray, Bernard, the saint of Clairvaux, in the twelfth century admitted and lamented the impropriety of the prelacy and priesthood, 'who committed, in secret, such acts of turpitude as would be shameful to express.'[1]

Agrippa accuses the prelacy of taxing the inferior clergy for liberty to violate the laws of chastity. A bishop, on one occasion, boasted of having in his diocese eleven thousand priests, who severally paid their superior, every year, a guinea for leave to keep concubines.[2] Licenses of this kind indeed were common in many of the European kingdoms. Compelled by the enormity of the evil, the council of Basil, at length, in its twentieth session, issued a canon interdicting such abominations, on pain of excommunication and the eternal malediction of God.[3]

Henry, a Viennan professor of theology and vice-chancellor of the Parisian university, draws, in the fifteenth century, a similar portrait. His description, copied by Lenfant, extends to the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, and the monks. He depicted the ignorance, pride, simony, and licentiousness of the pontiff, the cardinals, and the prelacy. The priests, in his sketch, practised fornication, and the monks wallowed in debauchery. Cathedrals became dens of thieves, while monasteries were erected in taverns and places of prostitution. The dissipation of the clergy, in Henry's estimation, caused the corruption of Christendom and the obduracy of infidels.[4]

Clemangis reckoned the adultery, impurity, and obscenity of the clergy beyond all description. These frequented the stews and taverns, and spent their whole time in eating, drinking, revelling, gaming, and dancing. Surfeited and drunk, these sacerdotal sensualists fought, shouted, roared, rioted, and blasphemed God and the saints; and passed shortly after from the embrace of the harlot to the altar of God. The canons, like the priests, were ignorant and drunken. Clemangis, through shame, drew the curtain over the abominations that the nuns

[1] Episcopi et sacerdotes faciunt quae non convenlunt. Quae enim in occulto fiunt ab episcopis turpe est dicere. Bernard in Con. Rhem. 1728.

[2] Legimus gloriatum in convivio quendam episcopum habere se undecem millia sacerdotum concubinariorum, qui in singulos annos illi aureum pendunt. Agrippa, in Bayle, 1. III.

[3] Nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticum habentes, pecuniarios quaestus concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in sua foeditate sordescere. Crabb, 3. 833. Dachery, 1. 757. Bruys, 4. III.

[4] Là il trouve des prêtres concubinaires, ici des moines debauchez, des monasteres erigez en cabarets et lieux de prostitution. Henry in Lenfan. Pius, 1. 53.

practised in their convents, which he called brothels of licentiousness. To veil a woman was in that age to prostitute her.[1]

Mezeray's portrait of clerical profligacy, prior to the reformation, is similar to those of Bernard, Agrippa, Henry, and Clemangis. The ecclesiastics, in the statement of the French historian, were nearly all fornicators and drunkards. The clergy held their offices in taverns, and spent their money in debauchery.[2]

These general details may be corroborated by a particular retrospect of priestly incontinence, before the rise of Protestantism, in England, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Peru. The accounts are furnished, in abundance, by the contemporary Popish historians and councils.

England, as appears from the relations of Gildas, Fordun, and Paris, drunk deep of the abominations flowing from sacerdotal celibacy. Gildas, in the sixth century, represents the English priesthood as a confraternity of the filthiest fornicators. The British pastors, according to the historian's account, were the patrons of folly: and wallowed, like swine, in the sinks of lewdness and gluttony. These men, who should have been examples of holiness, were characterized by drunkenness and impudicity.[3]

Fordun has copied the description of Edgar the English sovereign, from Ailred of Rieval. This is similar to the outline of Gildas. The British monarch, in the tenth century, assembled the British clergy: and in a speech addressed to the full convocation, drew the frightful portrait. These churchmen, his Majesty told them to their face, were lascivious in dress, insolent in manner, and filthy in conversation. The time of these heralds of the gospel was devoted to revels, inebriation, debauchery, and abomination. Their abodes were the haunts of harlots, and the scenes of the play, the dance, and the song, which, in noisy dissipation, were prolonged till midnight or till morning.[4]

[1] Fornices et caupondas seduli frequent, ut potando, commessando, pransitando, cœnitando, tempora tota consumant. Crapulati vero et inebriati pugnant, clamant, tumultuantur, nomen Dei et sanctorum suorum pollutissimis labiis execrantur; sicque tandem compositi ex meretricum suarum complexibus ad divinum altare veniunt. Clemen. 26. Lenfan. 1. 70.

Par pudeur, il aime mieux tirer le rideau sur les abominations, que se commettent dans leurs convents, qu'il appelle des bordels de Venus. Aujourdhui voiler une fille c'est la prostituer. Bruy. 3. 610, 611.

[2] Ils tenoient leurs bureaux dans cabarets. On voyait qu'ils consumoient en debauches une partie de l'argent. Pasteurs presque tous concubinaires, ivrognes, usuriers. Mezeray, 4. 490.

[3] Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes, proprii plenitudinem ventris quærentes, et suas libidines votis omnibus implere cupientes, porcorum more voluntantes, Clerici impudici, bilingues, ebrii. Gildas, Ep. 23. 38.

[4] In veste lascivia, insolentia in gestu, in verbis turpitudo. Defluunt in concessationibus et ebrietatibus, in cubilibus et impudicitiis, ut jam domus clericorum putentur prostibula meretricum. Fordun, c. 30. Bruy. 2. 219.

Paris, in the eleventh century at the accession of Gregory the Seventh, gives a report similar to those of Gildas and Fordun. He represents a few as observers of continence. But he characterizes the majority, as adding incontinence to perjury and multiplied adultery.[1]

Spain was as defiled as England. This is testified by many historians, and, among others, by Alvarus and the councils of Valladolid and Toledo. One fact, noticed by Alvarus, a Spanish author on this subject, conveys a striking idea of the Spanish nation and priesthood. The sons of the Spanish clergy, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, were in number nearly equal to those of the laity.[2] The ecclesiastics and their mistresses, it seems, were sufficiently prolific. The clergy, in all likelihood, were as successful in the production of natural progeny as of spiritual offspring. These priests would rise from the harlot's embrace, and proceed, without delay or even confession, to the altar of God.

The testimony of the council of Valladolid, in its seventh canon in 1322, is to the same purpose. The clergy, prodigal of character and salvation, led, according to this assembly, lives of enormity and profligacy in public concubinage. The canon of Valladolid was renewed in 1473, in the council of Toledo. This synod represented the clergy as living in the filthiest atrocity, which rendered them contemptible to the people. Some of the priests, guilty of fornication, feared not to touch the body of the Lord with polluted hands.[3]

The measureless intemperance of the Spanish clergy appears in the history of sacerdotal and monkish SOLICITATION in that kingdom. These solicitors were Spanish monks and priests, who, abusing the privacy of sacramental confession, tempted women, married and unmarried, to a violation of chastity, and, in the language of pope Gregory, 'administered poison instead of medicine.'[4] This kind of solicitation became so prevalent as to demand pontifical interposition. Its notoriety, accordingly challenged the interference of Pius, Clement, Gregory, Alexander, and Benedict, who issued their bulls against this kind of seduction.

The publication of the papal enactments showed the extent of the evil. The execution of the Roman mandates was con-

[1] Paucis continentiam observantibus, multis incontinentiam perjurio multipliciori adulterio cumulantibus. Paris. 8.

[2] On voit presque autant d'enfans de clercs que de laiques. Ils se levent d'auprès de leurs concubines pour aller a l'autel. Bruy. 3. 308. Alvar. 11. 27.

[3] Clericorum nonnulli famæ suæ prodigi et salutis, in concubinatu publico vitam ducunt enormiter dissolutam. Labb. 15. 247. Christi corpus, sacerdos pollutis manibus tractare non formidat. Labb. 19. 389. Bin. 8. 957.

[4] Pro medicina, venenum porrigunt. Dens 3. 412, 413, et 6. 292, 293. Bull. Cher. 3. 432.

signed to the inquisitors, who summoned the attendance, at the holy office, of all that could inform against the guilty. The terror of the inquisition commanded obedience. Maids and matrons of the nobility and peasantry, of every rank and situation, crowded to the inquisition. Modesty and shame induced many to go veiled. The alarm awakened jealousy in the mind of many husbands. The fair informers in Seville alone were, according to Gonsalvus and Lorente, so numerous, that all the inquisitors and twenty notaries were insufficient in thirty days, to take their depositions. Thirty additional days had, three several times, to be appointed for the reception of informations. But the multitude of criminals, the jealousy of husbands, and the odium which the discovery threw on auricular confession and the popish priesthood, caused the sacred tribunal to quash the prosecution, and to consign the depositions to oblivion.[1]

The German clergy were as debauched as those of Spain or England. Their overflowing and unrestricted licentiousness appears with transparent evidence in the unsuspicious testimony of German councils, princes, emperors, and clergy.

A German council, in 1225, accused the priesthood of unchastity, voluptuousness, and obscenity. Some, addicted to filthy enjoyments, lived in open and avowed concubinage. Some of the clergy as well as the laity committed incest with the holy nuns, and 'wallowing in sensuality, plunged, with slackened reins, into the lake of misery and mud of filthiness.'[2]

The council of Cologne, in 1536, characterized the monasteries, which had formerly been the schools of virtue and the hospitals of the poor, as the taverns of soldiers and ravagers. The nunneries, according to the same authority, had, to say no worse, become the alleged scenes of incontinency. Another council of Cologne, in 1549, convicted the clergy of concubinage and the monks of whoredom. The sacred synod then prescribed a course of penance to the holy fornicators, 'to mortify the petulance of the flesh.'[3]

Albert Duke of Bavaria, in 1562, by Augustine his ambassador, depicted in glowing colours before the council of Trent, the licentiousness of the German priesthood. The contagion of heresy, the ambassador said, had, on account of sacerdotal profligacy, pervaded the people of Bavaria even to the nobility. A recital of clerical criminality would wound the ear of chastity.

[1] Gonsal. 185. Lorent. 355. Limborch, 111. 17.

[2] Nonnulli clerici lumbos suos cingulo continentiæ, ut accipimus, non præcingunt. Bin. 8. 834, 835. Obscœnis voluptatibus inhiantes, concubinas usque ad hæc tempora publice tenuerunt. Quidam relaxatis voluptatum habenis in lacum miseriæ et in lutum fæcis se immergunt. Labb. 13. 1095, 1098.

[3] In diversoria militum et raptorum. In suspectas de incontinentia domos esse commutata. Labb. 19. 1280, 1384.

Debauchery had covered the ecclesiastics with infamy. An hundred priests, so general was the contagion, could hardly muster three or four who obeyed the injunctions of chastity.[1] The French applauded the ambassador's speech. The council also, by its promoter, joined in the French eulogy, and styled the Duke of Bavaria the bulwark of the popedom.

The emperor Ferdinand, though without success, applied to the Pope in 1564, for a repeal of the laws against sacerdotal matrimony. Maximilian also, with many of the German princes, importuned Pius the fourth for the same purpose. The reason, urged by the emperor was the profligacy of the priesthood. His majesty declared that among many of the clergy, scarcely one could be found who lived in chastity. All, with hardly an exception, were public fornicators, to the greatest danger of souls and scandal of the people.[2] A repeal of clerical celibacy Maximilian stated, would gratify the populace of Bavaria, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Hungary. All these vast regions would have rejoiced in the restoration of marriage among the clergy.

The emperor's application was supported by the popish priesthood of Germany. These, in maintenance of their petition, alleged various reasons. The frailty of man; the difficulty of abstinence; the strength of the passion that prompts to marriage; the permission of clerical wedlock by the Old and New Testament under the Jewish and Christian dispensations; its use with few exceptions, by the Apostles; the instructions of Dionysius to Pinytus; the decision of the Nicene council suggested by Paphnutius; the usage of the Greeks and Latins in the East and West till the popedom of Calixtus; all these arguments, the German ecclesiastics urged for the lawfulness of sacerdotal matrimony. A second reason the Germans deduced from clerical profligacy. Fifty priests, these churchmen confessed, could with difficulty afford one, who was not a notorious fornicator, to the offence of the people aud the injury of piety.[3] Sacerdotal logic and learning, however, were unavailing, when weighed against pontifical policy and ecclesiastical utility.

Switzerland was the scene of similar profligacy. One fact will sufficiently mark the state of this country. The Swiss, prior to the Reformation, compelled every priest to take a concubine of his own, lest he should attempt the chastity of virgins or

[1] Dont il ne pouroit raconter les crimes sans blesser les oreilles chastes de son auditoire. Le clergé s'etoit rendu infame par son impudicité. De cent prêtres, il s'en trouvoit a peine trois ou quatre qui n'entretinssent une concubine. Paol. 2. 217. Du Pin, 3. 551.

[2] Vix inter multos unus reperiatur, qui castum cœlibatum præstat: nam omnes fere publicos esse scortatores. Thuan. 2. 417. Bruy. 4. 681. Gabutius, 21.

[3] De cinquant prêtres Catholiques, à peine s'en trouvoit il un qui ne fut notoirement concubinaire. Paol. 2. 680, 681 Thuan. XXXVI. 38.

matrons. Scandalous indeed must have been the incontinence of the Swiss clergy, when the cantons were necessitated to use such a remedy for protecting women of character.

A fact of a similar kind is mentioned by Clemangis. The laity tolerated the clergy only on condition of their keeping concubines.[2] This caution was suggested by the married women, who, protected even by this expedient, were not wholly out of danger.

The French clergy were as debauched as those of England, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland. All the French ecclesiastics according to Mezeray's relation, were in a state of extreme irregularity. The majority had concubines. Some of the deacons entertained four or five of these female companions. The nuns kept neither their cloisters nor their vows.[3]

The Italian and Roman clergy appear, of all others, to have been the most licentious. This, in the tenth century, was stated in emphatical language by Ratherius bishop of Verona. Arnolf, who was an excellent preacher of righteousness, says Platina, was, in the popedom of Honorius, murdered at Rome by the agency of the priestoood, because he inveighed against their incontinence and sensuality.[4]

A select council of cardinals and bishops assembled by Paul the Third, in 1538, have drawn a picture of the Roman courtezans, and the attention paid them by the Roman clergy. These courtezans lived in splendid palaces, walked or rode as matrons through the city, and were attended at noon-day by a train of the clergy and the nobility the friends of the cardinals.[5] The Roman priesthood, in this manner, made a public exhibition of their filthiness and infamy.

The Roman pontiffs were often as filthy as their clergy, and exemplified every species of licentiousness and pollution. Some of these hierarchs licensed stews, and raised a tax on these houses of iniquity. These vicegerents of heaven exacted a tribute for the permission of impurity. The pope's marshal, in many instances, received a revenue from the Roman courtezans; and enriched the sacred treasury with the wages of prostitution.

[1] Un ancien edit etoit donné par leurs predecesseurs pour obliger tous les prêtres à avoir leur propre concubine, et les empecher par là d'attenter la pudeur des honnêtes femmes. Paol. 1. 32.

[2] Laici non aliter velint presbyterum tolerare, nisi concubinam habeat. Cleman. De Praesul. 168. Bayle, 2. 1392.

[3] Tout le clergé etoit dans un extrême dereglement. La pluspart avoient des concubines. Il se trouvoit des diacres qui en entretenoient jusqu'a quatre ou cinque. Les religieuses n'observoient ni leur clôture ni leurs voeux. Mezeray, 1. 263.

[4] Dachery, 1. 354. Platina in Hon. 2. Bruy. 2. 208. Du Pin, 2. 165.

[5] In hac etiam urbe, meretrices, ut matronae incedunt per urbem, seu mulâ vehuntur, quas assectantur de media die nobiles familiares cardinalium clericique. Habitant etiam insignes aedes. Crabb. 2. 822. Coss. 5. 547.

Some of the pontiffs converted the Roman court into a scene of pollution. The Lateran palace, which had been a sanctuary, became a brothel.[1]

A John, a Boniface, a Sixtus, an Alexander, a Julius, and a Leo were notorious for adultery, incest, or the sin of Sodom. A Roman council convicted John the Twelfth of adultery and incest. His holiness committed incest with two sisters. John the Twelfth was imitated, in the career of miscreancy, by John the Twenty-third, as well as by Boniface, Sixtus, Alexander, Julius, and Leo.[2]

Gregory, who perfected the system of sacerdotal celibacy, disobeyed his own laws. His infallibility excelled in the theory of chastity rather than in the practice, and could prescribe to others more easily than to himself. He was openly accused of fornication, adultery, and incest. The council of Mentz took the liberty of calling his holiness a fornicator. Many, both of the clergy and laity, reckoned the Vicar-General of God guilty of incest with Matilda, princess of Tuscany, after her repudiation from Godfrey duke of Lorrain. Binius admits the notoriety of the report, though, without any good reason, he denies its truth. Maimbourg, in modern days, acknowledges Matilda's imprudence in her devotion to Gregory, who styled the princess his dear daughter.[3]

Priestly profligacy crossed the Atlantic, and appeared in America as well as on the European continent. The debauchery of the Peruvian priesthood has been described in glowing colours by Ulloa; and the picture is frightful. Frailty, remarks this candid author, accompanies man in every nation of the earth; but seems, in an extraordinary manner, to have debased the monks and clergy of Peru, who surpass every other class in sensuality and libertinism. The men, who, in this country, should be examples of holiness, have degenerated into patterns of impurity, Concubinage flourishes and fattens among these professors of abstinence. Ulloa mentions many instances of this enormity in the Peruvian ecclesiastics. One priest, among the rest, celebrated mass in patriarchal style: while his fifth mistress was seated in the church. He was assisted at the altar by one son, while a brood of his spurious children witnessed the august ceremony.[4]

[1] Son Marechal tiroit un tribut des femmes prostitutées. Bruy. 3. 374. et 2. 244. Lateranense palatium, sanctorum quondam hospitium, nunc est prostibulum meretricum. Luitprand. VI. Labb. 11. 881.

[2] Viduam Rainarii et Stephanam et Annam viduam cum nepte sua abusum esse Labb. 11. 881, 882. Thuan. 1. 215. Platina, 132.

[3] Pontifex Mathildis complexibus furtivis frueretur. Bin. 7. 309. Lebb. 12. 232 272. Un peu moins de prudence et de discretion, qu'elle ne devoit. Maimbourg Decad. 244. Spon. 1074. IV.

[4] Ulloa, 449, 503. Quar. Rev. 70. 330.

General councils, as well as Romish pontiffs and popish priests, outraged the laws, not indeed of celibacy, but of abstinence. This was exemplified in the universal councils of Lyons, Constance, and Basil. The council of Lyons demoralized the city in which it was convened. Cardinal Hugo, in a speech to the citizens immediately after the dissolution of the sacred synod boasted that Lyons, at the meeting of the assembly, contained two or three stews; but at its departure, comprehended only one; which, however, extended without interruption from the eastern to the western gate.[1] The sacred convention, by the perpetration of licentiousness, converted the whole city into one vast, fermenting, pestilential, overflowing sink of accumulated pollution. The holy fathers, it appears, were men of business and industry, and did not confine their valuable labours to the study of musty theology.

The general council of Constance imitated the incontinence practised at Lyons. Seven hundred public or common women followed in the train of the Constantian fathers. The Viennan manuscript augments the number of these female attendants, whom it calls vagrant strumpets, to fifteen hundred.[2] This was a reasonable supply for the thousand learned divines that composed the infallible assembly. The procuring of these ladies, who, no doubt, were trained to their profession, showed the sacred synod's provident foresight as well as their good taste. Constance might not have afforded a competent supply; and, therefore, the thoughtful theologians, mindful of their own comfort, imported a few hundreds of the sex. The sacerdotal fornicators, it seems, were very liberal to these professional ladies. One courtezan, it is said, gained eight hundred florins, an immense sum in those days.[3] She was treated very differently from John Huss. The reverend debauchees enriched the prostitute and burned the reformer. These fair companions evinced the holy men's relish for spiritual enjoyments, and refreshed the infallible doctors at night, after being exhausted during the day, by making speeches in the council and burning the heretics Huss and Jerome.

The general council of Basil taught the theory of filthiness, as those of Lyons and Constance had displayed the practice Carlery, the champion of Catholicism in this assembly against Nicholas the Bohemian heretic, advocated the propriety of permitting brothels in a city. The speculation, the hero of the faith maintained by the authority of the sainted Jerome,

[1] M. Paris, 702.

[2] Mulieres communes quas reperi in domibus DCC. Labb. 16. 1436. Bruys, 4. 39. Item XVC meretrices vagabundae. Labb. 16. 1435.

[3] Item dicitur quod una meretrix lucrata est VIIIC florenos. Labb. 16. 1436.

Augustine, Thomas, and Gregory. Simple fornication, the sage and precious divine discovered, does not disturb the commonwealth; and the populace, addicted to voluptuousness and pleasure, are unwilling to abstain. He concluded, therefore, by the most logical deduction, that stews are to be tolerated in a city. This theory the holy fathers heard witn silent approbation. The vile atrocity therefore was sanctioned by the holy, unerring, apostolic, Roman council.[1]

[1] Per simplicem fornicationem non turbatur politia, nec plebium multitudinem lusibus, deliciis, voluptatibus deditam, facile est abstinere. Labb. 17 980. 982. Canisius, 4. 457.

INDEX.

Abbas, the Persian monarch, invites the Armenians to settle in his dominions, 62.

Abgarus, king of Edessa, Syrian legend on the portrait of Jesus sent to, 467.

Abyssinians, a branch of the Monophysites, disbelieve any commixture of Deity and humanity in the Son of God, 62.

Acacius, signal cursing-match between him and Felix, 331.

Acceptants, a faction of the French clergy, who received the Bull "Unigenitus," 375.

Act of Faith, what, 261.

Adhelm, Bp. of Sherburn, remedies of, to preserve himself continent, 538.

Adrian IV. [Nicolas Brekespere] pope, 1154. A striking example of the vicissitudes of human life, 221—his actions, ib.—his reply to Henry the Second, who had requested his permission to invade Ireland, ib.—transfers Ireland to Henry, 222.

Adultery, or bigamy, permitted to the laity, 563.

Ægidius, his account of the immorality of the Romish Church, 203.

Ælurus, partizan of Monophysitism, substituted for Proterios as patriarch of Alexandria, 328, banished to Cherson, but restored, and poisons himself, ib.

African clergy, enact eight canons against Pelagianism, 359—their firmness the means of preventing the Pelagian theology from becoming the faith of Christendom, ib.

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, recommends the destruction of images rather than their adoration, 486.

Agricola accompanies Luther to the conference at Marpurg, 29.

Αἰών, signification of the term, 502.

Albani (J. F.) see Clement XI.

Albert, Duke of Bavaria, his picture of the licentiousness of the German priesthood, 569.

Albigensianism: often unjustly accused of Manicheanism and Arianism, 49—vindicated from this slander by Moreri, ib.

Albigensians: a branch of the Waldensians, 50—untainted with the Manichean or Arian heresy, ib.—outline of their theology contained in a Treatise on Antichrist written in 1120, ib.—how confounded with the Manicheans and Arians, 51—number of, equipped against the Crusaders, 53—massacre of, by the holy warriors, 257.

Alcala, University of, vouches for the catholicism, &c. of Molinism, 367.
Alcoran, see Koran.
Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria, ascribes consubstantiality and equality to the Son, 297—is opposed by Arius, ib.—admonishes Arius, but finding him obstinate, convenes a council who expel him and his faction, 298.
Alexander V. [Philarge] pope 1409, elected by the French and Italian cardinals, 90.
Alexander VI. [Roderic Borgia or Lenzuoli] pope 1491, surpasses all his predecessors in atrocity, 117—dies by a stratagem which he had prepared for the murder of his friends, 118.
Alexander VII. pope 1599, prescribes a formulary respecting Jansenism, 372.
Algerus, reason suggested by, for the manner in which the Lord's body is administered in the sacrament, 423.
Alliaco, Card. his description of the moral traits of the 14th and 15th centuries, 203.
Altieri, Emilius, see Clement X.
Alva, Duke of, causes eighteen thousand persons to be executed in six weeks for the crime of Protestantism, 267.
Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, after forty years, resigns his ducal administration to his sons, 95—retires to his villa of Ripaille, ib—a deputation sent to him conveying the triple crown, which with reluctance he accepts, ib.
Ambrosius, St. recommends suicide, 550.
Ammianus, his description of the affluence and ostentation of the Roman pontiff, 213.
Amurath, Sultan, defeats Ladislaus, king of Hungary, who had been induced by Eugenius IV. to break his treaty with him, 283—displays a copy of the violated treaty in the front of the battle, ib.
Anabaptism: opposed by Luther and Calvin, 34—also by the Swiss, French, English, and Scottish Reformers, ib.
Anacletus, or Cletus, succeeds Linus in the Roman episcopacy, 70—but doubtful whether Anacletus and Cletus were identical or distinct, 73.
Anastasius, excommunicated for heresy by Symmachus, 328.
Angelo, Cardinal, declaration of, that the sacramental wine, if administered to laymen, is poison rather than medicine, 436.
Anointing the sick, scriptural end of, 450.
Ante-Nicene Fathers, remarks on, 47.
Antiquity, in the aostract, no criterion of truth, 45—papal supremacy unknown to, 174.
Antitrinitarians, several factions of, 299.
Antonius, his picture of the sixteenth century, 204.
Apostles: founded and organized churches, and then consigned their superintendency to fixed pastors, 70—word 'apostles' interpreted by some theologians to signify 'the rock,' 162.
Apostles' Creed, general reception of in Christendom, 47.
Aquinas, Thomas, his opinion on transubstantiation, 411—methods adopted by him, to preserve himself continent, 536.

Arbitration, proposed as a means for the extinction of the schism in the papacy, 86.
Arianism: patronized by Liberius, and by the councils of Sirmium, Selucia, and Ariminum, 34—also by Zosimus and Honorius, 102—heresy origiuated in Alexandria, 297—its prevalence, 308.
Ariminum, council of, its meeting and proceedings, 305–6.
Aristotelian philosophy, why it facilitated the reception of transubstantiation, 405.
Arius, the first innovator on the faith of antiquity, whose error obtained extensive circulation, or was attended with important consequences, 297—masterly portrait of him by Epiphanius, ib.—is expelled from the church by a council convened by Alexander the patriarch of Alexandria, and goes to Palestine, 298.
Arles, synod of, hostile to consubstantiality, 300.
Armenians: scattered through Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Persia, India, Cyprus, Poland, Turkey, Transylvania, Hungary and Russia, 62—their merchants distinguished for industry, frugality, activity, and opulence, ib.—have repelled Mahometan and Romish superstition beyond all the Christians in Central Asia, 63—their faith a transcript of biblical purity, ib.—invited by Abbas, the Persian monarch, to settle in his dominions, 62.
Arnold (Ant.) endeavors to prove the antiquity of transubstantiation, 406—remark on this attempt, ib.
Arnolf, a preacher at Rome, murdered by the agency of the priesthood, because he inveighed against their incontinence and sensuality, 571.
Ass, absurd Festival of, celebrated at Beauvais in Burgundy, 43.
Assassination, approbation of, by Jerome, and Ambrosius, 549–50.
Astolf, king of Lombardy, forms the project of subduing Italy, 214—defeated by Pepin, and compelled to fulfil his treaty with Stephen II. ib.
Athanasian Creed: its general reception in Christendom, 47.
Athanasius, supremacy bestowed on him by Gregory and others, 174—compelled to appear before the Tyrian council, 299—vindicates his innocence and exposes the injustice of the council, ib.—is rescued by the soldiery and escapes, but is excommunicated and banished, ib.
Atheism, displayed in the lives of the Roman hierarchs of the middle and succeeding ages, 108.
Augsburg or Augustan Confession, the production of Melancthon, reviewed by Luther, presented in 1530 to the Emperor of Germany, 26—became the standard of Lutheranism through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, ib.
Augustin, St. taught the doctrine of gratuitous predestination, 362—seems to have been the first Christian author, who entertained the idea of purifying the soul while the body lay in the tomb, 517—remarks on his works, 517–18.
"Augustine," a work so called, published by Jansenius, object of, 369.
Auto da Fe, see Faith, *post*.

Averroes, his opinion of Christians, 421.
Avignon: removal of the papal court from, by Gregory, XI. 81.

B

Bailly (L.) ascribes to the church a power of dispensing in vows and oaths, 278.
Baptism: errors on the subject of, 101—validity of, on what it depends according to the Romish system, 102—same change ascribed to the water of, as to the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, 403.
Baptista: his portrait of the Constantine council, 199.
Barbarossa, Emperor, compelled to officiate as equerry to Adrian IV. 221.
Barsumas, a Syrian, active in the assassination of Flavian, 318.
Barthelemi de Prignano, see Urban VI.
Bartholomew, massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, 270—not confined to Paris, but extended in general through the French nation, 271—medals coined to perpetuate its memory, 272—approved by the pope and the Roman court, ib.—Spain rejoices in the tragedy, ib.
Basil, council of, decrees the superiority of a general council to a pope, 94—and the obligation of all to obey the synodal authority in questions of faith, schism, &c. ib.—two bulls of dissolution issued against it by Eugenius, ib.—new dissensions between them, ib.—deposes Condalmerio, ib.—appoints Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, 95—recognized by the French school as general, 134—declaimed against by some, ib.—called by Leo X. a conventicle, 135—acknowledges that half-communion is an innovation, 433—inconsistency of, with itself, 437—profligacy of, 573.
Basiliscus, emperor of Constantinople, both denounces and patronizes the synod of Chalcedon, 327—is driven from the imperial dignity by Zeno, and banished to Cappadocia, where he dies of hunger and cold, 328.
Beata, of Cuenza in Spain, aspires to the celebrity of a Roman saint, 34—invents a most extraordinary fiction, ib.—declaring that her body was transubstantiated into the substance of our Lord's, ib.—this absurdity divides the Spanish priests and monks, ib.—procession of her through the streets, accompanied with prostration and burning of incense, 35.
Bede, Venerable, remark of, on the unction of the sick 453.
Belgic confession, see Dutch confession.
Belisarius, suborned by the empress Theodora, and bribed by Vigilius, to expel Silverius from the papal chair, 77.
Bellarmine, (Rob.) his distinctions and decisions badly calculated to establish the authority of councils, 124—affirms that the Pope can transubstantiate sin into duty, and duty into sin, 159—urges the eradication of heretics, when it can be effected with safety, 263.
Benedict, St. his remedy to preserve himself continent, 537.
Benedict VI. [son of Hildebrand] pope, 973, strangled by Crescentius, 110.

Benedict VII. Pope (975) substituted by universal suffrage in the stead of Boniface VII., 111—holds the papacy nine years, ib.
Benedict [XI. Theophylactus] promoted in 1033 to the papacy by simony, 79—in 1044 is expelled by a Roman faction, ib.—is restored, ib.—resigns the papacy to John for 1500*l.* and retires, 80—weary, however, of privacy, he renews his claim, and seizes by dint of arms on the Lateran, ib.
Benno, cardinal, his character of Gregory the Seventh, 111.
Berengarius, allowed by Gregory VIII to profess that the bread and wine of the altar after consecration are the true body and blood of our Lord, 31—opposes Pascasius, 409—Berengarian controversy, 411.
Bernard, St. affirms that none, except God, is like the Pope, either in heaven or on earth, 157.
Bernardin, his adventure with a female citizen of Sienna, 39.
Bertrand de Got, see Clement V.
Bertram replies to Pascasius, 407—different treatment which his work received, ib.
Bethesda, pool of, remarks on, 448.
Beziers, storming of, 256.
Bible, forbidden to the laity, by the council of Tolosa, 250.
Biel, cardinal, opinion of, on the creation of the Creator, as implied in transubstantiation, 419, 420.
Bigamy, allowed by Gregory the Second, 561.
Bohemian Confession, presented in 1535 to the emperor Ferdinand by the nobility of Bohemia, 26.
Bohorquia, a victim of the inquisition, 267.
Bonaparte, excommunicated and anathematized by Pius the Seventh, 235.
Boniface, VII. (Francon) seizes the papal chair in 974, having murdered his predecessor and successor, 110—is deposed and expelled, ib.—replaced on the pontifical throne by bribing his partizans, ib.—imprisons John XIV. who had succeeded during his absence, in the castle of Angelo, where he dies of starvation, 111—his body exposed by Boniface, ib.—dies suddenly, and his body dragged with indignity through the streets, ib.
Boniface VIII. [Cardinal Cajetan] pope, 1294, forms a plan to induce Celestin to resign, succeeds, and is chosen in his stead, 113—imprisons him, ib.—his character, 114—taught the necessity of submission to the pontiff for the attainment of salvation, 155.
Borgia, see Alexander VI.
Bossuet, (J. B.) bishop of Meaux, his misrepresentation of Protestantism, 25—eulogises the Helvetian Confession of faith, ib.
Brazen serpent, remark on, 461, 462.
"Breaking of Bread," phrase, as used by St. Luke, remark on, 429.
Brekespere, (Nicholas) see Adrian IV.
Brent, (John) accompanies Luther to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Breviary, Roman, approves of self-flagellation, 37.
Britain, continued independent of papal authority till the end of the sixth century, 180.
Brothels, established in Rome by Sixtus the Fourth, 117.

Brunon, see Leo. IX.
Bucer, accompanies Zuinglius to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Buchanan, Dr. antiquity of Syrianism acknowledged by, 66.
Bulls, papal, remarks on the bull "in Cœna" issued in 1567 by Paul the Fifth, 234—a papal bull received by open or tacit assent, and by a majority of the popish clergy, forms a dogma of faith, 255—observations on the bull "Unigenitus," 208—bull of Paul V. against the oath of allegiance to James the First, 234—bull of Adrian, transferring Ireland to Henry the Second, 222—opinion of M. Caron on it, 223—of Clement the Fifth, 282.
Byzantine synod, proceedings of, in the year 360, 307.

C

Cajetan, cardinal, see Boniface VIII.
Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, banishment of, 330.
Calvinists, modified the severity of predestination, 30—unite with the Lutherans, ib.
Canon law, extends the spirit of persecution even to the dead, 266.
Canute, king of Denmark, used self flagellation, 37
Caraffa (John Peter) see Paul IV.
Carlerius, advocates the propriety of tolerating stews in a city, 199.
Caroline books, a composition of the French clergy in the name of Charlemagne, 481—their genuineness denied by some, 482.
Caron (R.) his opinion of the bull of Adrian IV. transferring Ireland to Henry the Second, 223.
Celestin, a visionary monk, transferred from a mountain cavern of Apulia, to the holy chair of St. Peter, 113—is induced by Boniface VIII. to resign, is imprisoned by him and dies, ib.
Celestius, a Scotchman, or as some say, an Irishman, attached to the Pelagian school, 354—condemned by the Carthaginian prelacy, 356—flies to Ephesus and Constantinople, but is expelled from both these cities, 357—presents himself before Zosimus, and declares his innocence, ib.—is acquitted by Zosimus, 358.
Celibacy of the clergy, 526—two parties on the subject, ib.—a variation from the Jewish theocracy, 528—a variation also from ancient tradition, 529—rejected in the East, 532—progress of, in the Romish church, 534—papal policy, a cause of, 541—progress of, in the East, 544.
Cession of the Papacy, a plan suggested by the Parisian University, to put an end to the schism between the reigning Pontiffs Benedict and Gregory, 87—this, however, defeated by the selfish obstinacy and perjury of the competitors, ib.
Chalcedon, general council of, convened, 321—description of it, ib.—passes three distinct creeds on the subject of monophysitism, 322—conduct of, 325.
Charenton, national synod of, purity of the Lutheran faith and worship acknowledged at, by the French reformed, 30.
Charles, king of Naples, his kingdom bestowed upon him by Urban, 84—quarrel between them, 85—offers a reward for the Pontiff's head, ib.—leads an army against him, and besieges him in the castle of Nocera, ib.—is assassinated in Hungary, ib.

Charles V. Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, proscribes Luther, his followers, and books, 266—begins the work of persecution in Spain, and with his latest breath recommended its completion to his son, Philip the Second, 267.
Charles IX. King of France, part he took in the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, 270—his unfeeling witticism on seeing the body of Admiral Coligny, 271.
Childeric, king of France, deposed in 751 for inefficiency, 216.
Christian commonwealth, original state of, 212.
Ciaconia, a Dominican, urges the extermination of heresy, 265.
Cicero, his opinion of Christians, 421.
Clara at Madrid, aspires to the distinction of a prophetess, 35—her claims obtain general credit, ib.—feigns a paralytic affection, and is visited by the most distinguished citizens of the capital, ib.—the sick implore her mediation with God for their cure, and judges supplicate light to direct them in their decisions, ib.—announces that by a special call of the Spirit she is destined to become a capuchin nun, but wants the health and strength necessary for this mode of life, ib.—Pius VII. grants her a dispensation from this, ib.—an altar erected opposite her bed, mass often said in her bedroom, and the sacrament left there as in a sacred repository, ib.—at length, in 1802, mildly punished by the inquisition, 36.
Clemens of Alexandria, testimony of, to the marriage of priests, 531.
Clemens II. succeeds Anacletus or Cletus in the Roman episcopacy, 71.
Clement V. [Bertrand de Got] pope 1305, emancipates Edward I. from his oath in confirmation of the great charter, 282.
Clement VII: [Robert de Genève] pope 1378—1394 Christendom divided between him and Urban VI., 81—absolves Francis II. the French king, from a treaty which he had formed in Spain, 284.
Clement IX. [Jules de Rospigliosi,] pope, 1667 issues an edict of pacification in 1668, modifies the formulary of Alexander VII. and permits the dissatisfied clergy to interpret his predecessor's rescript in their own sense, and to subscribe in sincerity, 372—this modification, called the peace of Clement, continues for 34 years, ib.
Clement X. [Emilius Altieri,] Pope, 1670, countenances the pacification of his predecessor, 372.
Clement XI. John Francis Albani, Pope, 1700, overtures the pacification of Clement IX. and the patronage of Innocent XI. confirms the constitution of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. against Jansenism, and denounces Quesnel's Reflections, 373.
Cletus and Anacletus, doubtful whether they were identical or distinct, 73.
Clergy, celibacy of, 526—a variation from the Jewish theocracy, 528—and from the Christian dispensation, 529—also from ancient tradition, ib.—proofs that the clergy anciently were married, 530—celibacy of the clergy rejected in the East, 532—progress of, in the Romish church, 533—papal policy a cause of, 541—progress of in the East, 544—domesticism or sunisactanism, had recourse to by many of the clergy, 553—concubinage of, 555—incest

committed by, 556—clandestine matrimony of, ib.—profligacy of, in Germany, 569—in Switzerland, 570—in France, 571—in Italy, ib.—in America, 572.
Colota, St. often complimented by Satan with a whipping, 40.
Coligny, Admiral, massacred on St. Bartholomew's day, 271—unfeeling witticism of the French king on seeing his body, ib.
Cologne, council of, how it characterized monasteries and nunneries, 569.
Communion in one kind, 425—popish arguments for, 427—contrary not only to scriptural institution, but also to the usage of the early and middle ages, 430—not practised in the East, 433—its introduction, 435.
Compulsion on questions of religion and conscience unscriptural, 439.
"Concord of Grace and Free-will," by Molina, design of this work, 367—by whom approved and condemned, ib.
Concubinage, and its enormities, 555.
Condalmerio, assumes the name of Eugenius, 93—his contest with Felix respecting the papacy, ib.—deposed, and all his constitutions abrogated by the council of Basil, 94—induces Ladislaus, King of Hungary, to break his treaty with the Sultan Amurath, 283.
Confessions of Faith, harmony of those of the Reformers, 25—Variety of, 307—see also Augsburg or Augustan—Bohemian—Dutch—English—French—Helvetian—Palatine—Polish—Saxon—Scottish—Tetrapolitan and Wittemberg Confessions.
Confessor, duty of, according to Dens, 279.
Confirmation not a sacrament, 65.
Congregation of Helps, established by Clement VIII, 368.
Constance, general council of, how characterized by Baptista, one of its own members, 199—conflicting opinions on its ecumenicity, 134—proceedings of, 232—profligacy of, 573.
Constans, Emperor, issues the Type or Formulary, 345—design of, ib.
Constantine, Emperor, confers the appellation of God on the Pope, 158—gives legal security to the temporal possessions of the Christian republic, 212–13—the patron of iconoclasm, 147—supremacy bestowed on him by Gregory and others, 174.
Constantius adopts Arianism, 146.
Consubstantiality, of the Son, declared by the council of Nice, 298—when the word first came into use, ib.
Consubstantiation, absurdity of, deformed for some time Lutheranism, 29—and this opinion the Saxon Reformer retained with obstinacy during his whole life, ib.
Continence, difficulty of, and instances of remedies pursued to preserve it, 535.
Convulsionarianism, frightful displays of, 41, 42.
Convulsionaries, Popish fanatics, who pretended to extraordinary visitations of the Spirit, 41.
Corporeal presence, jarring of the advocates of, 416—light in which it has been viewed by different denominations, 421.
Cossa, (Balthasar) see John XXIII.

Councils: those of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople, promulgated the principles of Protestantism, 48—general, in ecclesiastical history as uncertain as the Roman pontiffs, 123—six, marked now with the seal of approbation and infallibility, were for a long series of time in whole or in part rejected by a part or by the whole of Christendom, 124—these are, the second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and twelfth, ib.—variations in the reception of, 123–131—and in their universality, 136—sq. difference respecting their legality, 141—sq. presidency of, 142—a variety of opinions entertained with respect to the persons who should form a general council, 143—also respecting the manner of synodal decision, 144—want of unanimity in councils, 144, 145—and of freedom in, 145, 151—persecuting councils, 251—sq. councils opposed to councils, 363—profligacy of, 573—See also Ariminum, Basil, Cologne, Constance, Lateran, Lyons, Pisa, Seleucia, Trent, Tyrian, Vienna.

Creeds: the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian, generally received in Christendom, 47.

Crescentius, instigated by Boniface VII., strangles Benedict VI., and places Boniface in the Papal chair, 110.

Cross, the, supreme worship to be ascribed to, 459—observation on, 460—the agent of miracles, 468.

Crucifixion: two instances of, in order to exhibit a lively image of the Saviour's passion, 42.

Crusade against the Albigenses, 255.

Cup, sacramental, use of, to all, enjoined by the Scriptural expressions, 427—restricted to the priesthood by the Popish interpretation, ib.—refused by the Manicheans, 430—enjoined by Leo, Gelasius, and Urban, 430, 1—and by Pascal, 432.

Cursing, specimens of the Pontifical art of, 84.

Cyprian, supremacy bestowed on him by Gregory, and others, 174.

D

Damian, (Cardinal) introduces the practice of self-flagellation, 37.

Dead, prayer for the, remarks on, 511.

Decretals, false, publication of, about the year 800, aided the usurpation of the papal hierarchy, 178—this fabrication displays in a strong light the variations of Romanism, ib.—countenanced by the sovereign pontiffs, ib.—its genuineness and authenticity generally admitted from the ninth century till the Reformation, ib.—list of authors who have admitted its forgery, ib.

Definitions, pontifical as well as synodal, have been misunderstood and subjected to contradictory interpretations, 208.

Deivirilian operation, what, 339.

Demi-Eutychians, who so denominated, 62.

Dens, Dr. his system of theology fraught with the most revolting principles of persecution, 274—its Catholicism and morality acknowledged, in whole, and in part, by the Popish clergy and people, 275—unanimously agreed by the Popish prelacy to be the best work and safest guide for the Irish clergy, ib.—remarks on, 541.

Deposition of Kings: difference of opinion respecting the Pope's power of, 210—deposition of continental sovereigns, 211—made an article of faith, 228.
Diamper, synod of: its statement of the distinctions which discriminated Syrianism from Popery, 64, 65—invalidates the oaths taken by the Indian Christians, 285.
Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, decisive testimony of, to the marriage of the priesthood in his day, 530.
Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, presides in the Ephesian council, 316—his cruelty to Flavian, 318—excommunicates Leo, 320—is anathematized by him, ib.—a few of his practical foibles, 325.
Disciplinarian variety: exists among the Romish as well as the Reformed, 34—instances of, ib.
Disjunctive in Greek often equivalent to the copulative, 429—instances of, 430.
Dissensions, ecclesiastical, 309.
Dissimilarity of the Son maintained by the Arians, 299.
Domesticism or Sunisactanism, recourse had to by many of the clergy, 553.
Dominic of the iron cuirass, the great patron and example of self-flagellation, 38—makes several improvements in it, ib.
Dominic, inventor of the Inquisition, 258—well qualified for his office of Inquisitor-General, ib.—proofs of his inhumanity, 259.
Dominicans, their dispute with the Jesuits, 368.
Drithelm, story of as related by Bede and Bellarmine, 493.
Duelling, decree of the Council of Trent against, 233.
Dulia, or inferior honor and veneration, to be paid to the statues of saints and martyrs, 459.
Du Pin, Dr., proposes to Dr. Wake to omit the word Transubstantiation, and profess a real change of the bread and wine into the Lord's body and blood, 32.
Dunstan, St. his reported contests with the Devil, 40.
Dutch or Belgic Confession, written in French in 1561 and in Dutch and Latin in 1581, confirmed in a national Synod 1579, 27.

E

Ecclesiastical dissensions, 309.
Ecthesis or Exposition of Faith, publication of by Heraclius, 343—rejects Arianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism, ib.—teaches the unity of the Mediator's will, ib.—and interdicts all controversy on the operations, ib.—received by the oriental patriarchs and prelacy, ib.—in what it differed from the Type issued by Constans, 345.
Edgar, king of England, his portrait of the British clergy, 567.
Edmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, his curious treatment of a Parisian lady, who solicited him to unchastity, 39.
Edward the Confessor, absolved by a Roman Council from a vow which he had made to visit Rome and the tombs of the apostles, 284.

Election, controversy on, little agitated till the sixteenth century, 365—unconditional, advocated by the Rhemists, 366.
Electoral Variations as to the Pontifical succession, 74.
Elements, sacramental, accounted signs, figures, and emblems, 396—398—retain their own nature and substance, 398—nourish the human body, 399.
Elizabeth, Queen, deposed by Pius the Fourth, 225—oath of allegiance to her annulled by Pius the Fourth, 284.
English Confession, edited in the Synod of London in 1562, and printed by the authority of Queen Elizabeth in 1571, 27.
Enus, story of, as told by Matthew Paris, 494.
Ephesian council, in 449, reverses the Byzantine decree concerning Eutychianism, 316—what this synod has been denominated, ib.—validity of, 319.
Epiphanius, remarks on his character as an historian and logician, 546—blunder of, on the subject of matrimony, 547—his silly address to the Virgin Mary, ib.
Episcopacy: in its proper sense, incompatible with the apostleship, 70—a bishop's authority being limited to a city or nation, but an apostle's commission extending to the whole world, ib.
Erasmus, (Des.) his opinion of transubstantiation, 406—of half-communion, 432.
Eugenius, see Condalmerio.
Eusebius of Dorylæum, arraigns Eutyches for heresy, 315—anathematized by the council of Ephesus, 316.
Eutyches, superior of a Byzantine convent, his faith, 312—originator of Eutychianism, ib.—how characterized by Leo and Petavius, ib.—declared guilty of heresy and blasphemy by a council at Constantinople, 315—pronounced orthodox, and reinstated by the Ephesian synod, 317.
Eutychianism, a verbal heresy, 313—its prior existence, 314—denominated monophysitism, ib.—see Monophysitism.
Exposition of Faith, see Ecthesis.
Extreme unction, not a sacrament, 64—variations on its effects, 441—a variation from Scriptural unction, 443—and from tradition, as well as from Revelation, 451—traditional evidence for, 452—history of, 455.

F

Faith, confessions of, 25, &c.—act of, convicted, sentenced to, by the Inquisition, 261—violation of, 277—taught by Romish Doctors, 278, &c.—by popes, 280—by councils, 284.
Faithlessness, one of the filthy elements of Romish superstition, 277.
Fanny, Sister, account of her crucifixion, 42.
Fathers: who have been denominated, 46—their errors and ignorance have been acknowledged by Erasmus and Du Pin, 47—post-Nicene may be consigned to the Vatican, to rot with the lumber of a thousand years, ib.—ante-Nicene exhibit a view of Protestantism in all its prominent traits, ib.
"Feed my sheep:" torture by Bellarmine and others of the admonition, 169.

Felicité, Sister, suffers crucifixion for the sake of exhibiting a living image of the Saviour's passion, 42.
Felix, Pope, elected by the Arian faction in the room of Liberius, 74—at length overthrown, retires to his estate at Ponto and dies, 75—canonized and worshipped, ib.
Flagellation, called by Baronius "a laudable usage," 36—recommended also by the Roman Breviary and various Pontiffs, 37—adopted by the monks in the time of the crusades, ib.—not peculiar to men and women, but, it seems, Satan himself enjoyed his share of the amusement, 40—names of those who have used it, 37, sq.
Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, condemned and assassinated fo. nis monophysitism, 318.
Florence, council of, rejected by the French, 130.
Formosus, in 893 gains the Pontifical throne by bribery, 78—guilty of perjury, ib.
Formulary, see Type.
Fornication, clerical fornication preferred to matrimony, 559—practised by pontiffs, councils, and clergy, 569–574.
Fortunatian constrains Liberius to the subscription of heresy, 303.
Frances, Sister, curious comedy enacted by her of burning the gown off her back, 42.
Francis, St. plan adopted by, to preserve continence, 535.
Francis I. King of France, enacts laws against the French Protestants, and causes many Lutherans to suffer martyrdom, he himself being present at the execution, 267.
Francis II. King of France, absolved by Clement VII. from a treaty which he had formed in Spain, 286.
Francisca, St. uses frequent self-flagellation, 37.
Francon, see Boniface VII.
Frankfort, council of, exhibited a representation of the western clergy from England, Italy, France, and Germany, 128.
Frederic III., Elector Palatine, issues a formulary in 1576, 26.
Free-will, controversy on, little agitated from the ninth till the sixteenth century, 365.
French clergy, profligacy of, 571.
French confession of faith, drawn up at Paris in 1559, 27—presented by Beza to Charles IX. ib.
Friar Matthew, his adventure, 39.
Fullo, Patriarch of Antioch, impiety of, 329—maintains the Eutychian theory, ib,—adds a supplement to the Trisagion, or sacred hymn, ib.—banished by Zeno, but again restored to his patriarchate, 330—how denominated by Felix, 331.

G

Gage (Thos.) author of the Survey, what proselyted him from Romanism, 424.
Gelasius, Pope, enacts that the sacrament should be celebrated in both kinds, 431—observation of, on the Manicheans, 430.
Genève (Robt. de) see Clement XI.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, allusion to his story of the Trojan Brutus, 72

German clergy, profligacy of, 569.
God: supposed equality of the Pope with, 157—his works as well as name ascribed to the pope, 159—alleged superiority of the pope to, 159–169—his omnipotence had recourse to by the patrons of transubstantiation, 419.
Godric, an English hermit, remedy of, to preserve continence, 535.
Gottescalcus, a monk distinguished for his learning, maintains the system of predestination, and particular redemption, and of election and reprobation, 362—is opposed by Raban (which see) 363—is tried in the council of Mentz, and condemned for heresy, ib.—is next tried in the council of Quiercy and convicted of contumacy and heresy, ib.—is deposed, scourged and thrown into prison, 364.
Grace, controversy on, little agitated from the ninth to the sixteenth century, 365.
Gratian (John) see Gregory VI.
Great Western Schism, began in 1378, and continued for half a century, 81–93.
Greek Church: its religion that of European and Asiatic Russia, 58—does not agree in all things with modern Protestants, ib.—as it continued longest in conjunction with the Latin, so it has imbibed most corruption, ib.—opposes, however, Papal usurpation, denies the Romish to be the true church, and condemns the dogmas of purgatory, supererogation, half-communion, human merit, clerical celibacy, prayers for the dead, and restricting the circulation of the Bible, 58–59.
Greeks, their dispute with the Latins on monothelitism, 343, sqq.
Gregory II. [Marcel] pope, 715, introduces dissension between Roman emperors and Roman pontiffs, 186—authorizes bigamy, 521—errors of, in making David bring the brazen serpent and the holy ark into the Jewish temple, 425—and representing Ozias as the breaker of the brazen serpent, ib.
Gregory, VI. (John Gratian) (1045) purchases the papacy from Benedict, Silvester and John, 80.
Gregory VII. [Hildebrand] 1073, obtains the papacy by force and bribery, 111—his character, ib.—prescribes a form of belief on the subject of transubstantiation, 31—subjected not only the church, but the state, and monopolized both civil and ecclesiastical power, 155—the first who attempted the degradation of civil potentates, 217—his description of monarchy, ib.—asserts his authority to dissolve the oath of fealty, 280—absolves all Christians from their oath to the Emperor Henry, 284—succeeds to a great extent in the suppression of priestly marriage, 557—openly accused of fornication, adultery and incest, 532—his opinion on the site of purgatory, 492.
Gregory IX. [Hugolin] pope, 1227, declares that none should keep faith with the person who opposed God and the saints, 281—absolves from their oath all who had sworn fealty to Frederic, the Roman emperor, 285.
Gregory XI. [Peter Roger] pope, 1370, restores the papal court to Rome, after its having been continued at Avignon for seventy years, 81.

Gregory Nazianzen, remark of, on the contentions of the clergy in synods, 310—resigns and retires through an aversion to the altercations of the ecclesiastics, ib.
Guido, a Dominican persecutor, wrote in the Tolosan Chronicle, 51
Guise, Duke of, massacre on St. Bartholomew's day entrusted to him, 270.

H

Hædio, accompanies Zuinglius to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Half-Communion, see Communion in one kind.
Hedwig, Duchess of Silesia and Great Poland, uses self-flagellation to an unusual degree, 38.
Helvetian Confession, issued in 1536 at Basil, 26—this enlarged and improved again published in 1566, 27.
Henoticon, or edict of union, published by Zeno, 334—its design to conciliate the partisans of Monophysitism and Catholicism, ib.—subject of it, ib.—augments the evil it was designed to remedy, 335—treatment it met with, ib.—differences of opinion as to its orthodoxy, ib.
Henricians, held nearly the same dogmas as the Calvinists, 55.
Henry II. King of England, despatches messengers to Adrian IV. requesting his permission to invade Ireland, which is transferred to him, 222—his persecution of the Waldenses, 249.
Henry II. King of France, indulges his taste in viewing the expiring struggles of his heretical subjects in the pangs of dissolution, 268.
Henry VIII. King of England, withdraws from the papal jurisdiction, 224—is excommunicated and deposed, &c. by Paul the Third, ib.
Heraclius, publishes the Ecthesis or Exposition of Faith, 343.
Heresy, persecution of, 245.
Higgins, Dr. his assertion in the Maynooth examination, that no pontiff defined for the belief of the faithful, that the pontifical power of dethroning kings was founded on divine light, 227.
Hilary, remark of, on the variety of confessions among the Romanists, 310—the severest satirist in this age on the variations of popery, ib.
Hildebrand, see Gregory VII.
Hincmar, a French bishop, advocates in 865 the canons of Nicea and Sardica, and explodes the novelty of the decretals, 180.
Hugolin, see Gregory IX.
Holy Ghost, sin against, observations on, 500.
Honorius patronized Arianism, Pelagianism, and Monothelitism, 102.
Host, the, pretended miracles respecting, 417.
Huss, John, summoned to the city of Constance on a charge of heresy, 288—his safety and return guaranteed by the Emperor Sigismund, ib.—was tried, however, condemned and burnt, ib.—his magnanimity, ib.
Hyperdulia, or intermediate worship, 459.

I

Iconolatrians, a faction of the Greeks, devoted to the use of images,

Iconoclasm, edict in favour of, issued in 726, 216.
Iconoclasts, a faction of the Greeks, 481.
Images, not to be venerated, 65—introduction of, into the church, 470.
Image-worship, three systems, 457—one allows the use of images, but rejects their worship, ib.—the second honour images with inferior worship, 458—the third prefer the same adoration to the representation as to the represented, 459—different systems of image-worship, 460—image-worship a variation from scriptural authority, and from Jewish and Christian antiquity, 461—also from ecclesiastical antiquity, 466—pretended miraculous proofs of, ib.—progress of, 471-2—opposed by the Emperor Leo, 474—condemned by the Byzantine council, 476—patronized by Irene, 478—variations in the East on, 486.
Incest, committal of, by the Romish priests, 556.
In Cœna, bull of, issued by Paul V. in 1567, subject of, 234.
Incomprehensibility to be distinguished from impossibility, 419.
India, from time immemorial contained a church which was unknown to the rest of Christendom, 66—and which held the same theology that was promulgated by Luther and Calvin, ib.
Indian, parallel between and Christian, 421.
Infallibility: impossibility of, 197—moral impossibility of, 207—ecclesiastical, absurdity of, 195—pontifical, its object, 189—its form, 190—its uncertainty, 191—pontifical and synodal, 193—absurdity of, 195—infallibility would require a continued miracle and personal inspiration, 209.
Innocent I. pope, (402) first sent a missionary expedition against the Albigenses, 255.
Innocent III. [Card. Lothaire] pope, 1198, discovered the popedom in the book of Genesis, 171—according to him, the firmament mentioned by the Jewish legislator signifies the church, ib.—and the greater light denotes the pontifical authority, the less, represents the royal power, ib.—seems to outrival Gregory in usurpation and tyranny, 186—obtains the three great objects of his pursuit, sacerdotal sovereignty, regal monarchy, and dominion over kings, ib.—divests King John of England, 223—proclaims a crusade against the Albigenses, 256.
Innocent IV. pope, 1243, his treatment of the Albigenses, 248.
Innocent X., [Card. Panfili] pope, 1644, declares that the Roman pontiff could invalidate civil contracts or oaths made by the friends of Catholicism with the patrons of heresy, 281.
Innocent XI. [Bened. Odescalchi] pope, 1676, patronizes the partizans of Jansenism, 373—retracts the decisions of former pontiffs and displays the variations of Romanism, ib.
Inquisition, who the inventor of, 258—where first established, 260—admitted all kinds of evidence, ib.—cruelties of, 261—driven out of many kingdoms, 262—encouraged by the Romish clergy, ib.—evidences the deepest malignity of human nature, ib.—accounted by Paul IV. the sheet-anchor of the papacy, 265.
Inquisitor, contrast between, and the Messiah, 240.
Intinction, a mutilation of the sacrament, of what it consisted, 434

Intolerance, a manifest innovation on the usage of antiquity, and one of the variations of Romanism, 240.
Irenæus, attacks the errors of his day, 33.
Irene, Empress, jurisdiction of the whole ecclesiastical community ascribed to her by Paulus, the Byzantine patriarch, 175—her cruelty and character, 478.
Ireland: maintains its independency on the Pope still longer than England, 182—rejects the papal supremacy, and indeed all foreign domination, till the end of the twelfth century, ib.—was for many ages a school of learning for the European nations, ib.—but the Danish army invading her, darkness literary and moral succeeded and prepared the way for Romanism, ib.—transferred by Adrian IV. to Henry II., 221.
Italian Clergy, profligacy of, 571.

J

Jacob, different interpretations of his worshipping God, as mentioned in Heb. xi. 26, 463, &c.
Jacob or Zanzal, the restorer of the denomination called Jacobites, 313.
Jacobites or Monophysites, diffused through Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, 60—reject supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, half-communion, auricular confession, extreme unction, the Latin Liturgy, and the seven sacraments, 61—do not confound the godhead and manhood of the Son, ib., 313—whence denominated, 312.
James I. oath of allegiance to, papal bull against, 235.
Jansenists, their dispute with the Jesuits, 369—effects of their controversy, 379.
Jansenius, publishes his work, styled "Augustine," 369.
Jerome, trepanned by the mockery of a safe conduct, goes to Constance for the purpose of supporting John Huss, and is, like him, burnt, 288—his heroism, 289.
Jesuits, in general would extend infallibility both to questions of right and of fact, 189—defend Molina's 'Middle Science,' 367—their controversy with the Dominicans, 368—and with the Jansenists, 369–371—sink into disrepute and are expelled from the French kingdom for dishonesty in trade and immorality, 379.
Jesus Christ, in the theology of Christian antiquity united in one person, both deity and humanity, 311—difference of opinion respecting his natures, 312—see also, Son of God.
Joan, Pope, her reign circulated without contradiction till the era of the Reformation, 73.
Joanna, Queen of Naples: deposed by Urban, 82—betrayed and murdered by Charles, King of Naples, and Urban, 85.
John XII. (Octavian) pope, 955—surpasses all his predecessors in crime, 109—is deposed by the Roman council, but afterwards regains the Holy See, ib.—being caught in adultery, is killed, ib.
John XIV., Pope, (984) succeeds Boniface VII. on the expulsion of the latter, 111—is, however, imprisoned by Boniface, who had

regained the papal chair, and dies of starvation in the castle of Angelo, ib.—his body exposed at the castle gate, ib.

John XXII. Pope, (1316) distinguished for patronising heresy, 105—denied the admission of disembodied souls into the beatific vision of God during their intermediate state between death and the resurrection, ib.—his belief concerning the spirits of the just, ib.—sends a mission to the Parisian faculty to effect their proselytism to his system, 106.

John XXIII. Balthasar Cossa, Pope, 1410, exceeds all his predecessors in enormity, 114—atrocity of his life ascertained and published by the general Council of Constance after a tedious trial, ib.—his character, 114, 115.

John, king of England, divested of his kingdom by Innocent the Third, 223—excommunicated, ib.—submits to the pontiff, and delivers up his crown to Pandolph, the Pope's nuncio, 224.

Jonas, Justus, accompanies Luther to the conference at Marpurg, 29.

Juliana, St. her contest with Satan, 40.

Julius II. (1503) succeeds Alexander VI. in the papacy and in iniquity, 119—his character, ib.—grants a pardon of all sins to any person, who would murder an individual of the French nation, ib.

K

Keys: donation of the, mentioned by St. Matthew, adduced by some writers in proof of the supremacy, a topic of diversified opinion among the friends of Romanism, 168—the ancients however, and many learned moderns in the Romish communion, ascribe the reception of the keys to the universal church, ib.

Kings, deposition of by popes, 210—sanctioned by eight Roman Councils, 229—dethronement of taught by the popes, 227—made an article of faith, 229.

Koran, the, Mohammed assisted in the composition of, by an apostatized Christian and a temporizing Jew, 516.

L

Languedoc, devastation of, by the holy warriors, 257.

Lateran, fourth council of, enacted formal regulations for the dethronement of refractory kings, 229—surpassed all its predecessors in severity, 251—freed the subjects of such sovereigns as embraced heresy from their fealty, 286—twelfth general council has, in latter days, occasioned a wonderful diversity of opinion, 128—its canons whence extracted, 129—fifth council of, disclaimed by the French, 130.

Latins, their dispute with the Greeks on Monothelitism and the Exposition of Heraclius, 343.

Latria, or supreme adoration, 458—to whom due, according to the schoolmen, 459.

Lavaur, storming and taking of, in 1211, horrors attending, 257.

Lenzuoli, see Alexander VI.

Leo IX. (Brunon) pcpe, 1049, represents the church as built on the rock, which is Emmanuel, as well as on Peter or Cephas, 168.

Leo X. (John de Medici) 1513, pope, succeeds Julius II. in the papacy, and in enormity, 119—orders all to shun Luther and his adherents, 265.
Liberius, pope, 352—opposes Arianism for a time, 74—banished by the Emperor Constantius, ib.—signs the Arian creed, and is recalled from banishment, ib.—proofs of his Arianism, 302.
Linus: represented by Eusebius, Irenæus, Ruffinus, &c. as the first Roman bishop, who exercised the Roman prelacy, 70—at the present day, however, accounted by Greeks and Latins the second pontiff, 73.
Literature, diffusion of, change effected by, 273.
Liturgies, ancient, different forms of prayers contained in them, 513.
Lord's Supper, elements accounted signs, figures, and emblems. 396–7—retain their own nature and substance, 398—nourish the human body, 399.
Lothaire, Cardinal, see Innocent III.
Louvain, university of, a beautiful specimen of its Jesuitism, 274.
Lucius III. fulminates anathemas against the Waldenses, 248.
Luther, Martin, his pertinacity on the subject of consubstantiation awakened a series of noisy, useless disputation, 29—his hostility to Zuinglianism often overrated, ib.—his answer to Henry the Eighth, 475.
Lutherans: renounce the absurdity of consubstantiation, 30—and unite with the Calvinists, ib.—conference between them and the Zuinglians in 1559, at Marpurg, 29.
Lyons, general council of, pronounced sentence of deposition against Frederic the Second, 229—absolves his vassals from their oath of fealty, 286—this council rejected by the French, 129—profligacy of, 571.

M

Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, expelled from the sixth general council of Constantinople, as a monothelite, 348.
Maccabees, book of, uncanonical, and deficient in morality, 511—observations on, 512.
Macgeoghegan (Mr.) his opinion of the Bull of Adrian the Fourth, transferring Ireland to Henry the Second, 222.
Mahomet, see Mohammed.
Manducation of the sacramental elements, 421.
Manicheans, the first who practised half-communion, 430—expelled by Leo the First, 431—observation of Pope Gelasius on them, ib.
Manna, in the wilderness, said by the Romanist divines, in a general congregation at Trent, to prefigure the sacramental bread, 426.
Marcel, see Gregory II.
Margaret, daughter to the king of Hungary, uses self-flagellation, 39.
Mariana, John, eulogizes persecutions and the inquisition, 263—his delineation of the moral traits of the 14th and 15th centuries, 203.
Marozia, mistress to Sergius III. with her mother Theodora, assumes in a great measure the whole administration of the church, 109.
Marpurg: conference in 1529, between the Lutherans and Zuinglians at, 29.

Marriage, its influence on mankind, 542.—See also Matrimony.
Mary, Sister, suffers crucifixion, but wanting faith or fortitude, is taken down in less than an hour, 42.
Mary, Queen of England, professes her resolution to support Catholicism, and to eradicate error and heresy, 272—her death the only favor she ever conferred on her unfortunate and persecuted subjects, 273.
Mary, Virgin, absurd eulogies of, 547—invocation, intercession, and holy-days of, proscribed by Constantine, 478—images of, adorned the altar, and edified the faithful, 467.
Mass, mummery of the, a ludicrous spectacle, 434.
Materialism, hateful and degrading doctrine of, patronized by the councils of Nice, Vienna, and the Lateran, 200.
Matrimony, no sacrament, 65—among the Israelitish clergy amounted in one sense, to a command, 528—examples and precepts in favor of, left by the apostles, 529—vituperation of, by popish doctors, 539.
Matthew, Friar, his adventure with a young nymph, 39.
Meaux, bishop of, see Bossuet, (J. B.)
Medici, (Catharine de) plans the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, 270.
Medici, (John de) see Leo X.
Medici, (J. A. de) see Pius IV.
Melancthon accompanies Luther to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Melun, synod of, for what purpose convened, 145.
Merindol, massacre of, executed by the president Oppeda, 268.
"Middle Science," a theory by which Molina attempted to reconcile divine grace and free-will, 367.
Miletius, supremacy bestowed on him by Gregory and others, 174.
Militia of Jesus, who so called, 258—called also the militia of Dominic, the warriors of the captain of salvation, in Italy the knights of the inquisition, and in Spain the familiars of the holy office, ib.
Milennium, exploded both by the Romish and reformed, 47.
Mind, actions of the, signified by those of the body, in scripture, 387.
Mingrelians, belong to the Greek church, and appear to disbelieve transubstantiation, 59.
Miracles, pretended, to support transubstantiation, 416.
Mirandula, his picture of the immorality of the Romish church, 204.
Missions for the purpose of proselytism, supported on an extensive scale by the Roman pontiff, 179.
Mohammed, assisted in the composition of the Koran, it is believed, by an apostatized Christian and a temporizing Jew, 516.
Molina, (John) publishes his 'Concord of Grace and Free-Will,' 367—attempts to reconcile divine grace and free-will by 'the Middle Science,' ib.
Molinism, its catholicism, &c. vouched for by the university of Alcala, 367—proscribed by the university of Salamanca, ib.
Molinos, (John) see Molina.
Monasteries, how characterized by the council of Cologne, 569.

Monks, absurd demonstration that they are angels, and therefore proper ministers of the gospel, 44—suppression, of 477.
Monophysites, or Jacobites, divided into Asiatics and Africans, and diffused through Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, 60—their doctrines, 61.
Monophysitism, no novelty, 314—only a nominal or verbal heresy, ib.—its prior existence, ib.—condemned by the Byzantine council, 315—approved by the Ephesian council, 316—three creeds on the subject of, passed by the council of Chalcedon, 322—state of, after the council of Chalcedon, 327.
Monothelitism, ascribed only one will and one operation to the Son of God, 339—its author, ib.—its general reception, 340—supported by the Roman emperor, and by the Antiochian, Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Roman patriarchs, ib. et sq.—its degradation from catholicism to heresy, 343—its second triumph, 347—synodal decision against it by the sixth general council of Constantinople, ib.—its total overthrow, 351—its temporary revival, ib.—its universal extinction, 353.
Montanism, rivals the fanaticism of Swedenborgianism, 34.
Montfort, Earl of, army against the Albigenses led by, 256—his character, ib.
Moral variations of the popedom, 107.
Mussulmen adopted the idea of purgatorian punishment, in all probability, from the popish and Jewish systems, 516.
Mythology, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Scandinavian exhibit some faint traces of the Trinity, 296.

N

Nativity, Sister, Revelations of, recommended by Rayment, Hodson, Bruning, and Milner, 36—her visions, ib—self-flagellation the amusement of her leisure hours, ib.
Nestorians: overspread Asiatic Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Tartary, India, and China, 60—their churches represented by Cosmas as infinite or unnumbered, ib.—said to divide the person of the Son, but this controversy a mere dispute about words, 62.
Nestorius, accused of denying our Lord's humanity, and of renewing the errors of Gnosticism and Apollinarianism, 312.
New Jerusalem, its foundations, the names of the twelve apostles, 167.
Nicæa, council of, the first general council, the most celebrated congress of antiquity, 298—assembled to settle the Trinitarian controversy, ib.—proceedings of the second, 479–80—condemned at Frankfort, 483—decree of the Parisian council respecting, 484–5.
Nicea, canons of, advocated by Hincmar, the celebrated French bishop, 180.
Nicene Creed: its general reception in Christendom, 47.
Nicholas I. pope, 858, his annoyance respecting the Chalcedonian canon relative to appeal, 176—his curious explanation of it, ib.
Nicholas V. [Thomas Parentucelli or de Sarzana,] pope, 1447, succeeds Eugenius in the Papacy, 97—denominates him the supreme

head of the church, but excommunicates Felix and all his adherents, ib.
Nunneries, how characterized by the council of Cologne, 569.
Nuns of Port Royal refused to sign the formulary of Alexander the Seventh, 372—treatment they received in consequence, ib.

O

Oaths, invalidation of, 277—taught and practised by popes, 280, sqq. —and by popish Councils, 284, 285, 289—pontiffs by whom the practice of annulling oath was exemplified, 281.
Octavian, see John XII.
Odecsalchi, Benedict, see Innocent XI.
Odo, undeceives several unbelieving clergymen on the subject of the host, 416.
Œcolampadius, accompanies Zuinglius to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Omnipotence of God, recourse had to, by the patrons of the absurdity of transubstantiation, 419—omnipotence extends only to possibility, and not to inconsistency, to things above, but not contrary to sense, ib.
Oppeda massacres the Waldenses, 268.
Orange, massacre of, horrors attending it, 269.
Origen, remarks on the ordeal of, 509—testimony of in favor of sacerdotal celibacy, 531.
Orobio, endured the rack for Judaism, 261.
Orphic theology, Trinitarianism appears in a misshapen form in, 296.
Osca: his confession, which contains an outline of Protestantism, still extant, 50.
Osiander, accompanies Luther to the conference at Marpurg, 29.
Oxford, council of, condemns the Waldenses, and consigns them to the secular arm, 249.

P

Paganism, persecution of, 243.
Palatine Confession: Frederic III., Elector Palatine, issued in 1576, a Formulary of Faith, 26.
Pandolphus, nuncio to Adrian IV., receives the crown from King John as a token of subjection, 224.
Panfili, Cardinal, see Innocent X.
Papacy: schisms in the 74, sqq.
Papal church guilty of general apostacy, 305—sanctions Arianism, 308.
Papal court, removal of from Avignon to Rome, 81.
Papal supremacy, four variations of, 152-3—silence of tradition concerning, 172—unknown to antiquity, 174—ascribed to other Sees besides Rome, 175—asserted by false decretals, 178—rejection of in various countries, 179.
Papias, seems to have originated the whole story of Peter's Roman episcopacy, 73.
Paphnutius, of Thebais, character of, and his observation on marriage, 544.

Parisian council, decree of, 485.
Pascal, (Blaise) opinion of Voltaire on his "Provincial Letters," 370
Pascal, the Second, perjury of, 120—freed from an oath by a council of the Lateran, 285—enactments of on the administration of the sacrament, 432.
Pascasius, the father of the deformity of transubstantiation, 405—Pascasian controversy, 406—opposed by Scotus and Bertramn, 407.
Paschal festival, controversy respecting the observing of, 180.
Paul, St. in his epistles supplies no proof of the supremacy, but on the contrary, 170.
Paul III. issues a sentence of deposition against Henry VIII, 224—forbids all sovereigns to lend any aid to him, 284.
Paul IV. [John Peter Caraffa,] pope 1555, a model of pontifical ambition, arrogance, haughtiness, and tyranny, 155—contemned the authority of councils and kings, ib.—his power unbounded and above all synods, and this he called an article of faith, and the contrary he denominated a heresy, 156—accounted the inquisition the sheet-anchor of the papacy, and recommends it for the extermination of heresy, 265—absolves himself from an oath, declaring that the pontiff could not be bound by an oath, 281.
Paul V. pope, in 1567, issued the bull "in Cœna," 234—in 1609 issued a Bull forbidding the English attached to Romanism, to take the oath of allegiance, 234—canonized Gregory the Seventh, 235.
Pelagia, of Antioch, escapes persecution by a voluntary death, 550—is eulogized by Ambrosius, ib.
Pelagianism patronized by Liberius, Honorius, and Zozimus, 102—design of, 354—its author and dissemination, 354, 355—patronized by the Asians, 356—opposed by the Africans, ib. 359—condemned by Innocent, 356—approved by Zozimus, 357—anathematized by him, 360—approved by the Frankfordians, 359—condemned by the Asians, 361—denounced by the general council of Ephesus, ib.—its declension, 362.
Pelagius, an Englishman, author of the heresy called Pelagianism, accused in the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis, 355—acquitted in the latter, ib.—anathematized by the Carthaginian prelacy, 356.
Penance, an improved species of, 37.
Pepin, King, assists Stephen II. against Astolf, King of Lombardy, 214—crowned in 751, king of France, 216.
Perjured Pontiffs, list of 119, 122.
Perjury, seventeen of the Roman pontiffs guilty of, 119—list of them, ib. and sqq.
Perpetua, her vision, 496.
Persecuting councils, 251.
Persecution, three periods of, first period, 239—second, 241—third, 263—chief victims of, 244—enjoined by pontiffs, as well as theologians, 264—persecution of paganism, 243—of heresy, 245—persecutions in Germany, 266—in the Netherlands, 267—Spain, ib.—in France, ib.—in England, 272.
Peter-pence, what they were, 222

Peter, St. evidence of his visit to Rome, not historical, but traditional, 68—as not a single hint is afforded on this subject by himself, nor by Luke, James, Jude, Paul, or John, 65—nor is it mentioned by the Apostolic men, Clemens, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, or Polycarp, ib.—the fiction began to obtain credit about the end of the second century, ib.—Irenæus the first who recorded it, ib.—great discordancy as to the length of his episcopacy, 72—story of his episcopacy seems to have originated with Papias, 73.
Philarge, see Alexander V.
Philip II. king of Spain, kindles the fires of persecution at Valladolid and Seville, and consigns the professors of Protestantism to the flames, 267.
Philip VI. king of France, threatens to roast pope John XXII. if he do not retract his heresy respecting disembodied souls, 107.
Philip and Mary, issued a commission for the burning of heretics, 272.
Philippicus, emperor of Constantinople, convenes a council for the purpose of substituting Monothelitism for Catholicism, 351—compiles a confession, 352—is driven from his throne, ib.
Phocas, a centurion, assassinates the royal family and seizes the throne, 184—instances of his cruelty, ib.—is celebrated for his piety and benignity by Gregory, ib.—title of universal bishop conferred by, ib.
Pinytus, Bp. of Crete, urges the necessity of abstinence from matrimony on the clergy of his diocese, but is convinced of his error by Dionysius, Bp. of Corinth, 530.
Pisan council, dismiss Gregory and Benedict from the papacy, and appoint Alexander V., 89—forbid all Christians to obey the two former, 232—its universality denied by some, 133—the second council of acknowledged by the French in opposition to the fifth of the Lateran, 135.
Pitt, William, question of, to the universities of Louvain, Salamanca, and Valladolid, whether persecution were a principle of Romanism, 274.
Pius IV. [J. A. Medici or Medichino] pope, 1559, offers to confirm the English Book of Common Prayer, if Queen Elizabeth would acknowledge the pontifical supremacy, and the British nation join the Romish communion, 32—writes to her and professes an anxiety for her eternal welfare, and the establishment of her royal dignity, ib.—his overtures for union refused by the Queen and and nation, ib.—deposes and anathematizes the Queen, 225—annuls the oath of allegiance to her, 284.
Pius VII. though in captivity, excommunicates and anathematizes Bonaparte, 235.
Plato, taught the theory of purgatory, 515—remarks on his style, &c. ib.
Platonic philosophy, Trinitarianism, in a mis-shapen form, appears in, 296.
Polish Confession, formed in the General Synod of Sendomir in 1570, and recognized through Poland, Lithuania, and Samogitia, 26.
Pontiffs, perjured, list of, 119, 122—profligacy of, 571.

Pontifical Infallibility, boasted unity of pretended Catholicism has on this, as on every other question diverged into a medley of jarring opinions and contending systems, 187—its object, 189—its form, 190—its uncertainty, 191.
Pontifical maxims, 280.
Pontifical royalty, 215.
Pontifical succession, difficulty of, whence it arises, 68—historical variations respecting, 69, sq. electoral variations on the same subject, 74. sq.
Pope, his presidency, 152—his sovereignty or despotism, 154—his supposed equality with God, 157—his alleged superiority to God, 159, sq. when first raised to royalty, 214.
Popery, never embraced by more than a fifth part of Christendom, 66—may be compared to a field of wheat, overrun with tares, 48—nothing, perhaps, presents a more striking image of than a person labouring under a dreadful disorder, ib.
Pope, see Adrian IV. 221-2—Alexander V. 90—Alexander VI. 117-18—Alexander VII. 372—Anacletus, 70, 73—Benedict VI. 110—Benedict VII. 111—Boniface VII. 110—Boniface VIII. 113, 155—Clemens, 70—Clement, VII. 81, 284—Clement IX. 372—Clement X. 372—Clement XI. 373—Felix, 74, 76—Gregory II. 215—Gregory VI. 81—Gregory VII. 217, 280, 284—Gregory IX. 281, 285—Innocent I. 255—Innocent III. 171, 186, 223, 256—Innocent IV. 248—Innocent X. 281—Innocent XI. 373—John XII. 109—John XIV. 111—John XXII. 105—John XXIII. 114—Leo IX. 168—Leo X. 265—Liberius, 74, 302—Nicholas I. 176—Nicholas V. 97—Paul III. 224, 284—Paul IV. 155, 281—Pius IV. 32, 225, 284—Silverius, 76, 77—Silvester, 79 Sixtus IV. 116—Stephen 78, 79—Urban II. 280—Urban VI. 81, 82, 84—Vigilius, 77, 104.
Posen, synod of, compact between the Reformed of Germany, France, &c. confirmed at, 30.
Post-Nicene Fathers, may, without regret, be consigned to the Vatican to rust with the lumber of a thousand years, 47.
Prayers for the dead, remarks on, 510—argument from, in favor of purgatory, refuted, 511.
Predestination, gratuitous taught by St. Augustine, 362—a fertile source of contest among the French clergy, ib.
Priesthood, marriage of, testimonies to, 531.
Priests, profligacy of the Romish, 565.
Prignano, see Urban VI.
Prison, different interpretations of the word, as used by St. Peter, 505-6.
Proterios, patriarch of Alexandria, assassinated by the populace, and his mangled body dragged through the city, 328-9.
Protestant Faith, antiquity of, easily shown, 46.
Protestantism, its name originated in the sixteenth century, 46—is contained in the word of God, ib.—its theology to be found in the early fathers, ib.—its principles taught in the ecclesiastical productions of three hundred years after the Christian era, 47—a striking image of, 48.

Protestant name, its origin, 46.
Protestant theology, contained in the word of God, 46.
Protestants, persecution of by Charles the Fifth, 266—massacre of the French, 266.
Public women, number of, who attended the Constantine council, 199.
Purgatory, what it is in the Romish theology, 490—its situation, 491—its punishments, 492—496—destitute of scriptural authority, 497—admissions, ib.—Romish arguments from Scripture refuted, 499—506—destitute of traditional authority, 507—admissions, ib.—formed no part in the faith of Christian antiquity, 514—pagan and Jewish purgatory, 516—Mahometan, ib.—its introduction, 517—its slow progress, 519—completed by the schoolmen, 524.
Pythagoean philosophy, Trinitarianism appears in a mis-shapen form, in, 263.

Q

Quesnel, (Pasquier) remark on his "Reflections," 373—controversy on, ib. 374, 475.
Quinsextan, or Trullan council, enjoins celibacy on bishops, but permits the inferior clergy to marry before ordination, and afterward to enjoy connubial society, 551.

R

Raban, archbishop of Mentz, opposes Gottescalcus, 363—seems to have admitted election, but denied reprobation, ib.—acknowledged predestination to life, but not to death, ib.—misrepresents his adversary, and characterises him as a perverter of religion, and a forger of heresy, ib.
Rachel, Sister, suffers crucifixion in order to exhibit a lively image of the Saviour's passion, 42.
Rack, the, used by the Inquisition, 260.
Ratramnus, see Bertramn.
Recusants, a faction of the French clergy, who condemned the bull Unigenitus, 375, 376.
Reformation, the, era and influence of, 294.
Reformers, doctrinal unity of, apparent in their confessions of faith, 25.
Regeneration, the same substantial change communicated to men in, as to the elements of the communion, 403.
Regulatus, a self-flagellator, 37.
Religious liberty of the first three centuries, 241.
Remission of sin, as mentioned by St. James, remark on, 448.
Revelation, its truths contained in the early fathers, 46.
Rheims, college of, remedy commended by for the extinction of heresy, 264.
Rhemists, advocate unconditional election, 336.
"Rock," a variety of interpretations of the word, 161, sq.
Roger (Peter) see Gregory XI.
Roman ritual extends the spirit of persecution even to the dead, 266.
Romanism, its superstition forms no part of Christianity, 48—deforms the gospel, and counteracts its utility, ib.—a striking image

of, ib.—boasted unity of, displayed in the diversified councils and confessions of the fourth century, 309.
Romish church, immorality of, 201, sq.—general apostacy of, 305.
Romish priesthood, in every age the fosterer of fanaticism and absurdity, 34—impiety, malevolence, inhumanity, &c. of, 108—profligacy of, 571.
Rospigliosi (Guil. de) see Clement XI.

S

Sacramental elements accounted signs, figures, and emblems, 397, 399—retain their own nature and substance, 398—nourish the human body, 399—manducation of by the papist, 421.
Sacramentarian controversy, account of, 29, sq.
Salamanca, university of, proscribes Molinism, 367.
Sardica, canons of, advocated by Hincmar, the celebrated French bishop, 180—council of declare for Athanasius and Trinitarianism, 300.
Saxon confession, issued in the Synod of Wittemberg and presented in 1551 to the council of Trent, 26.
Scandinavian mythology, some faint traces of the Trinity exhibited in, 296.
Schism, great western schism, 81—93.
Schisms in the papacy, the second began in the reigns of Liberius and Felix, 74—the seventh distinguished the reigns of Silverius and Vigilius, 76—the thirteenth disgraced the papacy of Formosus and Sergius, 78—the nineteenth deformed the reigns of Benedict, Silvester, and John, 79—the twenty-ninth troubled the reigns of Urban, Boniface, Innocent, Gregory, Clement, and Benedict, 81—the thirtieth troubled the reigns of Eugenius and Felix, 93.
Schoolmen, their nonsense and hair-breadth distinctions on transubstantiation, 415—purgatory, where placed by, 491.
Scientia Media, see Middle Science.
Scottish confession, composed by Knox in 1560, and ratified by Parliament, 27—this however sunk into neglect on the appearance of a formulary compiled at Westminster, which was ratified by the Scottish Parliament in 1649 and 1690, ib.
Scotus (Duns) severely treated by the Valentinians, 364—his production on election a distinguished specimen of folly and extravagance, ib.—opposes Pascasius, 407.
Sectarianism, its prevalence since the rise of Protestantism, 33.
Seleucia, council of, its meeting in the year 359, p. 309—how characterized by Gregory Nazianzen, ib.—its proceedings, ib.
Self-flagellation, by whom introduced and practised, 37.
Semi-Arians, assert the similarity of the Son, 299—dispute with the Arians, ib.
Sendomir, formal ecclesiastical union between the reformed of Germany, France, &c. effected at, in 1570, p. 30.
Sergius, opposes Formosus in the papacy, but is expelled, 78.
Sigismund, emperor, guarantees a safe-conduct to Huss, 288—but notwithstanding, consigns him to the duke of Bavaria, 290—remarks on this breach of faith, ib—see Huss.

Sign, changing of, does not change the signification, 46—instance of, ib.
Silverius, pope, elected in 536 by simony, 76—is soon supplanted by Vigilius by similar means, ib.—accused by false witnesses of a design to betray the city, 77—is banished to Palmaria, where he dies, ib.
Silvester, is substituted in the papacy for Benedict, 79—is soon expelled, ib.—re-asserts his right, and takes possession of the Vatican, 80.
Similarity of the Son, asserted by the Semi-Arians, 299.
Simon, St. different statements as to his episcopacy, 71.
Sin, remission of, as mentioned by St. James, remark on, 448—against the Holy Ghost, observations on, 500.
Siricius, pope, his decretal addressed to Himerius, contains the first general interdiction of clerical matrimony, 513.
Sirmians, their three forms of faith, 301.
Sixtus IV. [Francis d'Albescola della Rovere,] elected to the papacy in 1471, his character, 116—established brothels in Rome, 117.
Slevin, Dr. his quibbling, &c. in the Maynooth examination, 227.
"So as," remarks on the phrase, 504.
Solicitation, sacerdotal and monkish, in Spain, description of, 568—so prevalent as to demand pontifical interposition, ib.
Son of God, his deity and humanity united in one person, in the theology of Christian antiquity, 311—his divinity acknowledged in opposition to Arianism, and his humanity in contradiction to Gnosticism and Apollinarianism, ib.—his natures confounded by Eutyches, as his person was divided by Nestorius, 312—opinion of the Jacobites or Monophysites, 313—controversies upon his natures by the councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, &c. 315–338—one will and one operation ascribed to him by the Monothelites, 339.
Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, opposes Monothelitism, 342.
Sorbonnian faculty propose to modify the doctrine of transubstantiation, 32.
Southcott, (Joanna) her mania eclipsed by the dreams of Beata, Clara, and Nativity, 34.
Spain, remained free of pontifical dominion till the beginning of the ninth century, 180.
Stephen II. applies to King Pepin for assistance against Astolf, King of Lombardy, 214.
Stephen VI. succeeds Formosus in the papacy in 896, and commits atrocities on his dead body, 78—rescinds his acts and declares his ordinations irregular and invalid, ib.—is immured in a dungeon, and strangled, 79.
Stephen, Abp. of Petrarca, his declaration that Leo possessed power above all powers, both in heaven and in earth, 159, 160.
Stews, propriety of tolerating, advocated by Carlerius, 199.
Suction, the second step to the defalcation of the cup, in the sacrament, 434—its design, ib.
Suicide, approbation of, 549—suicide of virgins commended, 550

Sunisactan women, who infested the habitations of the unmarried clergy, canon directed against them, 544.
Sunisactanism or domesticism, an evasion of the injunction of clerical celibacy, 553.
Superstition, nearly as old as religion, and originated in the remotest period of time, in the darkness and profanity of the antediluvian world, 45.
Supremacy, four variations in the papal supremacy, 152, 153—silence of tradition concerning, 172—unknown to antiquity, 174—ascribed to other sees, besides Rome, 175—asserted by false decretals, 177—rejection of, in various countries, 179. sq.
Swedenborgianism, fanaticism of, rivalled by the extravagance of Montus, 34.
Swiss confession, see Helvetian confession.
Switzerland, profligacy of her clergy, 570.
Symbolical worship, a variation from ecclesiastical antiquity, 466—opposed by synodal, episcopal, pontifical, and imperial authority, 471.
Symmachus excommunicates Anastasius for heresy, 328.
Syrian Church, its antiquity, 64—purity and simplicity of its theology, ib,—its opposition to popery and agreement with protestantism, 65.
Syrianism, its antiquity and identity with protestantism acknowledged by Dr. Buchanan, 66.

T

Teresia, merits particular attention for her self-flagellation, 37—her body, circumfused in a fragrant fluid, remains the undecayed object of religious worship, 38.
Tertullian, the first who mentions the custom of paying for the dead, 512.
Tetrapolitan confession, why so named, 26—compiled by Bucer and Capito, ib.—presented in 1530 to the Emperor of Germany, ib.

Text of Scripture :—

OLD TESTAMENT.

GENESIS.

Chap.	Page.
xl. 12, 18	396
xli. 56, 27	396

LEVITICUS.

xxvi. 1	461

JUDGES.

xviii. 24	424

2 KINGS.

xviii. 4	462

1 CHRONICLES.

xi. 19	395

Chap.	Page.
xxvi. 23	462
xxvii. 9	462
xxviii. 27	462

PSALM.

cx. 1	499

JOB.

viii. 8	519
viii. 10	519

ISAIAH.

i.	402
liii. 3	402

HABAKKUK.

i. 13	206

APOCRYPHA.

2 MACCAB.

Chap.	Page.
xii. 40	512
xii. 43	511
xii. 44	511
xiv. 41	511
xv. 33	512

NEW TESTAMENT.

MATTHEW.

ii. 8, 19	169
v. 26	499
v. 25	499
v. 17	430
viii. 14	529
xii. 32	498
xiii. 19, 37—40	396
xiii. 29	264
xvi. 16	227
xvi. 18	161, 163
xxiv. 28	465
xxvi. 27	425
xxvi. 28	395
xxvi. 51 52,	240

MARK.

vi. 13	446, 7
xi. 28	430
xiv. 23	425
xiv. 47	240
xvi. 15	169

LUKE.

ix. 56	240
xii. 14	212
xiii. 11	440
xx. 2	430
xxii. 51	240
xxiv. 44	430
xxiv. 47	169

JOHN.

x. 7	395
xv. 1	395
xvii. 16	212
xviii. 10, 36	240
xxi. 16	169

ACTS.

i. 26	170
vi. 1–6	170
xv. 1–22	170
xx. 28	169
xxviii. 9	446
xxviii. 15	72

ROMANS.

iv. 13	430
xiii. 1	212
xvi.	69

1 CORINTHIANS.

x.	403
x. 4	395, 396
xi. 27	430
xi. 28	425
xii. 27	396
xv. 25	499

2 CORINTHIANS.

xi. 5	170
xii. 11	170

GALATIANS.

ii. 11	170
iii. 16	430

EPHESIANS.

iv. 12	396

COLOSSIANS.

i. 24	396
iv.	69

2 THESSALONIANS.

ii. 4	158

1 TIMOTHY.

iii. 4	531

2 TIMOTHY.

i. 18	499
iv.	69

TITUS.

iii. 2, 12	529
iv. 3	529

HEBREWS.

xi. 21	463, 464
xii. 14	206

JAMES.

v. 14	446
v. 14, 15	447

1 PETER.

v. 2	169
v. 13	72

REVELATIONS.

v. 5	395

Theondrian or Deivirilian operation, what, 339.
Theodora, Empress, friendly to Monophysitism, 76—aims to degrade Mennas, the Byzantine Patriarch, who adhered to the Chalcedonian faith, 77—and to restore Anthimus, Theodosius and Severus deposed for their Monophysitism, ib.—applies to Silverius to assist her, but is refused, ib.—turns her attention to Vigilius, who is bribed by her, ib.—Suborns Belisarius to expel Silverius and raise Vigilius, and succeeds, ib.
Theodora, a courtezan, raises John X. to the papacy, 109.
Theodorus, of Pharan, the author of Monothelitism, 339
Theophylactus, see Benedict IX.
Thurcal, adventure of, as related by Matthew Paris, 494.
Tolosan Chronicle :—contains an account of the processes against the Albigensians, 50.
Torquemala, on being made Inquisitor-General, burned alive two thousand sons of heresy, 262.
Tradition : its silence concerning the papal supremacy, 172.
Transubstantiation not accounted by the friends of popery as essential in their system, 31—instances of fluctuations on the subject, 31, 32—diversity of opinions on, 415—unscriptural, 387—not supported by John, ch. vi. 389, 393—nor by Matt. xxvi. 26, 28, 395—not taught by the Fathers, 401, 403—its introduction, 405—Pacasian controversy on, 407—Berengarian, 409, 414—supported by pretended miracles, 417—absurdity of, 419, 20—its cannibalism, 421, 424.
Trent : her disciplinarian canons rejected in France and in part of Ireland, 33, 132—and even in Spain admitted only so far as consistent with regal authority, 33—rejection of the council of, 131—reception of, 133—council of, patronized persecution, 265—catechism of, remark on, 526—language used by, concerning the administration of the sacrament, 433—declaration on extreme unction, 442.
Trinitarianism, the faith of Christian antiquity, 296—and may be discovered in the annals of gentilism and philosophy, ib.—as in the Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Scandinavian mythology, ib.—and in the Orphic theology, and in the Zoorastrian, Pythagorean, and Platonic philosophy, ib.
Trullan, or Quinsextan council, its canon on matrimony, 551.
Type or Formulary, issued by the Emperor Constans, 345—purport of, ib.—in what it differed frrm the Ecthesis, ib.
Tyrian council, pronounces sentence of excommunication and banishment against Athanasius, 299.

Ulloa (Ant. de) his frightful picture of the Peruvian priesthood, 572.
Ulric, history of, and remedy adopted by him, to preserve continence, 536.
Unction, extreme not a sacrament, 65—of what it consists, 441—variations in its effects, ib.—disagreement on its institution, 442 a variation from scriptural unction, 443—form of, 444—apostolic and popish unctions differ in the persons to whom they are to be

administered, 445—and in the end or effect, 446—extreme unction a variation from tradition, 451—traditional evidence for, 453—history of, 455.
Unigenius, observations on the bull issued by Clement XI., 208.
Universal bishop, title of, conferred by Phocas, 183.
University, Parisian, 1589, declared the French entirely freed from their oath of Allegiance to their king, Henry III, 280.
"Until," in scriptural language, what the word denotes, 500.
Urban II. [Eudes or Odo,] pope 1088, declares that subjects are by no authority bound to observe the fealty which they swear to a Christian prince who withstands God and the saints, and contemns their precepts, 280—commands the separate reception of the Lord's body and blood, 431.
Urban VI. [Bartolomo di Prignano,] pope 1378, divides Christendom with Clement, 81—his summary treatment of seven cardinals, 83 a few specimens of his ability in the art of cursing, 84.
Usurpation of the popes, 185.

Valentinian, Emperor, enactment of a law by, forbidding monks or ecclesiastics to accept any donation or legacy from maids, matrons, orphans or widows, 213.
Variations as to the pontifical succession: historical, 69, sq.—electoral, 74.
Vienna, general council of, declared that the Emperor was bound to the pope by an oath of fealty, 231.
Vigilius, [537] assumes the pontifical authority, through simony, 76—his character, ib.—his papacy presents a scene of fluctuation unknown in the annals of protestantism, 105—shifted his ground six times, ib.—sanctioned Eutychianism, and afterwards retracted, ib.—withstood Justinian's edict, and afterwards recanted, ib.—shielded Ibas, Theodoret, and Theodorus, and afterwards confirmed the general council, which condemned them for blasphemy and heresy, ib.
Virgin Mary, absurd eulogies of, 547, etc.
Virginity, admiration of, when it began, 533—reason of this, 534—second reason for the preference of, 538.

Wake, Bp. his correspondence with Dr. Dupin on the subject of an union between the English and French Church, 32.
Waldensianism, its theatre, Western or European Christendom, 49—its patrons, ib.—its principal branches, ib.—antiquity of beyond all question, 51—in anticipation, a system of the purest Protestantism many ages before the Reformation, 53—portrait of, 54.
Waldensians, spread through nearly every country, 51, 52—their bravery, 53—portrait of them by Alexander, 54—their confessions show the conformity of their principles to the Reformation, 55—their morality corresponded with the purity of their faith, 56—

their piety, benevolence, and holiness have extorted the approbation of friend and foe, ib.—notwithstanding the persecution of Romanism, still exists, 58—persecution of them, 249.
Wido, Marquis of Tuscany, deposes and, in all probability, strangles Pope John the Tenth, 109.
Wine, sacramental, what accounted by the Manicheans, 433—by the Latins, ib.—why curtailed by the Constantine council in the communion of the laity, 436—intinction and suction two methods used in partaking it, 434.
Wittemberg confession, composed by Brent published in 1552, 26.

Xavier, (Francis) the Indian apostle, uses an iron whip to flagellate himself, 37.

Zanzal, or Jacob, restorer of the demonstration called Jacobites, 413.
Zeno, publishes the Henoticon, 334—his design in doing so, ib.
Zisca, a Bohemian general, the ablest, though blind, that ever took the field, 437.
Zoroastrian philosophy, Trinitarianism appears in a mis-shapen form in, 296.
Zozimus, Pelagianism at first approved by, 357—but afterwards anathematizes Pelagius and Celestius, 360—a profound adept in the art of cursing, 361—lived a tyrant and died a saint, ib.
Zuinglians, at the conference at Marpurg, 1529, admit the presence of the body and blood of Jesus in the sacrament, and their reception by those who approach the communion, 31.
Zuinglians and Lutherans, conference between, at Marpurg, in 1529, 29—were agreed on all topics but the communion, ib.—but even on this, though a formal union was not affected, there existed a peaceful and amiable concord, ib.
Zuinglius, appears at the conference held at Marpurg in 1529, 29.

THE END.

YC 44003

57467
BX1765
E4

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY